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THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF TĒVĀRAM

With special reference to Nampi Ārūrar (Sundarar)

M.A.DORAI RANGASWAMY

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

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BY

Dr. M. A. DORAI RANGASWAMY

EDITOR

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BY

Dr. M. A. DORAI RANGASWAMY, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D.

UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1990

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DEDICATED TO

Lt.-Col. Diwan Bahadur Sir A. LAKSHMANASWAMI MUDALIAR, Kt.,
M.D., LLD., D.Sc., D.C.L., D.Litt., F.R.C.O G., F.A.C.S., M.L.C.
Vice-Chancellor, University of Madras
on the day of his 71st Birthday Celebrations.

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FOREWORD

Dr. M. A. Dorai Rangaswamy, Reader in Tamil, University of Madras, was engaged for many years in the study of the sacred Tēvāram hymns of the Śaiva Saints in general and those of one of them, Nampi Ārūrar, popularly known as Sundarar in particular, from various points of view. The present work embodies his research in this field. A part of this work was submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree of this University and was approved.

The University has sanctioned the printing of the whole work in two Books. The first part of Book I was published in the 71st birthday (20-1-57) of the illustrious Vice-Chancellor of this University and dedicated to him.

The Author's introduction elaborately explains the scheme and significance of the work. It is hoped that this pioneer work will be followed by many more Studies, throwing further light on this important and interesting period of Tamil history and culture.

University of Madras,
15—8—1958

R. P. SETHU PILLAI,
Professor of Tamil.

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PREFACE

"The Tamilians poured forth their intense love in their *hymns*, *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyiram*, the like of which is seen in no other language. Monotheism with all its moral grandeur shines ever resplendent in the Semitic languages. Law is the very breath of the Imperial Latin language. The Greek language is the embodiment of Art. The modern languages, the French, the German and the English march triumphantly along with the progress of Science. Philosophy is beautifully enshrined in the Sanskrit language. For a study of these higher aspects of life, one has necessarily to go to these languages. In a similar way one has to go to Tamil which stands supreme with its God-intoxicating and bone-melting *hymns* of intense love and light expressed in mellifluous numbers of exquisite beauty".*

If this is true, the study of the sacred *hymns* of the *Śaivites* known as *Tēvāram* becomes of paramount interest. *Śaivism* has its best exposition as a living faith in these *hymns*.

The present work deals with the poems of *Nampi Ārūrar*, popularly known as *Sundarar* (*Cuntarar*), the last of the three *Tēvāram* Saints, who modestly states that his verses repeat only the ideas of his predecessors *Campantar* and *Tirunāvukkaracar* (*Appar*), a statement which we may translate as meaning that his *hymns* are the very quintessence of the other two great *Tēvāram* poets. *Nampi Ārūrar's* poems serve as a key to unlock the hidden treasures of *Tēvāram*.

The Religion and philosophy of *Nampi Ārūrar*, as the message of this poet, have a greater value than any other aspect of his verses. But according to tradition his life itself is an expression of a great message. This necessitates a study of his life and fixing of his age. The verses sung by this poet being the main source of our study, the question of the number of verses sung by him

**Some Key words in Tamil Culture* by Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram.

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has to be answered. The name *Tēvāram* itself requires elucidation as well as the question of the age when this term came into use. The name *Sundarar* (*Cuntarar*) by which this poet is commonly known in modern times creates a problem, because it is not found in the earlier works.

There is again the question of the mythology of *Ārūrar's* age. For a correct understanding of our poet's references to mythology, apart from the *Āgamas* and the *Purāṇas*, we have to search for some concreate representation of these stories. The phrase "*Viraṭṭāṉam*" occurring in *Tēvāram* shows us a way of grouping all the stories around that conception. The sculptures of *Kailāsanātha* Temple at *Kāñci* which belong to the age of *Ārūrar* according to the present writer, have to be studied with reference to the mythological allusions found in his own *hymns*. When it is remembered that *Ārūrar's* language of mythology is one way of expressing his message, the importance of this study becomes clear.

All these are in one sense a study of the objective life of the poet. Philosophy as the spiritual message of the poet should be the crown of his inner personality or spiritual development. The verses have to be chronologically arranged so as to reveal to one the progress of his spiritual life. This requires a study of these verses from this point of view.

It is on the basis of these preliminary investigations that a study of the Religion and Philosophy of *Ārūrar* is attempted in the present work. All these points have not been discussed and solved in any previous essay or work though the present writer has received guidance from other authors whose writings he has quoted in several places.

In studying the Religion of *Ārūrar* the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, a *hymn* giving the list of saints who appealed *Ārūrar* is considered by the present writer to be of great importance. The *hymn*, so to say gives a concrete picture of the Religion, our poet admired and revered. This *hymn* and the lives of the saints mentioned therein are studied so as to arrive at a conclusion about the extent of these stories which could have been in the mind of our poet. *Periyapurāṇam*, Inscriptions, other literary works in *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* and the representations of the lives of these saints in the famous *Dārāsuram* temple and elsewhere are brought together,

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probably for the first time to throw a flood of light on the references to these saints in the very poem of *Tēvāram* writers. The penultimate verse in that *hymn* is held as giving us a convenient and important classification of these saints and the conclusion is further verified by other classifications, if one may use that word found in the other *hymns* of *Ārūrar*. The nationalism of this *hymn* is emphasized in this essay as also our poet's love of Tamil as the very form of the Lord, and the implications of this outlook are explained. *Ārūrar's* theory of *mantra* and of the language of worship come in for study. This nationalism is next shown to be but a stepping stone for the universal outlook of our poet. This raises the question of the unhappy reference to other sects and it is shown here that these references do not run counter to our theory of *Ārūrar's* universalism. The details of worship have been interpreted and explained in terms of the *Āgamas*, as all leading to a mystic experience of the Absolute.

Coming to the study of the Philosophy of this poet, his conception of Nature, Soul and God has been discussed from the point of view of mysticism. The importance of "*Akattiṇai*" poems or poems of bridal love, has been attempted to be brought out. The ethical point of view is also explained, as also the final goal of spiritual life as contemplated by our poet. To some it may be a disappointment that we could not label this poet as belonging to any particular creed or dogma. But the trend of the poems as studied by us leads us to only one conclusion that our poet was a mystic whose experience avoids all conflicts by its harmony.

The present writer does not remember that the subject has been approached from this point of view before, and he claims all the approaches and conclusions referred to above as his original contributions, subject to the sources which he has used and which he has acknowledged.

The Author is extremely thankful to all those* who offered their suggestions when preparing this work, *viz.*, "The Religion and Philosophy of *Tēvāram* with special reference to *Sundarar*", and he offers his special thanks to the members of the Syndicate for having sanctioned the printing of the whole of his research work in four volumes.

*Prof. T. P. Meenakshisundaram Pillai, Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Prof. P. Sankaranarayanan, Thiru V. S. Chengalvaraya Pillai, Thiru S. Somasundaram Pillai, Dr. N. Raghavan and Sri. S Subrahmanya Sastri.

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The first volume *viz.*, "*Nampi Ārūrar's Tēvāram*, His life and Age" was published and dedicated to the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University on the day of his 71st birthday celebrations in January 1957.

The Author is thankful to the Vice-Chancellor for his having accepted the dedication and to the Professor of Tamil for his ready help and encouragement at all times and for his Foreword.

M. A. DORAI RANGASWAMY,
Reader in Tamil,
University of Madras.

15th August, 1958,
Madras.

... After the second volume was printed, both the first and the second volumes were together published as Book I in August, 1958.

Now volumes three and four are published as Book II of which volume four was submitted as a thesis for Ph. D. Degree of this University in 1956 and was approved.

The subsequent volumes are also dedicated to the Vice-Chancellor.

M. A. DORAI RANGASWAMY,
University Professor of Tamil, (Madurai)

25th July, 1959,
Madras.

All the four volumes are included and published in this 2nd edition as a single volume.

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

அ	a	உ	u	ஐ	ai
ஆ	ā	ஊ	ū	ஒ	o
இ	i	எ	e	ஓ	ō
ஈ	ī	ஏ	ē	ஔ	au
		ஃ	k		
க்	k	த்	t	ல்	l
ங்	ṅ	ந்	n	வ்	v
ச்	c	ப்	p	ழ்	ḷ
ஞ்	ñ	ம்	m	ள்	ḻ
ட்	ṭ	ய்	y	ற்	ṟ
ண்	ṇ	ர்	r	ன்	ṉ
ஜ்	j	ஸ்	s	ஹ்	h
ஶ்	ś	ஷ்	ṣ	க்ஷ்	kṣ

Method of citing Authorities

Numbers in poetical works refer to the verses; when two numbers are used, the first denotes the *hymn* or *chapter* or '*kātai*", and the second, the verse or line in it; when three numbers are used, the first denotes the *Tirumuṟai*, the second the *hymn*, and the third the verse. For example, *Tol.* 55 means, *Tolkāppiyam* verse or *cūtram* 55; Campantar 125:3 means *Campantar Tēvāram hymn* 125, verse 3; Campantar 1:15:9 means Campantar Tēvāram *Tirumuṟai*. 1, *hymn* 15 and *verse* 9. Mere numbers such as 65:2 will mean only *Ārūrar's Tēvāram, hymn* 65 and verse 2.

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VOLUME I

NAMPI ĀRŪRAR'S TĒVĀRAM, HIS LIFE AND AGE

INTRODUCTION

I

The Tamil Country, more than any other part of this world, continues even now to be the home of all religions. Among these religions, the authoritative treatises on the Śaiva Siddhānta and the Teṉ-kalai Vaiṣṇavism are found only in Tamil. They are the wonderful products of the Tamilian intellect and history. Of these two Śaivism has become, in the course of the history of the Tamil Land, identified with pure Tamil Literature as contrasted with the Maṇipravāḷa or Sanskritized Tamil, which has become, in the popular view, identified with Vaiṣṇavism.

II

The Sacred books of the Śaivites in Tamil consist of two series: the one, the Sacred Literature called the Tirumuṟais, and the other, the exposition of the Śaivite Philsosphy called the Fourteen Śāstras. The Tirumuṟais are placed on a par with the Vēdas themselves. Being poetry of a very high order, they are naturally more popular and authoritative than the other collection which attempts but to systematize the philosophical thought, running through this sacred literature of the hymns.

III

These Tirumuṟais are twelve in number, as they stand at present; for, their number must have evidently been growing from time to time. Tirumuṟai really means a Sacred book. The first seven Tirumuṟais are the hymns of the three great Śaivite saints, Tiruñānacampantar, Tirunāvukkaracar (otherwise known as Appar) and Nampi Ārūrar (otherwise known as Cuntarar). These three saints occupy a pre-eminent position in the Tamilian Śaivite world and therefore they are called 'Mūvar Mutalikaḷ', 'the three great Lords of Śaivism.' It is their hymns that were probably first collected. These hymns were the best musical compositions of their age and it is on the basis of their music, that the poems of Campantar were grouped as three different books, the first, the second and the third Tirumuṟais. In the same way, the hymns of Tirunāvukkaracar were compiled into three different books, the fourth, the fith and the sixth Tirumuṟais.

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Though there was a variety of musical compositions in Nampi Ārūrar's poems as well, his works were collected, into one single book alone, as the Seventh Tirumuṟai, because of the lesser number of his poems then available.

IV

Of these three saints, Campantar and Appar are contemporaries and Ārūrar comes after them. Appar is admitted on all sides to have been the contemporary of Mahēndravarmaṉ whom he has converted to Śaivism. Mahēndravarmaṉ belongs to the first part of the seventh century A. D. Campantar, who is a younger contemporary of Appar, is also a contemporary of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the conqueror of Vātāpi (Bādāmi).[1] In the seventh century itself, Bādāmi was twice conquered by the Great Pallavas, once in the reign of Narasiṁhavarmaṉ I, the Māmalla, and again in the reign of his descendant Paramēśvara. Because of these, some like the late Prof. Sundaram Pillai would make Campantar belong to the first half of the seventh century and others like Prof. M. Raghava Aiyangar would assign him to the last part of the seventh century. Ārūrar refers to these two great saints, Campantar and Appar, with great reverence and love. In great humility, he sings that he is only repeating what these two great saints have sung.[2] Therefore, by his time, the two saints and their poems must have become very popular and authoritative. As there is a good deal of conflict about Ārūrar's age, it has to be discussed separately, but it may be stated here that he is not assigned to any period later than the 9th century A.D.

V

The poems that comprise the eighth Tirumuṟai are Tiruvācakam and Tirukkōvaiyār by Māṇikkavācakar. These 'bone-melting hymns' as Dr. Pope would praise them, could not have been missed. The singing of these hymns set to music became a regular part of temple worship and because of their importance, even members of the Royal families composed a few hymns. These musical compositions of kings and others were collected together as the ninth Tirumuṟai, somewhere in the eleventh century, perhaps after the construction of the great temple Kaṅkaikoṇṭa Cōḻapuram, which is referred to in this collection. The omission of the popular and eclectic poems of Tirumūlar was

1. P. P., Ciṟut. 6.
2. 7: 67: 5.

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soon felt and they were collected as the tenth Tirumuṟai. Other Śaivite poems belonging to different ages were redacted into a miscellaneous collection called the eleventh Tirumuṟai. The The adoration of Śaivite saints and their poems required a Purāṇa or an Epic. Cēkkiḻār gave expression to this universal desire of the Tamilian Śaivites in his Periyapurāṇam which was classified as the twelfth Tirumuṟai, somewhere about the 12th or the 13th century A. D. It is in this century that the age of Philosophical expositions by Meikaṇṭār and his disciples called the Santāna Ācāryas, began; for Meikaṇṭa Tēvar of Tiruveṇṇeinallūr is mentioned in an inscription[3] of the year 1232 A. D., and Umāpaticivam, the disciple of Maṟaiñāna Campantar, himself a disciple of Aruḷnanti, who is in turn a disciple of Meikaṇṭār, writes that his work Caṅkaṟpanirākaraṇam was written in Śāka 1235, i.e., 1313 A.D.[4]

VI

It is clear from this enumeration of sacred books that the first place of importance was given from very early times to the hymns of the three Tēvāram saints as they were called. They belong to the heyday of the glorious Pallavas. It was Mahēndravarmaṉ that claims to have introduced a new way of building temples in rocks as opposed to the old temples, all of which must have been built either of wood or of bricks. The political revival of the Pallava Age had its counterpart in the religious and cultural revival of the Tamil country; and in this revival the ever-increasing temples became the community centres for the Tamil people. The three great Śaivite saints of Tēvāram, along with their hosts of followers, went round the whole of the Tamil country and composed and sang their beautiful and original musical compositions in every one of the temples they visited. The cult of the temples and pilgrimages was thus unconsciously laying its deep foundations in this country. The beautiful descriptions of landscapes in every village of which these saints sang, made the inhabitants take a pride in their native villages and cherish the memory of the associated musical verses. This local appeal and colouring made these poems really universal and popular all through the Tamil land.

VII

The very fact that these hymns were collected together shows the importance attached to them in public and private worship.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 268.
4. *Pāyiram*: 11. 26-27.

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The first place of importance the Tirumuṟais occupy in such worship is explained by the fact, that they were sung and made popular by these great saints themselves, thanks to the practice of singing these hymns in temples, and their singing became an indispensable part of the temple worship. The Kāmikāgama, the āgama which rules most of the temples in South India lays down that the hymns in Tamil should be sung immediately after the daily worship in every temple:

> "Tadūrdhvam grandha bhāṣādyair gānam dhupāntamācarēt
> Ūrdhvam Drāvida bhāṣāṅgam gānam nṛttayutam tu vā".[5]

VIII

It is the hymns of the Śaivite aṭiyārs and the Vaiṣṇavite āḻvārs that revitalised Hinduism in the Tamil country. The early Pallava Inscriptions are all in Prākrit and reveal the influence of Sanskrit. The Pallavas were also great patrons of Sanskrit learning and Sanskrit centres of learning, viz., the Sanskrit Universities like Coñjīvaram, Bāhūr and Ghaṭikācalam. Dandin was a poet of the Pallava Court and Mahēndravarman himself had written a Sanskrit Drama, Matta Vilāsam. But Sanskrit could never have appealed to the popular minds of the Tamil country. The Buddhists and the Jains had realised this truth very early in the history of converting Tamil country to their fold. They, therefore, gave the place of importance to the regional languages and developed them by writting in them text books on grammar, ethics, popular stories and philosophy. The Hindu revivalists realized this secret of their success and began singing in Tamil. This had such a tremendous effect; and soon Buddhists and Jains lost their hold on the common man. The revolutionary move has to be explained at length.

IX

As Nampi Ārūrar himself admits that he is giving expression to the same thoughts and ideas which the two other great saints had sung,[6] his work can be looked upon as a key to unlock the secret treasures of the earlier writers. Compared to the small compass of Ārūrar's writings—there are not even 1,000 versus of his—the poems of the other saints are voluminous and without this key they are a labyrinth for beginners. It is therefore safer to begin the study of Tēvāram with Ārūrar.

5. Pūrva., IV: Arccanāvidhi-438.
6. 7: 67: 5.

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CHAPTER I

RISE OF THE TEMPLE CULT IN ŚAIVISM OR TEMPLES AND TĒVĀRAM

I

The Temple Cult gradually developed, thanks to the Tēvāram saints, into Āgama public worship. Ārūrar himself explained the importance of these temples in the spiritual development of the soul in his hymn on 'Ālakkōyil': "Cālak kōyil uḷaniṉ kōyil avaieṉ talaimēl koṇṭāṭi mālait tīrntēṉ viṉaiyum tuṟantēṉ vāṉō raṟiyā neṟiyāṉē"[1] — 'O Lord, whose path is not known even to the Heavenly beings; many are your temples. Considering them as my crest jewel, I adored and worshipped and danced. I got rid of my illusions. My karma, I escaped, by brushing it aside.' How this importance came to be placed on the temple is indeed an interesting study. As the Tēvāram verses are sung in relation to the temples, the development of the temples has to be understood.

Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai of the Caṅkam age gives us the various places of natural beauty and social congregation which were held sacred. The Caṅkam poems and Cilappatikāram refer to the temples of Śiva probably built of bricks. Most of the Śaivite temples of the later times grew out of the original places of worship in and around natural scenery in forest areas,[2] on mountain tops,[3] on the banks of rivers,[4] of tanks,[5] or on the seashore.[6] When the country became richer, the temples arose in cities[7] with elaborate gates,[8] where, in course of time, the ancient historical festivals came to be attached to these temples.[9]

1. 7: 41: 3.
2. Kaṭampavaṉam, Puṉṉaivaṉam, Nellikkā, Ālaṅkāṭu, Tillaivaṉam.
3. Eṟumpi, Kāḷatti, Īṅkōymalai.
4. Mayilāṭuturai, Tiruvaruṭṭurai, Tiruvāvaṭuturai.
5. Kulam.
6. Neytalaṅkāṉal, and Puṉṉaiyaṅkāṉal of Mylapore.
7. Ūr.
8. Vāyil, Ālavāyil, etc.
9. Campantar's Mayilai hymn and Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ urai: see the hymn of Campantar beginning with 'Maṭṭiṭṭa puṉṉaiyaṅkāṉal'—2: 47, and Iraiyaṉār Kaḷaviyal cūtram 16 urai, 'Maturai Āvaṉi aviṭṭamē, Uṟaiyūrp paṅkuṉi uttiramē, Karuvūr uḷḷi viḷavē'.

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Some of these temples remind us of the 'Potiyil' and 'Ampalam' and 'Maṉṟam' of the Caṅkam Age, all connected with communal and religious gatherings. Perhaps there was the tree cult as well. In every Śiva temple there is a special tree or plant connected with the temple.[10] Probably because there was no other temple except the tree to start with, a few temples have come to be known after the names of such trees or plants as Ñāḻalkōyil, Kokuṭikkōyil, Ālakkōyil, Pātirippuliyūr, etc. The temples came to be built as tiled houses with platforms all around even as we see in Malabar today. They are called 'Ampalams' and the Citamparam temple, called even now Ampalam, preserves this appearance even today in the sacred hall of Naṭarāja. Even in other old temples, the place, where the idol of Naṭarāja is worshipped, suggests from outside this ancient appearance. 'Vauvāṉatti maṇṭapas', otherwise known as 'Vauvālneṟṟi maṇṭapas' are of this type.

II

There are references in literature to the construction of temples and other places with 'cuṭumaṇ' or brick.[11] The various shapes of the old temples of brick are probably represented by the varying shapes of rathas in Mahābalipuram. Even in the times of Ārūrar there must have been one such temple of brick which he refers to in his poems as 'Paravai uṇ maṇṭaḷi', often understood as a place of private worship inside the house of Paravai Nācciyār. Because the meaning of this term has not been well appreciated, a mythological story based on folk philology came to gain currency. It is said that the sea (paravai) overflowed into the city of Ārūr and this temple (maṇṭaḷi) alone remained rearing up its head gloriously above the waters of the great flood and swallowed (uṇ) its waters sent by Varuṇa. This temple is shown as the one existing on the south-west of the temple car. What the great Temple could not do, this minor shrine is said to have done.

At this stage the word 'Taḷi' may be examined and explained. A distinction is made by Tirunāvukkaracar between 'Tirukkōyil' and 'pala taḷikaḷ',[12] both of which according to him should be in any city worth the name and in their absence, a city is but a

10. Iṭaimarutu, Mullaivāyil, Pātirippuliyūr, etc.
11. *Maṇimēkalai*, 3: 127; 6: 59; 18: 33.
12. 6: 95: 5.

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thick forest: "Tirukkōyil illāta tiruvil ūrum... pāṅkiṉoṭu pala taḷikaḷ illā ūrum..... avai ellām ūr alla aṭavi kāṭē".[13]

If Tirukkōyil is a temple, the taḷis must be something like choultries or mutts with many rooms where the pilgrims could rest and perform their private worship before visiting the temple for public or congregational worship. Probably they are places of tapas as is made clear by Nampi Ārūrar: "Taḷi cālaikaḷ tavam āvatu tammaip peṟil aṉṟē".[14] These taḷis for private worship in due course of time would have become independent temples.

'Taḷi' is a temple.[15] 'Kurakkuttaḷi' is referred to by Nampi Ārūrar.[16] We have the usage Kaccimēṟṟaḷi, Paḷaiyāṟai mēṟṟaḷi, Paḷaiyāṟai vaṭataḷi, Paḷaiyāṟait teṉṟaḷi. Appar mentions in his hymns Kaccimēṟṟaḷi.[17] and Paḷaiyāṟai vaṭataḷi.[18] Palace is known as 'Āyiram taḷi' or 1,000 rooms[19] and an inscription speaks of the Paḷaiyāṟai Palace as Āyiram taḷi[20] Temples in addition to gates grew as guardian angels on the four sacred points of the compass.

Tirupputtūr in Ramnad District has traces of a fort wall, and in this wall must have been built the present temple of Tiruttaḷināṭar, establishing once again the connection between Taḷi and the fort wall. When Taḷi developed into a temple of public worship, we have a temple official called 'Kaṟṟaḷip piccaṉ' who was a sculptor and engraver on the wall. Kaccimēṟṟaḷi[21] may be taken, on this basis, to be also a temple on the west of the fortress and palace of Kāñci. There is also a place called Ōṇakāntaṉ Taḷi in Kāñci.[21a] Tiru Ārūr also was a place of special importance to the Cōḷas, and they must have had a palace, at least since the times of Manuccōḷa. If 'Paravai uḷ maṇṭaḷi' does not refer to Paravai Nācciyār, it may refer to a temple within the fortress walls, for, according to Piṅkalantai, 'Paravai' means a wall.

But it is not here intended that this temple 'Paravai uḷ maṇṭaḷi' was built of mud. The artistic work of giving shape to

13. 6: 95: 5.
14. 7: 78: 6.
15. *Cintāmaṇi*, 306.
16. 7: 47: 2.
17. 4: 43.
18. 5: 58.
19. *Vīracōḻiyam*—Tokaippaṭalam, verse 3: commentary: 'Āyiram taḷi kūṭiṉa iṭam āyiram taḷi'.
20. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372, l. 24.
21. 7: 21; 4: 43.
21a. 7: 5.

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the brick framework with plaster and attractive painting is even now practised by those 'kottans' who work on modern gōpurams (towers). This meaning of plaster on bricks (cutai) is given for the word 'maṇ' by the commentator Parimēlaḻakar in explaining the term 'maṇ māṇ puṉai pāvai.[22] The word 'cutai' is used in the sense of lime plaster even now, especially with reference to the plaster giving human and other forms to the bricks. This usage is as old as the Twin Epics: 'Veḷḷi veṇ cutai iḻukiay māṭam'.[23] This name arose probably because of its pure white colour. This reference really explains the meaning of 'maṇ' in other places: 'Neṭu nilai maṇṇīṭu niṉṟa vāyil[24] and 'Pāṅkuṟa maṇṇīṭṭiṟ paṇpuṟa vakuttu'.[25] 'Maṇṇīṭu' seems to be the technical term for this art and the experts in this art were called 'Maṇṇīṭṭāḷar' in Cilappatikāram[26] and Manimēkalai[27] the very people whom modern Tamilians call 'cutai vēlaikkārar'.

Tirukkuṟaḷ also takes us back to an anterior period when instead of bricks, wood was used. When the plastering art developed and constructions in brick grew in number, the old decaying wood works were also probably plastered for restoring the former shape. This leads to a new art of plastering on wooden frame as a skeleton. It is this which is referred to according to some commentators in the kuṟaḷ which speaks of such artistic works: "Maṇṇoṭiyainta maram".[28]

Such artistic plaster work continued to beautify the temples and cities in the Pallava period as well. Tiruñāṉacampantar refers to such 'cutai' work in māṭams: "Culavu mā matilum cutai māṭamum nilavu taṇṭalai nīṇeṟi".[29] Maturai was famous for this kind of work: "Nilā muḷaikkum aṅkaḷakac cutai māṭak kūṭal Ālavāy".[30] 'Kaḷakam' is probably 'kaḷapam', another name for this mixture of lime used as plaster as is seen from Māṇikkavācakar's Tirukkōvaiyār, 'Nuṇ kaḷapat-toḷi pāya.'[31] This sug-

22. *Kuṟaḷ*, 407.
23. *Maṇimēkalai*, 6: 43.
24. *Maṇi.*, 6: 47.
25. *Maṇi.*, 6: 200.
26. 5: 30.
27. 28: 37.
28. *Kuṟaḷ*, 576.
29. 3: 50: 10.
30. 1: 7: 2.
31. V. 15.

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gestion is strengthened by the use of the word 'kaḷakam' by Campantar himself: "Kaḷakap puricaik kaviṉār cārum kalik kāḻi."[32] This reference reveals the way in which the fortress walls were beautified by such artistic plaster work and 'Paravai-uṇmaṇṭaḷi' may be one such work of plaster art.

III

A systematic attempt at spreading this temple cult by building imposing temples was made in the regin of Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ. This was such an important event that Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār, though a Vaiṣṇavite himself, refers to the construction of seventy-eight temples by the Cōḻa in his sacred hymns, These were built on high basements with running steps on the style of 'māṭamāḷikais'. These were therefore called 'māṭak kōyils'. As compared with the old puny temples, these were huge and big. Therefore, these were called 'peruṅkōyils' or the big temples: Naṉṉilattup peruṅkōyil.[33] Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ must have lived before the Pallavas came into power and after Cēraṉ Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ. It was probably from his time that the temples came to be known as kōyil or kōvil. Kōyil originally meant the palace of the king,[34] fortified by fortress walls, on the model of the Tanjore temple. Kōcceṅkāṇāṉ thought of building the temples like palaces. The Tamil Lexicon (by referring to verse 2363, Caṅka Ilakkiyam, Samājam edition) gives the meaning of temple for the word kōyil, as having obtained in the Caṅkam age; but a reference to the poem shows 'Aṇṇal kōyil' is really the palace of the Pāṇḍya king. Cintāmaṇi speaks of the palace as Kōyil. Patiṟṟuppattup patikam[35] speaks of the Queen as 'Kōyilāḷ'. But by the time of Tirunāvukkaracar it has come to mean any temple.[36] Peruṅkōyil, therefore, refers to a particular kind of temple.[37] As contrasted with these peruṅkōyils, we have references to 'Iḷaṅkōyils'[38] either because they are new temples or because they are smaller in size.[39] We have the 'Tūṅkāṉaimāṭam temples' with what are called 'Gajapṛṣṭa Vimānas'. There is a reference to 'Karakkōyil'[40] probably because the

32. 1: 102: 3.
33. 7: 98.
34. *Cilap.*, 20: 47.
35. 8th ten.
36. 6: 95: 5, 6.
37. 6: 71: 5.
38. The contrast between 'Ilañcēral Irumpoṟai' and 'Peruñcēral Irum poṟai' may be noted.
39. 6: 71: 5.
40. 4: 19: 1-11; 6: 71: 5.

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approaches and steps being in the form of the trunk of the elephant. It is said that these temples are in the form of chariots. Tēvāram also refers to 'Maṇikkōyil',[41] probably because of maṇi-like (bead-like) spherical domes in those temples. Campantar speaks of Madurai Temple as Maṇikkōyil.[42] These Maṇikkōyils were probably modelled on the Buddhist Caityas with apsidal domes. Perhaps 'Ālakkōyil', Ñāḻal kōyil', 'Kokuṭikkōyil'[43] were also names after the peculiar shapes of the domes.

Later on, the paḷḷis or caves of the Jains and Pāḷis of the Buddhists attracted the attention of the people, and cave temples developed during the reign of Mahēndravarma Pallava. From then onwards started the building of temples in rocks. This development can be traced from the sixth to the twentieth century. The Śaiva temples came to be called the 'Īccurams' either after the patrons who built the temple, such as Mahēndrēccuram, Cōḻīccuram, or after the particular sect worshipping there, Kapāliccuram.

Rev. Father Heras speaks of the rock temples first starting as cave temples with Garbagṛha, developing during the time of Narasiṁha I, the Mahāmalla, into Rathas, and rock cut sculptures and during the time of Narasiṁha II or Rājasiṁha into craft-constructed temples of hewn and hand placed stones. He also notes that during the reign of Mahāmalla, the develoment of Mukha maṇṭapa, Navaraṅga, Pradakṣiṇas round garbagṛha and of smaller shrines, the pradakṣiṇas according to him increasing in number after Mahāmalla. But these may be new developments with reference to the temples in rocks, but these must have been old features in ancient temples built by Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ and others. The pradakṣiṇas were old gardens. This conception of new kind of temples which is preserved even now as against the old temples of brick and wood which have all disappeared, is the gift of Mahēndra, the disciple of Appar. In his Maṇḍagapaṭṭu cave inscription he is rightly proud of his eternal achievement and he speaks with all the joy of a new discovery and creation: "This is the temple caused to be constructed by Vicitracitta, for Brahma, Īśvara and Viṣṇu without bricks, without timber, without metals and without mortar".[44] He is justified in calling himself Vicitracitta or 'Man of original conceptions'.

41. 6: 71: 5.
42. 3: 120: 4.
43. 6: 71: 5.
44. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 12.

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Kōcceṅkaṇān was the first great Temple-builder, and Mahēndra the second great Temple-builder.

The temples in rocks have become a natural institution of South India. On the banks of Kāviri, where there is not a single block of granite available, these temples of rock with their heaven-ward looking 'gōpurams' of rock brought from distant mountains speak even today in their majestic voice of the Titanic labour involved in the transportation of the rocks, of the great engineering skill involved in the construction of the temples themselves, of the great love of the people for the temples and of their sincere reverence to God which inspired them to raise the domes and halls.

First starting with the garbagṛha or the sanctum sanctorum adorned with a 'vimāna' or dome, for worshipping the liṅga in the centre, it began to grow in ever enlarging circles, from age to age with a 'naṭu-maṇṭapam' or central hall in front, with the putting up of compound walls, thus giving place for enclosing with a certain amount of vacant space within the compound. Gradually there developed within the compound, the 'cuṟṟālai' or a pillared corridor accommodating therein the shrines of Caṇḍēśvara, Gaṇēśa, Saptamātru, Subrahmaṇya, Sūrya, Candra, Jyēṣṭa, etc. Still later, gateways were opened on the four points of the compass with small gōpurams raised on their tops, gōpurams which soon eclipsed the vimānas and grew to gigantic heights. These inspired, in time, the devotees to dig tanks and to build more and more prākāras or compounds with māḷikais and māṭams full of beautiful workmanship, wherein Purāṇas were expounded, or to build mutts and colleges and Sarasvatī paṇṭārams or libraries attached to the temples. These were under the supervision of great spiritual men called Tirumāḷikaittēvar, one of whom had composed some verses of Tiruvicaippā included in the ninth Tirumuṟai. The devotees were also inspired to construct a separate shrine, Kāmakkōṭṭam, for the Mother Goddess, who till then was housed as Bōgha Śakti in the Lord's shrine itself or in a shrine in the cuṟṟālai.

IV

These developments clearly reveal the place the temples came to occupy in the minds of the people and in the social life of the country. The architect, the sculptor, the painter, the

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dancer, the musician, the philosopher, the religious man, the pourāṇika, the administrator, the humanitarian and the poet found their vocations there. When the temples thus became the centre of the political, social, cultural, religious, artistic and educational life of the Tamil country, maṇṭapas or halls, where these varied activities could be carried on, were built in these temples by kings and patrons to perpetuate their memories or the memories of saints[45] or the particular forms of God they worshipped or the memories of the particular activity for which the hall was built. The maṇṭapas were originally bowers or gardens as is made clear by such terms as 'Tēvāciriyak kāvaṇam' and they became gardens in stone. The hall of grammar, the hall of dance, the hall of drama, the hall of music; the hall of hymns[46] and the hall of Purāṇa, the open air theatre, the round of wrestling and other tournaments with four pillars, sixteen pillars, hundred pillars and thousand pillars—all these came into existence. Election to the local self-governing assemblies and committees took place in these halls and their meetings also were held under their roof.

Public documents and grants were preserved by being inscribed on these temple walls. On account of this great importance, elaborate rules were laid down for renovating and preserving these charters when temples were rebuilt. 'Kaṟṟalip piccaṉ', the sculptor and engraver, therefore, assumes such a great importance that we find in one place at least, his image being erected in a temple.[47]

On account of this importance, the temple administration became a matter of state concern and we have temple assemblies of Māhēśvaras or Śrī kāriyam ceyvār or Kōyil kaṇapperumakkaḷ or Pātamūlattār in those places where the village assemblies themselves did not look after these temples. The Amṛta Gaṇa, probably, was the Temple committee. There was provision (1) for the maintenance of the accounts, Srīpaṇṭārappottakam, (2) for a treasurer, Sivapaṇṭāri, in charge of the treasure of the temple called Srīpaṇṭāram, (3) for the auditing of the accounts by the Government officers and (4) for the condemnation of the Śivadrōhis. Dēvadānas were granted sometimes in the form of whole

45. C.f. Ciṟuttoṇṭanampi maṇṭapam, *M.E.R.*: 57/1913
46. *Tirukkaikkōṭṭi*, 414/1908, 454/1908.
47. 132 of 1925.

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villages for the families living therein in connection with the temple service—the kōyilparivāram—Devakarmi, Arccakar or Kulaṅkiḷār, Taṭṭalikkoṭṭuvār or Tiruppali koṭṭuvār, Taḷiyāḷvār, Viḷakkut tavacikaḷ, Patiyam pāṭuvār, Mantirācāryar, Pūkkoyvār, Māṇikal (Students), Maṭattuccattap perumakkaḷ, Dancing girls like Kūttikaḷ, Māṇikkattār, Uruttira kaṇikaiyār, Uvaccar. There were regular feeding houses and sometimes what may be called hospital arrangements within the temple. A compulsory contribution called 'Makamai' or 'Makaṉmai was also collected. This explanation, of the story of the development of Temples, shows how the Tēvāram Saints played an important part in the history of Temples. Mahēndraṉ was Appar's disciple and provisions were made for singing Tēvāram. But this is not all.

V

With the development of temples, grew the cult of pilgrimages to Śiva temples and people reverentially made lists of these temples, 'Kṣēttirakkōvai', to be seen and worshipped by them on their pilgrimage or journey within the Tamil Country. These lists took the form of songs addressed to the Lord of temples. The earliest known literary list of temples, is from the pen of an ancient Pallava king. The book is called 'Kṣēttirat tiruveṇpā' and the author is called Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and this book is included in the eleventh Tlrumuṟai and the author is one of the 63 Śaiva saints sung by Nampi Ārūrar.

VI

The name of the author Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ is interesting as it throws a flood of light on the early Pallava history. Kāṭavarkōṉ—the last two words (Kāṭavar and kōṉ) in his name mean the king of the Pallavas. Dr. Mīnākṣi is wrong in stating that the title of Kāṭava as applied to the Pallavas was of a later origin.[48] The father of Nandivarmaṉ II is spoken of as Kāṭavēśakula Hiraṇyavarma Mahārāja and this term Kāṭavarkōṉ is used by Nampi Ārūrar in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai in the 7th or 8th century itself. Narasiṁha I, the Māmalla, is spoken of as 'Kaṇḍuveṭṭi' (Kāṭu nasalised as Kaṇḍu by mistake) in the Mahavamso of Ceylon. The term Aiyaṭikaḷ remains to be explained. Aṭikaḷ can be translated by the Sanskrit word Svāmi. The remaining

48. Note c. on pp. 17 & 18, *Pallavan Administration* by Dr.Minākṣi.

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word 'Ai' means the Lord, the father or the brother, most often in later times the father, he being the head of the family. This Aiyaṭikaḷ, therefore, reminds us of the interesting title known to the students of the Pallava History 'Bappasvāmi'. The Hirahaḍagaḷḷi plates mention one Mahārāja Bappasvāmi whose gifts were confirmed by the king Śivaskandavarmaṉ. On the basis of the oft recurring title of Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka, Dr. Mīnākṣi feels that Bappasvāmi also similarly should mean a religious instructor or guru.[49] The gift specifically mentions Bappasvāmi as a Mahārāja and Sivaskandavarmaṉ as the Yuvamahārāja. Dr. Mīnākṣi explains this away by reference to religious instructors being respectfully addressed as Mahārājas. But the name in Tamil, Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavorkōṉ, which appears to be a Tamil rendering of the term Mahārāja Bappasvāmi of the Pallava dynasty admits of no such explanation. Whatever doubt that might have arisen at the mention of the term Mahārāja Bappasvāmi whose gift is confirmed by Yuvarāja Sivaskandavarmaṉ must now be set at rest by this specific reference to Aiyaṭikaḷ as the Kāṭavarkōṉ, the Pallava king.

The Sanskrit works like Upamanyu Vilāsam, Śivabhakta Māhātmya, Skāndōpapurāṇa, Śivarahasya and works in Kannada try to translate the names found in Tiruttoṇṭattokai of Ārūrar without appreciating the genuis of the Tamil Language. Ārūrar in some places refers to his contemporary saints and one such is Kaḷarciṅkaṉ, a Pallava king. This is translated as Pāda Siṁha. Kaḷal, like the Victoria cross, was a symbol of victory and heroism; in the form of an anklet it was worn by the victorious heroes. Therefore, Kaḷaṛciṅkaṉ means only the king, the victorious, perhaps a Rājasiṁha or a Narasiṁha. In translating the term Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ, these Sanskrit works once again go wrong. Kāṭavarkōṉ is taken to mean the king of the forest, the Siṁha of the land, and Aiyaṭikaḷ is translated as Pañcapāda assumed to refer to the five topics of the Pāśupata Philosophy and therefore the Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ is variously spoken of in these Sanskrit and Kaṉṉada works as Siṁhāṅka, Pādasiṁha or Pañcapādasiṁha. Evidently these books are confusing Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ with Kaḷaṛsiṅga. Some of these will make it out, that Siṁhāṅka or Kaḷaṛsiṅga was the son and Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ was the father called Bhīmavarma, who retired from his kingdom early in life

49. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

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but unfortunately this imaginary story of the Sanskrit works goes straight against the Epigraphical records[50] which made Simhavarman the father of Bhīmavarman. Therefore, no reliance can be placed on these Sanskrit versions and one may safely proceed on the basis of our identification with Mahārāja Bappasvāmi of Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōn whose important work on the temples is collected among with the ancient poems of the Tamil Country in the eleventh Tirumuṟai. Aiyaṭikaḷ, therefore, must belong to the third century. But there are difficulties in the way. His work refers to Cirāmalai (Cirāppaḷḷi), which name could not be older than the fifth century; for, the name of the Jain Saint 'Cirā' found inscribed in the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi cave could not be on palaeographical grounds older than the fifth century A.D.

VII

If the term Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōn of Ārūrar does not refer to the original Bappasvāmi, it at least proves the usage at the time of Ārūrar, in that way explaining also the older usage of the times of Sivaskanda Varman of the third century. The kings were called Svāmis or Aṭikaḷ; in the Pallava age 'Perumāṉaṭikaḷ' is the usual reference to the reigning king. An inscription of the age of Aparājita refers to the verse of this king as that of 'Perumān Aṭikaḷ'. To distinguish God, who is the king of kings, from the kings of this world, Ārūrar calls Śiva, 'Periya Perumān aṭikaḷ'—the Greater King. If this usage is understood, it will be clear that 'Aiyaṭikaḷ' must be a reference to the previous king—the king who preceded the ruling prince. It will be later on explained that Aiyaṭikaḷ was Mahēndravarman II.

VIII

Whether this identification is correct or not, it cannot be doubted that this work of a Pallava king preceded the age, at least of Ārūrar who still further popularised the temple cult by singing, not one verse as Aiyaṭikaḷ did at each altar, but ten verses and in some cases tens of verses in praise of the Lord Śiva, in each one of these temples. This practice of singing ten verses (Pāttu) is older than that of the three Tēvāram Saints. This 'pattu' is called 'patiyam' or 'patikam'. The exact derivation of this word is not clear; whether it is a corruption of the word for Padyam or of Pratīka, a preface or a summary, or from Pathika,

50. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1925, pp. 10-11.

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the traveller or pilgrim singing the hymns, or from Pati, the Lord, in whose praise the poem is sung.

Evidently this has a reference to the Tamil word 'Pattu' since these Patikams consist of ten verses, in addition to the last verse giving the name of the author. Before one passes on to consider the conception of patikam, the thoughts on the sacred lists of the temples may be gathered together. Reference was made to the Kṣēttira veṇpa of Aiyaṭikaḷ. This is found included in the eleventh Tirumuṟai after the works of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, but before the works of Cēramāṉ. Perhaps this arrangement is chronological. Campantar has sung one Tirukṣēttirakkōvai[51]—the string of holy places. This is very important but unfortunately many lines of the hymn are missing and even with reference to the portions available, it is not possible to understand his references like Tuṟai 8, Kāṭu 9, Kuḷam 3, Kaḷam 5, Pāṭi 4, Pāḻi 3 etc. Campantar has composed hymns on many of the temples in existence during his time with the set purpose of making these musical compositions systematically sung during the times of daily worship. The benedictory verses taken in this light assume very great importance. The poems of Appar have no such aim; they are best fitted for mystic musings and contemplation. But he has not forgotten the temple worship and the sacred list of holy places. He sings his string of holy places in his Tiruttāṇṭakam verses. There are two hymns of this kind: one is 'Kṣēttirakkōvait tiruttāṇṭakam';[52] the other is the more interesting 'Aṭaivu tiruttāṇṭakam'[53] which tries to arrange the temples into groups of Paḻḻi, Vīraṭṭāṉam, Kuṭi, Ūr, Kōyil, Kāṭu, Vāyil, Īccuram, Malai, Āṟu and Tuṟai to which Campantar had referred to in numbers. The fact that Appar gives greater number of these has still to be studied as an interesting problem of the growth of the temples. Perhaps new temples came into existence. Ārūrar has three hymns giving the lists of holy places still further throwing light on the growth of the temples—the Ūṛttokai[54] the Nāṭṭut tokai[55] and Iṭaiyāṟṟut tokai.[56] These have been systematized in 'Kṣēttira akaval'.

IX

Turning to examine the conception of Patikam, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār who is anterior to these three saints, a contemporary

51. 2: 39.
52. 6: 70.
53. 6: 71.
54. H. 47.
55. H. 12.
56. H. 31.

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of Pūtaṭṭāḷvār according to Yāpparuṅkala Virutti, perhaps belonging to the sixth century, has sung the earliest known patikam (Mūtta Tiruppatikam). Tiruvācakam, which is by a few claimed to be earlier than Tēvāram, has a number of 'pattus' and one Mūtta Tiruppatikam. It is not clear why and when the term Mūtta Tiruppatikam was used by the compilers of Tiruvācakam and Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's works. Is it because they were the ancient patikams in Tamil land? Such an interpretation must depend upon a conclusive proof of the greater antiquity of Tiruvācakam than allowed by most of the scholars of the day. Or, is the term Mūtta Tiruppatikam a corruption of Mukta Tiruppatikam, a patikam of ten verses where each verse forms a separate unit or a 'muktaka' verse as opposed to other 'pattus' or patikams and 'iraṭṭai maṇimālais' etc.?

A suggestion may be thrown out at this stage. In Tiruvācakam where two patikams are found on Kōyil or Tillai, one of them is known as Mūtta Tiruppatikam probably because it was composed earlier than the other. Of the two patikams by Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, it is the first alone that is called the Mūtta Tiruppatikam by Cēkkiḻār, justifying the suggestion of having been sung earlier than the second which Cēkkiḻār refers to as merely Tiruppatikam.[57] This suggestion thus explains the usage in Tiruvācakam and in Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's works. The only difficulty is that the present editions of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's works wrongly call even the second Tiruppatikam as Mūtta Tiruppatikam as against the specific distinction made by Cēkkiḻār himself.

X

A reference has already been made to Kāmikāgama, where the singing of Tēvāram verses in accompaniment to music and dance is insisted upon as a necessary part of daily worship in temples. This usage came to be called as 'Tiruppatiyam Viṇṇappittal'. Though there might have been stray patikams as that of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, the systematic attempt to sing the Tiruppatikams must have come into vogue only after the Tēvāram hymns. Possibly Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's poems were themselves classified as Patikams only after the Tēvāram hymns came into vogue. By the 8th century this practice had become fully esta-

57. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār Purāṇam*, 63 & 64.

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blished in the Tamil country as is made clear by an inscription of the great Pallavamalla which refers to this usage.[58]

The Madras Epigraphical Report 255 of 1916 refers to an inscription under an image which states that the image is that of Tampirāṉ Tōḻar Māṉakkañcāṟar who recited the Tiruppatiyam of this temple and took leave. Māṉakkañcāṟar is one of the contemporaries of Nampi Ārūrar and it is not clear whether this Tiruppatiyam was composed by him or by Māṉakkañcāṟar or whether the words Tampirāṉ Tōḻar were by mistake inscribed before the name Māṉakkañcāṟar instead of before Tiruppatiyam. Tampirāṉ Tōḻar is the name of Ārūrar and it is not clear how Māṉakkañcāṟar got that name. It may be in honour of his association with the great Saint that he assumed this name. Tampirāṉ Tōḻar occurs in inscriptions in the sense of the companian to the king as in the term 'Puliyūr kiḻavaṉ Tampirāṉ Tōḻaṉ and Kaliyaṉ Cēntaṉ alias Tampirāṉ Tōḻan.[59] In that case Māṉakkañcāṟar must have been a companion of the ruling prince. In any case it is clear that this practice of reciting hymns had become an established one even during the life time of Ārūrar, the contemporary of Māṉakkañcāṟar.

Reference had already been made to the Patikams composed by Royal princes and others included in the 9th Tirumuṟai. By the time of Rājarāja, it was felt that the Tiruppatikams should be sung in every temple. When there was no ancient patikam available, a new one was to be composed by poets leading a saintly life. An inscription of the age of Rājarāja[60] reveals this interesting tradition. That inscription mentions the composition of a Tiruppatikam on the Lord of the temple of Tirumāṟpēru, now known as Tiṟumālpuram, by the father of Kuḻakkuṭaiyāṉ Arunilai Śrī Krishṇaṉ alias Mūvēntappiṭavūr Vēḻār and endowments were made by the son for the regular singing of this Tiruppatikam of the father in that temple. The beginning of the Tiruppatikam is 'Kōlanaṟkuḻal'.

58. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Part I, 43. See also 423/1908, 624/1909, 129/1914, 349/1918, 139/1925, 99/1928-1929, 433/1903 and 149/937 of Epigraphical Reports of Madras.

59. *M.E.R.*, 273 of 1927 and 1928.

60. *M.E.R.*, 333 of 1906.

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CHAPTER II

THE HYMNS, THEIR COMPILATION AND THEIR NAME

I

It is not easy to exaggerate the importance of the three Śaiva Saints. It is their hymns which popularised Śaivism by making the temple the centre of all social activities. Except for the few cases like those we have noticed above where the Tiruppatikams were composed by the other poets with reference to those temples where there was no hymn of these Saints available, it can be safely concluded that the Tiruppatikams were all the compositions of Campantar, Appar and Ārūrar. When the singing of Tiruppatikams became a necessary part of the temple worship it was felt necessary to collect these hymns.

The story of the collection may now be examined: The story as current now will make us believe that the compilations of these twelve Tirumuṟais took place at one and the same time and not progressively as described before. This tradition, therefore, has to be examined.

II

Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam gives the story or the recovery of the sacred hymns by a king, who, hearing stray verses of these hymns, was inspired by the desire of listening to all the hymns. This desire he realised with the divine help of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi whose fame as a young Brahmin boy physically feeding the sacred image of Vināyaka of Nāraiyūr, reached his ears. The existence of the authentic manuscript copy of the hymns at Citamparam was revealed to Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi by the God Vināyaka. On enquiry, the priests of Citamparam offered to open the shelf, only on the three Saints who had left the hymns arriving together. Thereupon, Nampi suggested the celebration of a sacred procession of the images of the three Saints and thus the Saints were physically brought before the old receptacle of the hymns. The shelf was opened but, alas! the white ants had eaten away the major portion of these divine poems. A divine voice was heard to say that all that was necessary for the age had been preserved and this consoled all. Then the hymns were arranged into seven parts, the first three consisted of Campantar's hymns,

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the second three those of Appar's and the last or the seventh part consisted of Ārūrar's poems.

All these are told in twenty-four verses of eight feet lines, the very same metre in which the major portion of the other Purāṇam by the same author — the Cēkkiḻār Purāṇam said to be complementary to this Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam — was also composed. This particular compilation is in this part of the Purāṇam, attributed to the king, and the number seven (Tirumuṟais) was, it is said, suggested by the seven groups or crores of Mantras — for Mantras end in seven different ways. Next in this Purāṇam follow twenty-one verses in a different metre. The previous part gives no information about the compilation or of the Śaivite literature other than the hymns; it starts with the description of the restoration of the Sacred hymns of the three Saints but with no whisper about other Śaivite literature. Therefore, the twenty-sixth verse, at once abruptly starting to mention in the most summary way the other hymns and poems of other Śaivite Saints and poets without any explanation about them, comes as a surprise.

Whereas the compilation of the hymns had been attributed in the first part to the king, these verses of the second part speak of the compilation into ten parts not by one person but by many[1] as suggested by the plural verb which unfortunately has no subject. The eleventh Tirumuṟai is said here to have been collected at the request of the king by Nampi.[2] This part of the Purāṇam[3] then refers to the hymns having been set to music by a lady descendant of (Tirunīlakaṇṭa) Yāḻppāṇar, the great contemporary of Campantar who originally set the hymns of Campantar to music. From these remarks on this part of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, one may not be wrong in believing that this part was a later day addition and that the original Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam must have closed with the first twenty-four verses.

From Cēkkiḻār Purāṇam, one may learn that the compilation of the Śaivite literature into twelve parts inclusive of Periyapurāṇam[4] was completed on the day that it was first read out to the Public assembly which gathered together inside the Thousand pillared Hall at Citamparam in the immediate presence of the Cōḻa Emperor Kulōttuṅka.

1. Pattāka vaittārkaḷ, Verse 26.
2. V. 27.
3. V. 32.
4. Cēk. Pur., 96.

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An examination of the tradition, thus strengthens our conclusion that these twelve Tirumuṟais were compiled as such in different stages and at different times. The very fact that the arrangement is not chronological reveals that they were arranged as and when a gap was felt by the Śaivite world getting to know in stages the significance of the Śaivite works not included in the earlier compilation.

III

The Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam gives us the story of the collection and miraculous restoration of these hymns said to have been lost to the world before the time of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi.[5] But the idea of collecting and preserving these hymns and other sacred writings was inspiring the followers of Campantar even before the age of Ārūrar. Even during the life of Campantar, his hymns were collected and carried with him by his followers and it was from such a collection he drew out Naḷḷāṟu hymn to be placed in the fire brought by the Jains with whom he had a series of debates.[6]

Kaṇanāta is one of the 63 saints praised by Ārūrar and according to Cēkkiḻār, this saint is great because of his adoration of Tiruñānacampantar and the worship, of the Lord of Cīkāḻi, which also took the form of social service to hit brethern in religious service. Cēkkiḻār specifically mentions his help to those who were writing down and reading out the sacred hymns of Tirumuṟai.[7] It is thus clear that even before the age of Ārūrar, religious minded persons were collecting and writing down the sacred hymns, probably of Campantar and Appar. It was probably one such collection of the hymns of the three Saints that was recovered at Citamparam by Nampiyāṇṭāṟ Nampi.

The story of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi recovering the lost hymns reminds us of the attempt of Nātamuṇi to recover the sacred songs of Āḻvārs. Nātamuṇi, the Saint, on hearing a few stray verses from Nālāyira Prabandham, resolved to recover the whole collection and by meditating on Maturakavi, he got back to the world the Nālāyira Prabandhan without losing one single verse. But in the Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi Purāṇam the idea of collecting

5. V. 2.
6. *Periyapurāṇam*, Cam. Pur., 782.
7. *Periyapurāṇam*, Kaṇa. Pur., 3.

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the hymns on hearing some stray hymns occurs first to the great King and not to Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, the Saint.

IV

The Purāṇam mentions Rājarāja Abhaya as the king who was inspired by the idea of winning back the lost hymns. Evidently there is a confusion of names. The name Abhaya reminds us of Kulōttuṅka I whilst the name Rājarāja, to the students of history, can mean only Rājarāja, the Great and no other. Perhaps this Purāṇam was written in a period when the importance of these names was forgotten, so much so that they were indiscriminately used as a description of one great Cōḷa king. When, therefore, we take these names not as proper names, but as description of any great king, the question arises who the king responsible for the recovery of these hymns was.

Fortunately, Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in his Tiruttoṇṭar Tiru Antāti had occasion to speak of Saints Pukaḻcōḷa and Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ Cōla as the ancestors of the Cōḷa of his own age. In verse 50 he refers to the contemporary Cōḷa king as the victor of Ceylon and calls the king Kōkaṉakanātaṉ. This term means the Lord of the lotus, i.e., the sun. The proper name equivalent to this as found in the list of Cōḷa kings is Āditya. In verse 82, Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ is described as the ancestor of that great Cōla contemporary of Nampi, who adorned the smaller hall of Citamparam with gold tiles and who after his death resided under the feet of Śiva. The adorning of the smaller hall with gold which Āditya brought from the Koṅkumaṇṭala is known to us from other sources. This information is given in verse 65. These facts are mentioned by the Cōḷa king Kaṇṭar Ātittar in his Tiruvicaippā. We also know that this king died on the battle field fighting on an elephant and that a temple was built on the spot he died.

The name Rājarāja was suggested to the writer of the Purāṇa because of the elaborate arrangements Rājarāja had made in the newly built Tanjore temple for reciting these sacred hymns. It is said he had brought 48 persons for singing the Tiruppatiyam whose names convey to us the existence of Śaiva temples there such as Tiruvāñciyam, Tiruvārūr, Tiruvāymūr, Maṟaikāṭu, Aiyāṟu, Iṭaimarutu, Āṉaikkā, Veṇkāṭu and Tillai. He also brought 400 women dancers.[8]

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It is this tradition still green in the memory of the people of the age of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, that must have led the poet to think of Rājarāja as the real compiler of the hymns instead of looking upon him as one who further popularised the hymns on a nation-wide scale. But it is clear even from this reference that these hymns were being sung in those places from which he brought his musicians and dancers. An inscription belonging to the ninth century—in the 17th year of the reign of one Vijayanandi Vikramavarma—provides for those who recite Tiruppatiyam.[9] In another inscription belonging to the reign of Uttama Cōḷa, the predecessor of Rājarāja, one can decipher the word Tiruppatiyam even in its present incomplete condition.[11] This belongs to the 14th year, i.e., 983-984 A.D. From a third inscription belonging to the 8th year of his reign, viz., 976 A.D., one learns that there had been provided six bushels of paddy per day for two persons reciting the hymns.[11]

V

The singing of hymns had become thus an important item of temple worship, and provisions came to be made for their recitation.[12] By the time of Kulōttuṅka Cōḷa I, because of the emoluments connected therewith, this act of reciting the hymns came to be looked upon as a privilege and Kulōttuṅka conferred this privilege on an individual.[13] Special halls called Tirukkaik kōṭṭi, because of keeping time with hands, were built for the recitation of these hymns[14] and provisions were made for feeding the people who recited the hymns at Tirukkāṟāyil and other places.[15]

From Periyapurāṇam, it is learnt that Campantar's contemporary Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar set this Saint's hymns to music and sang them to the accompaniment of his yāḻ. It was because of this, this Pāṇar is included among the 63 Śaivite Saints by Ārūrar. Having realised the importance of this great Pāṇar, festivals were being celebrated in his honour in the temples like

8. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Nos. 65 & 66.
9. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 43.
10. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 139.
11. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 151A, lines 61-62.
12. 41/1891, 423/1908, 624/1919. 13. 422/1904.
14. *Ep. Ind.*, XI, 135 and p. 30; 414/1908, 454/1908.
15. 454/1908.

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Koḷḷampūtur.[16] When the hymns of the Saints were collected at a later period, the difficulty of re-establishing the uniformity of their musical recitation according to the original method must have been felt, as mentioned in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam under discussion. That Purāṇam describes efforts made by the king in searching for the descendents of Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar and, in finally finding one lady of that ancient family who helped the king and Nampi to restore the old music of these hymns. These facts will make the information from inscriptions significant that to temples were attached Pāṇas (musicians) and that land grants called Pāṇa-p-pēṟu[17] were made to them. The Tiruppatiyams were sung by Brahmins,[18] by Piṭārar[19] and there were Tēvāraṭiyārs. The dancers must have tried to express the ideas of hymns when they were sung to music, by their dancing gestures. In Srīraṅgam, even today, the Araiyars express the ideas of Nālāyira Prabandham through their abhinayas. With this fact in mind, the importance of the provisions of Kūttarācān or Niruttappēraraiyaṉ or Naṭṭuva Ācāṉ or Nattuvanilai or the dance-master for the Tēvar aṭiyārs who could sing Tiruppatiyams and who could dance, can be easily understood.[20]

VI

The Cult of Saints and the name Tēvāram: The three Saints who sang the sacred hymns, as already explained, occupied a pre-eminent position in the temples. Even during their life-time the temples gave them gold, from temple treasury.[21] Perhaps, from the times of these Saints began the practice of using temple funds for relieving famine and other disasters. In view of their importance to the temple cult, their images and even separate shrines dedicated to them were installed in the temples and worships and festivals were conducted in their honour sometimes on a large scale. Campantar was worshipped in his own shrine at least in one place, Āccāpuram, along with Cokkiyār, his wife.[22] He was

16. 254/1917.
17. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, No. 705.
18. 99/28-29.
19. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 65.
20. 255/25 and 206/30-31.
21. Paṭikkācu—Viḷimiḻalai hymn of Campantar, 1: 92 Mutukuṉṟi and Nākaikkārōṇam hymns of Ārūrar, 7- 43 & 7: 46.
22. 527/18.

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worshipped at Pāhūr[23] and at Maḷapāṭi.[24] Campantar's shrine was found in Kaḷumalam,[25] in Ucāttāṉam,[26] in Kuṭantaik kīḻ kōṭṭam and in Tiruppalāṭṭuṟai.[27] The worship of Appar is referred to as taking place in Rājarājēśvaram in Tanjore,[28] at Maḷapāṭi,[29] at Vāymūr[30] and at Tīrttanagiri.[31] His shrines were found at Ucāttāṉam,[32] at Kaccūr,[33] at Akattiyāmalai,[34] at Tevarāyaṉpeṭṭai[35] and at Tiruvatikai[36] where the shrine was called Tiruvākīśvaram. Saint Ārūrar was worshipped sometimes along with his consort Paravai at Kuhūr,[37] at Tanjore,[38] at Maḷapāṭi[39] and at Tiruvārūr.[40]

It ought not to be concluded that these Saints were worshipped only in these temples. Their images are found today in every Śiva temple and festivals are being celebrated on their Tirunakṣatras, i.e.. on the day they attained salvation. The temples referred to are those where there are evidences of inscriptions for the existence of this kind of worship of these Saints from very early times.

Mutts came to be called after these Saints. Tiruñāna-campantar Kukai Maṭam at Muṉiyūr is mentioned in an inscription of Rājarājadēva[41] and provision for another mutt named after the same Saint at Tiruvīḻimiḻalai was made in an inscription of Rājēndra.[42] There were Tiruñānacampantar mutts at Paḷaiyārai,[43] at Tirupputtūr,[44] at Arayanallūr,[45] and at Noṭiyūr.[46] At

23. 412/22.
24. 37/20.
25. 375/18.
26. 259/1911, 216/1908.
27. 437/12.
28. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38.
29. 37/20.
30. 137/34.
31. 121/1904.
32. 186/1908.
33. 316/1909.
34. 559/1906.
35. 278/23.
36. 368/21.
37. 299/1917.
38. *S.I.I.*,Vol. II, No. 38.
39. 37/20.
40. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 485.
41. 156/1911.
42. 392/1908.
43. 398/08.
44. 129/08.
45. 174/35.
46. 199/32-33.

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Āṉaikkā another mutt of this Saint was given lands.[47] A mutt was named after Tirunāvukkaracu Tēvar where Śaiva devotees were fed during the regin of Rājarāja himself.[48] There were other mutts named after this Saint — Vāgīsa maṭam,[49] Nāvukkaracu Tēvar maṭam at Tiruvatikai[50] and at Tirubuvaṉam[51] and Tirunāvukkaracar mutt at Pālaittuṟai.[52] There were mutts named after Ārūrar (Cuntarar), Cuntarapperumāṉ maṭam at Coṇjīvaram,[53] and Tiruttoṇṭattokaiyāṉ tirumaṭam.[54]

People came to be named after the names of these Saints even as they were named after the names of God. In an inscription of Rājarāja the name of Ārūraṉ occurs.[55] Other names of his occur as names of persons in the inscriptions — Cēramāṉ Tōḷan,[56] Tampirāṉ Tōḷaṉ[56a] Nampi Ārūraṅ[57] and Aṇukka Vaṉṟoṇṭaṉ.[58] The wife of Uttama Cōḷa was known as Ārūraṉ Poṉṉampalattaṭikaḷ[59]

Campantar's name was held by many: Pukali Vēntaṉ.[60] Paracamayakōḷari māmuṉi[60a] and Aḷakaṉ Ñānacampantaṉ.[61] People bearing the names of Tirunāvukkaracar are found mentioned in the inscriptions — Vākīcar.[62] Another Vākīcar is the reputed author of the famous Jñānāmirtam.

Even the words used by these Saints have become proper names of the devotees of the age of the greater Cōḷas: Vayirattūṇ.[63] Nacciṉārikkiṉiyar after Appar's phrase 'Naccuvārkkiṉiyar' is not only found in the inscription,[64] but is the name of the great Tamil commentator. 'Āṇai namateṉṟa Perumāḷ' after the last phrase of a hymn of Campantar is the name of a person.[65]

47. 585/08.
48. 583/1908.
49. 49/03 at Tiruuatikai.
50. 382/21.
51. 203/09.
52. 192/29.
53. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 87.
54. 190 & 192/1928-29.
55. 9/1914.
56. 87/28.
56a. 216/25.
57. 275/17.
58. 524/38.
59. 47/25.
60. 97/15.
60a. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, 752.
61. 216/1912.
62. 98/26.
63. *S.I.I.*, Vol. V, 632 & Appar 6: 42.
64. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, 34.
65. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 442.

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'Maṟaiyaṇi nāviṉāṉ'[66] is a term used by Appar and it has become a proper name of a learned Brahmin.[67] Men and places came to be called after the never to be forgotten phrases of Ārūrar or his life: 'Poṉṉār mēṉi viḷākam'[68] is the name of a place and 'Piccaṉ eṉṟu pāṭac coṉṉaṉ' is the name of a person.

There can be therefore no room for any doubt about the greatness of these Saints and the sacred nature of their hymns in the minds of the people of the Tamil land of the period of the later Pallavas and the greater Cōḷas. The story of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi and his king trying to collect the scattered hymns and restore their old music can be relied upon for proving this sacred nature of the hymns, looked upon as good as Mantras to be recited in the sacred presence of God.

VII

Tēvāram: These hymns are today collectively known as Tēvāram. But this term is not used by Cēkkiḻār who only speaks of Tiruppatikam[69] and Tirumuṟai.[70] Muṟai is a book and hence the collection was known as Tiruppatika naṉ-muṟai.

The name Tirumuṟai is not found in earlier inscriptions. The inscriptions, as already noted, use only the first of the terms, viz., Tiruppatiyam which is only Tiruppatikam used by Cēkkiḻār. In view of the importance attached to these hymns by the temples during the Cōḷa age, the term 'Tēvāra Nāyakam' found in an inscription of Rājendra's reign[71] had led even great scholars like Prof. Nilakaṇṭa Sastry to assume that this was an officer supervising the singing of the 'Tevāram' hymns in the various temples,[72] even as there was a state official called Srī Kāryak kaṇkāṇi Nāyakam[73] for supervising the daily worship of the temples. If there was a Srī Kāryak kaṇkāṇi Nāyakam, there was no necessity for a separate Tevāra Nāyakam. If there was a Tevāra Nāyakam in

66. 4: 60: 1.
67. *S.I.I.*, Vol V, 634.
68. *S.I.I.*, Vol V, 632.
69. *Tirunāvukkaracar Purāṇam* 70, *Ñānacampantar Purāṇam* 76, *Taṭuttātkoṇṭa Purāṇam* 74.
70. *Kaṇanātar Purāṇam*, 3.
71. 97/1931-32.
72. *Cōḷas*, Vol. 2, p. 476.
73. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 36.

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the sense in which the learned Professor has taken it, there should also have been a Tiruvāymoḷi Nāyakam of which unfortunately there is no mention whatsoever. The term Tevāram occurs in other inscriptions as well. An inscription of the year 1015 A.D.,[74] refers to the installation of an idol which is referred to as 'Periya Perumāḷukku-t Tevāra Tevar'. Periya Perumāḷ, of course, is Rājarāja, whose image was also installed therein; in addition, was installed this king's or Periya Perumāḷ's Tevāra Tevar, which term can mean only the image or idol worshipped in private as an 'Iṣṭa Devata'. Whenever an idol of a saint or a worshipper was installed, the particular form of God which appealed to the mind of that worshipped was used to be installed in front of his statue. In keeping with this practice, the idol of Candrasēkhara as an 'Iṣṭa Dēvata' worshipped by Rājarāja in his 'āṉmārtta pūja' was installed in front of Rājarāja's statue as his 'Tēvāra Tēvar'. Another inscription found in the same Volume[75] belonging to the period of the same king mentions this word Tēvāram in the phrase 'Tēvarattuc cuṟṟuk kallūri' inside Muṭikoṇṭa Cōḷan's Tirumāḷikai within the Kaṅkaikoṇṭa Cōḷa purattukkōyil. Here we have to visualise a kōyil with a big building or Tirumāḷikai on whose northern portion is a pillared corridor or Cuṟṟuk kallūri'. Under these circumstances, the kōyil can mean only the palace and the "Tēvārattuc cuṟṟuk kallūri' has to be interpreted in the light of the inscription studied earlier as the place of king's private worship, where Tēvāram meant only private individual worship or 'āṉmārtta pūjā. Therefore, the officer "Tēvaranāyakam' should be taken as one in charge of making necessary arrangements for the private worship by the king.

VIII

There are two interesting inscriptions of the next Century, i.e., the 11th Century.[76] The first has come from 'Tirukkaḷar' and the other from 'Allūr'. These speak of 'Nam Tēvārattuku-t tiruppatiyam pāṭum periyāṉ'[77] and 'Maṭam Tēvārattukku-t tiruppatiyam viṇṇappam ceyum Ampalattāṭi' etc.[78] Tiruppatiyam in these two inscriptions must refer to the hymns of the Saints and if Tēvāram also is taken as referring to these hymns, the sentences

74. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38.
75. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 20.
76. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 260 and 675.
77. 260. 78. 675.

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become meaningless. If the explanation offered to the inscriptions studied above is correct, the phases under reference must mean the singing of the hymns at the time of the private worship in the palace or at the mutt.

Coming to the twelfth Century there is an inscription of Kulōttuṅka of the year 1110 A.D.[79] wherein the king resided one day in a maṇṭapam in Takkōlam village after worshipping his God. This inscription refers to his worship in the following terms: 'Tiruvūṟal perumāṉai-t tēvāram ceytu', where Tēvāram because of the verb 'ceytu' following it, can refer only to the individual worship of the God by the king as opposed to the public worship in the temple. Tēvāram thus means private worship in the temple and the place of private worship outside the temple and also the 'Iṣṭadēvata' or the deity worshipped privately in a house or mutt.

In the following Century, viz., the 13th Century, Kōppeṟuñciṅkaṉ is praised in a verse found in an inscription of his.[80] He is said to have converted the great rivers into his private tanks and to have made universal dance of Śiva at Citamparam his private deity: 'Viḷaṅku cempoṉiṉ Ampalakkūttu nī virumpiya Tēvāram'.

Before passing on to the literary evidence, a reference has to be made to an inscription of Rājarājadēva.[81] This records a gift of land to the 'Tirumuṟait tēvārac celvaṉ maṭam' on the northern side of Tiruttoṇṭīśvara muṭaiya Nāyaṉār temple at Tirukkaḷumalam by the residents of Muṉiyūr. The term 'Tēvāraccelvaṉ' either refers to the image for private worship by pilgrims who came and stayed in this mutt, or to the person in charge of the mutt who looked upon the private worship as his real wealth. In the latter alternative, it may be his proper name as well, in which case, private worship must have taken deep root in the minds of people. Tirumuṟai added to this name may refer to the way in which the private worship was conducted by reciting the hymns probably either because people were not permitted to use the Vēdic mantras or because they were not familar with Sanskrit. If Tēvārac celvaṉ is a proper name, the term "Tirumuṟai' may be his title, showing that he was an expert in Tirumuṟai or that his office was to recite them.

79, *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1921 ,Part II, para 33.
80. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 27.
81. 158/1911.

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But it is clear from this name that the term 'Tirumuṟai' has gained currency by the time of this inscription. Sundara Pāṇḍya, who reigned from 1216 to 1235 uses this term in his inscriptions.[82]

There is another name occurring in the inscriptions: viz., "Tēvāram Aḷakiyāṉ".[83] Whereas the name Tēvāraccelvaṉ looks upon the private worship or Tēvāram as wealth, this name looks upon it as beauty.

Passing on to the 14th Century we find a reference in Kōil Purāṇam by Umāpati Śivam of the early part of this Century using this word Tēvāram in the same sense of worship: Mūvāyiravarkaḷ tāvā maṟaiyōṭu Tēvāram-kai-p-paṟṟiya paṇi'. The phrase 'Tēvāram ceytal' which occurred in an inscription of Kulōttuṅka I, is found in one of the literary works of the poets Iraṭṭaiyar. In Ekamparanātar Ulā, they sing in praise of these hymns in the following terms: "Mūvāta pēraṉpin mūvar mutalikaḷum Tēvāram ceyta tiruppāṭṭum". This reference makes it very clear that the hymns at the first instance were sung, according to the tradition alive, during the life time of these poets, in their private worship by these Saints. This Ulā which praises Mallināta Sambavarāya who can be no other than Rājanārāyaṇa Mallināta Sambuvarāyaṉ a contemporary of Āṭkoṇṭāṉ and Koṅkarmaṉ praised by these Iraṭṭaiyars, and Varantaruvār, the son of Villiputtūrār.

Tēvāram is nothing peculiar to Śaivites in this sense of worship. The famous commentary on Tiruvāymoḻi, the Īṭu by Nampiḷḷai,—a disciple of Nañcīyar, who was himself a disciple of Paṭṭar, the son of Kūrattāḻvar, who in turn was the disciple of Rāmānuja, thus belonging to the end of the 12th Century and the beginning of the 13th Century,—uses this very word Tēvāram in a sentence, 'Ummuṭaiya Tēvāramō'[84] in the sense of 'Iṣṭadēvata' in private worship, Even today in those parts of Malayāḷam, where Tamil is spoken and in modern Malayāḷam, the phrase 'Tēvāram kaḻiññu' or 'Tēvāram kaḻittu' as meaning 'after finishing the private worship' is heard almost every day. The Tamil Lexicon refers to the local usage of Nāñcil Nāṭu where Tevarappeṭṭi means a box containing idols and other objects of worship carried in front of a Royal procession.

82. 92/1907 & 414/1908.
83. 228/28-29.
84. *Iṭu*, 6: 8: 10.

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IX

There is an old anthology known as Śivaprakācap peruntiraṭṭu. In a manuscript copy of this anthology[85] copied according to it in 1679 A.D., the anthology itself is mentioned to have been in existence in Sāka year 597. As this year may be impossible in view of the poems of a later peroid included in this anthology, it has been suggested that this 597 may be a reference to the Kollam Era, which is also referred to in other places in the same manuscript; and taken in this sense, the year of the anthology will be 1422 A.D. (i.e, 597 plus 825). In this Anthology, the hymns of Campantar are referred to as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu. The hymns of Appar are uniformly referred to as Tēvāram and the hymns of Ārūrar as Tiruppāṭṭu.

Campantar's hymns are referred to as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu in the late Mahavidwan K. Vadivelu Chettiyar's edition of Civappirakācap peruntiraṭṭu.[86]

Appar's hymns are referred to as Tēvāram.[87]

Ārūrar's hymns are referred to as Tiruppāṭṭu[88] and as Cuntaramūrtti Tiruppāṭṭu.[89]

But Appar's verses beginning with 'Kōṭitīrttam',[90] 'Manitarkāḷ' and 'Urai taḷarnta'[91] are wrongly noted as Tiruppāṭṭu[92] instead of their being referred to as Tēvāram. His 'Naṭuviḷākkāḷaṉ' is referred to as 'Vākīcar tirunēricai'.[93] So also the verse of Campantar, 'Irunilam' and 'Uraicērum' are also referred to as

85. *Centamiḻ*, Vol. I, p. 285.
86. p. 316, v.5; p.379, v. 20; p. 494, v. 12; p. 507, vv. 6-7; p. 520, v. 8; p. 523, v.13; p. 540, vv. 14-15; p. 553, v. 13; p.561, vv. 7-8; p.568, vv.13-14; p. 571, v. 12; p. 582, v. 7 and p. 579, vv. 12-14.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 186, v. 9; p. 191, v. 10; p. 269, v. 4; p. 270, vv. 4 and 7; p. 317, vv. 6-8; p. 375, vv. 25-26; p. 378, vv. 11-19; p. 436, v. 7; p. 437, vv. 9-10; p. 464, vv. 12-13; p. 471, vv. 16-19; p. 477, vv. 9-14; p. 494, v. 13; p. 499, vv. 11-12; p. 501, vv. 10-15; p. 509, v. 17; p. 516, vv. 8-11; p.522, v. 12; p.528, vv. 8-11, p. 533, v. 11; p. 540, v. 16; p. 554, v. 14; p. 568, vv. 15-16; p. 571, vv. 11, 13, 14 and 15 and p. 580, v. 21.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 577, vv. 2-4.
89. *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 8.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
92. *Ibid.*, p. 184, v. 7; p. 28, vv. 24-25.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 115, v. 7.

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'Tiruppāṭṭu' instead of their being referred to as 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu',[94] His 'Tantaiyār pōyiṉar.....' and 'Ceṭikoḷ noy.....'[95] are referred to as Tiruñānacampantar Tiruppāṭṭu.

The present edition, at the top of these verse in questions has printed within brackets, Tiruñānacampanta cuvamikaḷ Tēvāram and Appar Cuvamikaḷ Tēvaram on pp. 81, 83 and 28. Evidently these notes on the top are by a copyist of a later date.

As these discrepancies have crept in only in six places[96] as against 44 places where the correct references are given they must be taken as mistakes committed by copyists or entries made by them wherever the heading containing the name of the work was eaten away by the white ants. On the basis of a more reliable manuscript obtained after printing the book, the editor Mahavidwan K. Vadivelu chettiar corrects the reading 'Tiruppāṭṭu' on p. 81, v. 6 into 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu'. Such corrections ought to have been made with reference to the other mistakes as well as printed above.

We may therefore conclude that the practice in vogue during the time of Svarūpānandar, the author of this Anthology, was, to speak of Campantar's hymns as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu, Appar's, as Tēvāram and Ārūrar's, as Tiruppāṭṭu.

The same distinction is, fortunately and curiously enough, made by Citampara cuvamikaḷ of the 18th Century in his commentary on 'Avirōta Untiyār',[97] though in his commentary on Kolaimaṟuttal, he speaks of Tiruñānacampantamūrtti Tēvāram, Tirunāvukkaracar Tēvāram and Cuntaramūrti Nāyanār Tēvāram.[98] It is not clear why this commentator makes these two different kinds of references to these hymns of these saints. Perhaps in the commentary on Kolaimaṟuttal, which is intended for the common man, he thought it best to speak in terms of the usage prevalent in his days, whereas in his commentaries on the philosophical works intended for the chosen few he thought it best to persist in using the ancient tradition in vogue at least from the times of Sivaprakāsar and Svarūpānandar and Tattuvarāyar (Tattuvadēsikar). In the age of these spiritual leaders,

94. *Ibid.*, p. 83, v. 8; p. 81, v.6.
95. *Ibid.*, p. 114, vv. 5 & 6.
96. pp. 28: 81, 114, 115 and 184.
97. See his commentary on the 17th Untiyār.
98. See his commentary on the 13th verse of Kolaimaṟuttal.

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Tēvāram meant individual worship as is made clear by the following line: "Tētiya poruḷ koṇtu Tēvāram pala ceytu',[99] and 'Tēvāram ceykiṉṟa tiṇṭāṭṭamellām nām tīravē tīrntōmeṉṟiṭu kuṇalai'.[100] Even in the Siddha poems of later times, this meaning is retained: 'Tāvāram illai, taṉakkoru vīṭillai, Tēvāram ētukkaṭi'.[101]

X

It is not clear when the term Tēvāram came to be used as a common name for all the hymns of these three Saints. The Iraṭṭaiyar Ulā connecting the Mūvar Mutalikḷ with the word Tēvāram, though used in a different sense, might have been responsible for this usage gaining currency. Ñānacampantar speaks of 'Pāṭal neṟi', i.e., a way of attaining salvation by singing hymns. Cēkkiḻār makes Śiva to deliver this great truth to Ārūrar in, 'Namakkum aṉpiṟ perukkiya ciṟappiṉ mikka arccaṇai pāṭṭē ākum'.[102] Even according to the Pāśupata system, amongst its five topics of which the fourth is 'Vidhi' or an operation effecting righteousness, this kind of singing is a vidhi. When singing hymns is looked upon as a worship, it becomes Tēvāram or private worship or individual worship. We know from history and literature, these hymns were looked upon by Tamil Śaivites as their Vēdas and recited reverentially at their private worship every day. As contrasted with its importance in the Temple cult, its importance in individual worship leading to personal salvation is thus emphasised by this term Tēvāram. The fact that Appar's hymns were first known under that term Tēvāram, leads us to conclude that it is his hymns which are more patently mystic and more clearly referring to individual worship, that they were first, for a long time, sung as prayers by individuals in mutts and places of private worship including houses. The spiritual and mystical importance is made clear by the fact that Svarūpānandar in quoting 44 times from the hymns of the three Saints, quotes from Appar alone 29 times. On the basis of this usage, one may suggest that 'Tēvāraccelvaṉ' may refer to Appar — but it is better to wait for further confirmations.

99. *Pāṭuṟai*, 111-3.
100. *Ibid.*, 115-1.
101. Kutampai Cittar pāṭal, 30.
102. Taṭut., 70.

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Tirukkaṭaikkāppu, according to Cēkkiḻār, is the last verse in the hymn giving the name of the poet in glorious terms by the poet himself.[103] This term 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' is popularly used only with reference to Campantar and not at all with reference to Ārūrar's hymns, where also in every Patikam occurs at its end the benedictory stanza giving the name of the poet, though Cēkkiḻār calls this also Tirukkaṭaikkāppu.[104] This is probably because the benedictory stanzas of Campantar are sung in a more authoritative manner and stand as unique verses apart from the other ten verses going before them. In later times Campantar's hymns, especially the hymns beginning with 'Vēyuṟu', came to be looked upon as 'Kāppu' or 'Rakṣa' or protection against evil influences. The closing of a door is known as Kaṭaikkāppu and can it be that perhaps people had in mind the miraculous power of his poems in closing the doors of the temple of Tirumaṟaikkāṭu?

Ārūrar's poems were called 'Tiruppāṭṭu' or the sacred poems because Ārūrar was known as the learned Tamil poet, chosen as such by God Himself. But that term 'Tiruppāṭṭu' is used by Cēkkiḻār to refer to the individual verses in the hymns of all the three Saints.

The word Tēvāram is not used by the three Saints or Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi or Cēkkiḻār or the Santāna Ācaryas or the other poets before the 15th Century. Even the Avvai of the later day ethical works like Nalvaḻi, speaks of the hymns as 'Mūvar Tamiḻ' and not as 'Tēvāram'. As far as the present writer is aware, Tēvāram is used in the sense of hymns of three Saints in a verse of Tattuvaprakācar as collected in the Tamil Nāvalar Caritai. In the verse beginning with 'Niṉaivu kavi', this poet sings thus: "Pēcuvatu Tēvāramēyalāl vāykkeḷiya pēyk kirantaṅkaḷ pēcōm",[105] 'We speak or recite Tēvāram alone and not the cheap diabolical verses', where Tēvāram must necessarily refer to the divine poems, i.e., the hymns of the three Śaiva Saints. This Tattuvaprakācar has sung verses addressed to his contemporary king Kṛṣṇa Mahārāya, evidently Kriṣnadēva Mahārāja, the Great, of Vijayanagar, who ruled between the years 1509 and 1530.

103. Cam. Pur., 80.
104. Ēyar., 82.
105. V. 231.

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An inscription belonging to the 10th year of Ativīra Rāma Pāṇṭiya Tēvar appoints one Tiruvaṇṇāmalaip palavaṉ Citampara Nāṭan, alias, Tirumūla Nāṭa Mutali, for singing Tevāram at Campur Vaṭakarai in Travancore state. This is dated Śaka 1494, i.e., 1572 A.D. Therefore, by the 16th Century, this special usage of Tēvāram in the sense of the hymns must have started. A commentary on Sivaprakāsam called 'Cintaṉai urai' 'Meditation or thought on Sivaprakāsam' in the form of a commentary by Maturai Sivaprakāśar said to be of the 18th Century refers to the hymns of all the three Saints as Tēvāram. Citampara Cuvāmikaḷ also refers, as already stated, to the hymns as Tēvāram in in his commentary on 'Kolai maṟuttal'. Therefore, by the 18th, and possibly by the 17th Century the usage must have become universal.

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CHAPTER III

THE PROBLEM OF NUMBERS[1]

I

Man aspires for all that is the purest gold. Disappointment, however, meets him on all sides, from very early times. Man creates, therefore, a mythology of poetry to give expression to his feeling of loss, especially of culture and learning. An Asura of darkness rolls up the world with its Book and disappears into the ocean and God unable to bear the sufferings of Man, goes to recover it in the form of the Fish. This is one vision of the Loss of the Book. There is another vision but still of the Great Waters, reminding us of the age of the Floods. The Book is thrown into the Deep and is devoured by the Fish. The Lord, the Fisherman, goes fishing with His net. In a similar way the story of the loss and recovery of Tēvāram is described in a purāṇic vein. Tēvāram is at once great poetry and great musical composition and this story of its loss is more than a tragedy. Is it possible to arrive at an estimate of this loss? It is therefore a problem for the student of Tamil to find out the number of verses sung by Tēvāram Saints, especially of Nampi Ārūrar[2] whom we have taken up for study.

II

The total number of verses sung by these three Saints is believed to have been much more than what is available today. According to Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, most of these hymns had been eaten away by white ants, before the remaining portions were recovered. This Purāṇam consoles us by reporting of a voice heard from the Heavens that what was necessary for the world had been preserved and the king need not be sorry that the other hymns had been lost. This Purāṇam is our authority on the question of the original number of hymns.

Verse No. 14 therein gives that the first hymn sung by Campantar begins with the words, "Tōtutaiya ceviyaṉ" and the last is that beginning with "Kallūr".[3] The verse mentions that

1. Of the verses sung by Ārūrar.
2. Cuntarar.
3. 3: 125: 1.

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Campantar "Pāṭiṉār patikaṅkaḷ pāvil oṉṟām patiṉāṟāyiram uḷatāp pakarumaṉṉē": This can be interpreted in two ways: (1) 'He sang the patikams in poetry and the number of patikams is 16,000'. This will make us believe that Campantar sang 1,60,000 verses. (2) 'He sang the patikams. Expressed in terms of verses the total number is 16,000'. The second interpretation will reduce the total number of verses sung by Campantar to the reasonable figure of 16,000. Nampiyāṇṭar himself in his Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvantāti gives this number 16,000 patikams, "Patiṉāṟāyiram patikam".[4] In his other work on Campantar, viz., 'Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruttokai', he states that the total number of verses that Campantar sang is 16,000, "Paccaip patikattuṭaṉ patiṉāṟāyiram pā vittup poruḷai viḷaikka vala perumāḷ".[5] No contradiction need be found here if we take patikam in the sense of an individual stanza, i.e., 16,000 verses.

The total number of verses sung by Appar is given in the 15th verse of the Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. The first hymn sung by him begins with the word "Kūṟṟāyiṉa" and the last with the word "Orumāṉai". The total number is given as 49,000: "Ornāṟpat toṉpatiṉā yirama tākap perunāmap pukalūril patikam kūṟip piññakaṉār aṭiyiṇaikaḷ peṟṟulārē". This is also capable of two interpretations: One is that after he sang the patikam or hymn at Pukalūr, the total number of verses became 49,000 and he reached the holy feet Śiva. The other interpretation is that he sang 49,000 patikams inclusive of that sung at Pukalūr and he reached the holy feet of Śiva. According to the second interpretation the total number of verses Appar sang will assume the huge number of 4,90,000.

Fortunately for us, we have more reliable and authoritative statements about the total number of verses sung by Appar.

Nampi Ārūrar in his Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn, No. 65, in verse 2, sings thus: "Iṇaikoḷ ēḻeḻu nūṟu irumpaṉuval īṉṟavaṉ Tirunaviṉukkaraiyaṉ" which confirms the first interpretation that he sang only seven into seven hundred, i.e., 49,000 works or patikams. This verse cannot be brushed aside as an interpolation for Cēkkiḻār refers to this particular statement of Nambi Ārūrar in his Periyapurāṇam in describing the singing of the hymns by Nampi Ārūrar at Tiruniṉṟiyūr mēyārai.....pāṭuvār uṭaiya aracu

4. Verse 15.
5. ll. 42-43.

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eṉṟum ulakiṭar nīṅkap pāṭiya ēḻeḻu nūṟum aṉṟu ciṟappittu añcol tiruppatikam aruḷ ceytār".[6] Even prior to the age of Cēkkiḻār, Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, in his work Tiruvēkātacamālai, in praise of Tirunnāvukkaracar, gives the same number in the very same phrase, "Patikam ēleḻu nūṟu pakarum mā kavi yōgi paracu nāvaracu".[7] But, in the same work, the verse No. 3, as it stands at present gives the number as "Eḻunūṟu arumpatikam", i.e., 700 patikams. The verse runs as "Itaya nekavē kacin titayam elunūṟu arum patika nitiyē poḻintaruḷu Tirunāvin eṅkaḷ aracu".[8] As in these lines there is a repetition of the word 'itayam', our sense of poetry drives us to omit the second 'itayam' and insert the phrase. "Kacinta ēḻ eḻunūṟu" to suit the metre on the basis of the oft repeated "ēḻ eḻu nūṟu". All this will give only 4,900 patikams or 49,000 verses.

The total number of verses sung by Nampi Ārūrar is given in verse No. 16 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. The first hymn begins with the verse "Pittā" and the last hymn ends with the verse "Ūḻitōṟum": "Pittā eṉṉum iṉpamutal tiruppatikam ūḻitōṟum īṟāy muppatteṇṇāyiramatāka muṉpu pukaṉṟu avar noṭittāṉ malaiyil cērntntār". This is also capable of two interpretations: The first is that Nampi Ārūrar began with the verse "Pittā and ended with the verse "Ūḻitōṟum" to make 38,000 patikams and reached Kailas; the second interpretation which it must be admitted is somewhat strained, is that Nampi Ārūrar sang from "Pitfā" to Ūḻitōṟum", 38,000 verses in Tiruppatikams and reached the Mountain Kailas. But on the basis of the interpreation given with the reference to the other verses 14 and 15 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, the second interpretation is reasonable.

III

In this connection it may be noted that Patikam is used in the sense of ten stanzas and also in the sense of an individual stanza. This second meaning has already been noted, in discussing the two verses of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi on the verses of Campantar. The oft repeated form 'Patiyam' has this meaning of a stanza in places like 'Paṉṉu tiruppāvaip pal patiyam" occurring in the 'taṉiyaṉ' or in the stray verse on 'Āṇṭāl's Tiruppāvai'.

6. Eyar:, 150.
7. Verse 7, ll. 1-2.
8. *Ibid.*, 3: 5-7.

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Therefore, in all the three verses of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, even if it is taken that the number is of Tiruppatikams, we can safely interpret the Tiruppatikams as individual stanzas and that therefore these three verses give us the total number of verses sung by these three Saints. Unfortunately the previous editors of Tēvāram have taken the total number given as that of hymns, each patikam consisting of ten or more verses. According to them the total hymns are 1,03,000 (One lakh and three thousand) and the total verses are more than ten lakhs and thirty thousand. If the number given in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam is taken as referring to individual verses we will get only one lakh and three thousand verses.

It is very doubtful whether even this lesser number gives us the correct position. It has already been pointed out that much reliance cannot be placed on Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam especially because of its confusion of the names of the kings. It must, however, be admitted that it represents the tradition in vogue when it was written. It is also clear that at least with reference to the works of Appar and Campantar it had before it, the authoritative statements by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi himself. On analysing, however, the verses of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi we find new light thrown on this question. It has already been pointed out that the word patikam has been used with reference to Campantar's works in the meaning of individual stanzas. If this word is interpreted in this sense as used by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi with reference to the works of Appar in Tiru Ēkātacamālai, we get the total number of his verses as "Ēḷ eḷunūṟu" or 4,900, which will roughly be 490 tens or Tiruppatikams.

Ārūrar's statement that Appar has sung "Ēḷ eḷunūṟu irumpaṉuval can also be interpreted as referring only to 4,900 verses; the word 'paṉuval' is no difficulty in the way. The meaning of a stanza, especially musical stanza, for the paṉuval is as old as Puṟanāṉūṟu: "Vari navil paṉuval".[9] Cēkkiḻār merely mentions the number "Ēḷ eḷunūṟu". It may be stated that if he wanted to refer to the units of ten stanzas, he would have made it clear by stating so. In the absence of any such specific statement, his number can refer only to individual verses. If this interpretation is correct, the total number of verses of Appar would be 4,900

9. Puṟam: 135.

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and not 49,000. Unfortunately no such statement is available from Ārūrar, for Campantar's poems. Nor have we any authoritative statement of Ārūrar's poem by any one who had lived near his times.

The number of patikams[10] available from those of Appar is 307. That works out as 60% of the total 490. Thus 40% of the total verses may be taken to have disappeared on account of the ravages of time and white ants. At the time, when Tirumuṟai kaṇṭa Purāṇam was composed, the number of patikams available is given in verse No. 25. The total number of Campantar's patikams available then was 384, that of Appar was 307 and that of Ārūrar 100, in all making 791 patikams.

On the basis of the rough, calculation made by us that on an average only 40% of the verses were lost, we may assume that the original number of patikams composed by Campantar was 640 and that of Ārūrar 160 making 800 patikams in all and if the patikams of Appar are added the total will be nearly 1,300 patikams or 13,000 verses in all. This number 640 will give us roughly 6,000 verses for Campantar and if "Patiṉāṟāyiram" in Nampi's verses is to be a wrong reading of the original "āṟāyiram", one may get a confirmation of the rough calculation. If we take into consideration the number of temples described by Cēkkiḻār, as having been sung by these Saints, these calculations of ours may be justified. Cēkkiḻār's poems can never justify the fabulous number given by the commentator of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. In this connection, we must bear in mind that Nātamuṉi recovered all the songs of Āḻvārs without any loss whatever.

Even the number given in this verse of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam is not followed by some of the editors of Tēvāram; a few like Ramaswamy Pillai of Maturai, give the number 384 for Campantar, 311 for Appar, and 100 for Ārūrar, making a total of 795 as against 791 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, whilst others like Mr. Sabapati Mudaliar (Paṇmuṟai) give the total number as 796, whereas Āṟumukha Nāvalar in his prose version of Periyapurāṇam gives the number of patikams of Appar as 312 as against 311 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam and the number of Ārūrar's patikams 101 as against 100, thus making up a total of 797 as against 791 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam.

10. Units of ten verses.

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IV

Even with reference to the statement about the verses available at the time of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam, this Purāṇam cannot be relied upon. According to this Purāṇam, the number of Campantar's patikams available were 384 of which 383 alone were available till very recent times. The inscription found on the walls of the temple at Tiruviṭaivāy[11] has given us Campantar's patikam for that temple, thus making up a total of 384 as given in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. But Cēkkiḻār in his Campantar's Purāṇam specifically mentions, in verse No. 342, the Saint's visit to Tiruvālanturai, Tiruccenturaī and other temples. We know no hymns of these temples are found included within the number 384 mentioned in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. In the inscriptions of these temples belonging to the reign of Rājarāja I,[12] and Parakēsarivarman Uttama Cōḻa,[13] it is said that Tiruppatikams were sung in those temples. But it may be said that Cēkkiḻār does not mention in his verse that Campantar sang any hymn when he worshipped in these temples. However, when Campantar worshipped at Tiruttavatturai, the modern Lālgudi temple, Cēkkiḻār specifically refers to the hymn sunk by the Saint[14] and the inscription of this temple refers to the singing of the Tiruppatiyam during the reign of Rājarāja, the Great. This Tiruppatiyam for Lālgudi which must have been in existence during the times of Cēkkiḻār is not found included in the modern editions of Tēvāram. From these, one has to conclude that more than 384 hymns of Campantar were available during the times of Cēkkiḻār and the statement in Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa purāṇam that the hymns, over and above 384, were lost to the world for ever could not be relied on.

V

A similar reference to Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam will reveal that this number 100 given for Ārūrar's hymns available is not correct. Four of the present hymns in one sense and seven in another sense are not mentioned by Cēkkiḻār whilst eight to ten

11. Madras Epigraphical Report, 1913/147.
12. 199 and 104 of 1918 and 192.
13. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 139.
14. Mannum Tavatturai vāṉavar tāḷ eiti iṟaiñci eḻuntu niṉṟō iṉ tamiḻ mālai koṇṭēttip pōutu — Cam. Pur. 347.

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hymns referred to by him are not found in the collections now available.

Cēkkiḻār refers to more than 187 times to Ārūrar's worshipping in places surrounding the important temples mentioned by him. He speaks of iṭaṅkaḷ,[15] 'iṭam pala',[16] 'iṭaṅkaḷ eṉaippala',[17] 'tāṉam pala',[18] 'piṟa pati',[19] 'patikaḷ piṟa',[20] 'patikaḷ pala',[21] 'māṭuḷa patikaḷ',[22] without mentioning the names of the temples; in a few places he mentions the important or starting places alone as "Īṅkōymalai mutalāka vimalartam pati pala",[23] "Cempoṉpaḷḷi mutal ..... pati pala".[24] In most of these places, Cēkkiḻār uses the words 'paṇintu',[25] 'iṟaiñci',[26] 'toḻa',[27] 'Vaṇaṅki'[28] 'Tāḻntu',[29] all meaning 'bowing down' before the Lord, without specifically referring to the singing of the hymn by Ārūrar. In two places, however, Cēkkiḻār does speak of Ārūrar singing hymns.[30] Again on Ārūrar's return journey to Tiruvārūr from Tiruvoṟṟiyūr after leaving Kāñci, Cēkkiḻār speaks of Ārūrar worshipping temples and offering his garland of verses to the Lord in every one of them, on his way before he reached Āmāttūr: "Tiruppatikaḷtōṟum ... iṟaiñcip paṉṉu tamiḻt toṭai cātti".[31] These hymns are not now available and there is no means of deciding how many of them there were during the time of Cēkkiḻār. Since he himself does not give any particulars about these hymns, these were probably not before him in which case, he must have had tradition of the Saint having sung in those places.

In this connection, mention may be made of those hymns which give a catalogue of the temples. One is 'Nāṭṭuttokai[32] so

15. Ēyar., 99.
16. Ēyar., 99, 166, 195, etc.
17. Ēyar., 199.
18. Ēyar., 100.
19. Ēyar., 142, 171, etc.
20. Ēyar., 32, 66; Kaḻaṟiṟ., 108.
21. Ēyar., 62, 64, 70, 85, 88, 92, 93, 149, etc.
22. Ēyar., 111.
23. Ēyar., 85.
24. Ēyar., 149.
25. Ēyar., 32, 62, 64, 92, etc.
26. Ēyar., 93.
27. Ēyar., 142, 171.
28. Ēyar., 85, 111, 166, 195.
29. Ēyar., 100.
30. Ēyar., 92, 199.
31. Ēyar., 292.
32. H. 12.

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called because the 'Nāṭus' or the Provinces in which the temples are situated are also given in this hymn. The other is 'Ūrttokai'[33] giving the names of the 'Ūr' or holy places. The third is 'Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai'[34] giving another list of holy places, and it is called 'Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai' because every verse therein ends with the phrase 'Iṭaiyāṟṟu Iṭaimarutē'. Cēkkiḻār does not mention these hymns anywhere specifically. It is for consideration whether these three hymns may not be a few of those mentioned to have been sung at the various other places.

VI

In a few other places Cēkkiḻār refers to Ārūrar's singing hymns on more than one occasion at one and the same temple. At Tiruvārūr, Cēkkilār mentions ten times when Ārūrar sang. With reference to the first hymn sung there, he has given the substance of the hymn[35] and such a hymn is available as hymn No. 73 of Ārūrar's collection. In other places[36] Cēkkiḻār mentions Ārūrar singing hymns on some occasions at Tiruvārūr, but in these places he gives the initial phrase of the hymns along with the substance of the hymns; and with these particulars we can identify those hymns as hymns Nos. 39, 25, 33, 96, 37 and 95 of the present collection of Ārūrar's poems. There is a hymn No. 59 referring to Tiruvārūr but Cēkkiḻār tells us[37] that this was sung at the capital of the Cēra when Ārūrar amidst the Royal feast he was enjoying thought of his Lord of Tiruvārūr. In Taṭut. vv. 126 and 182 and in Ēyar. v. 30 and in Kaḻaṟiṟ. 122 Cēkkiḻār also refers to Ārūrar singing four hymns on four different occasions. These poems are not to be traced. There is hymn No. 8 which may be one of these. Perhaps when in v. 30 of Ēyarkōṉkalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, Cēkkiḻar uses the word 'Ēttiṉār' he might not have intended that any specific hymn was sung. In that case, there will be missing only three hymns on Ārūr and if hymn No. 8 is one of them, there will be only two hymns missing.

At Pukalūr, Ārūrar is said to have sung a hymn on entering the temple expressing his mind's desire.[38] After waking up from

33. H. 47.
34. H. 31.
35. Taṭut., 123.
36. Taṭut., 201; Ēyar., 132, 140, 303, 305 and 309.
37. Kaḻaṟiṟ., 156.
38. Ēyar., 47.

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a miraculous sleep he is said to have sung a hymn which from the particulars given can be identified as hymn No. 34.[39] With reference to the hymns of Tiruvārūr and Pukalūr not available now, we must assume that they have been lost to us.

In 74 places including those 41 references to miscellaneous temples, the poet Cēkkiḻār refers to Saint Ārūrar worshipping at the various temples. He does not mention that the Saint composed any hymns on these places. But still hymn No. 68 is available for 'Naḷḷāṟu', No. 6 for 'Veṇkāṭu', No. 23 for 'Kaḻippālai', the three of the temples mentioned among those 33 specific references to temples. It is not clear why Cēkkiḻār has not referred to Ārūrar's singing these. Or, should we assume that Cēkkiḻār wants us to understand that Ārūrar also sang in these place where he is said to have merely worshipped?

Cēkkiḻār specifically mentions the Saint's singing in 29 places.[40] This included the references already given for Pukalūr and Tiruvārñr. Of these 29 hymns, or 27 hymns, if Ārūr and Pukalūr are omitted, that for Iṭaimarutu,[41] for Veñcamākkūṭal,[42] for Kaṟkuṭi[43] for Naṉipaḷḷi,[44] for Kaḻukkuṉṟu,[45] for Paruppatam,[46] for Kētāram,[47] for Āmāttūr,[48] for Nākaikkārōṇam[49] and for Mātōṭṭam (Tirukkētīceuram)[50] are available. At Kāṉappēr, Ārūrar is said to have sung a second time but what he had composed on the first occasion alone is found included in his Tēvāram. The rest of the hymns are not available.

VII

Over and above these general references to the singing of hymns by Ārūrar, there are specific references to hymns, in Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam, where the poet gives the beginning of the

39. Ēyar., 51.

40. Pāṭi-Ēyar., 47; Coṟpatikamālaikaḻum cātti — Ēyar., 382; Colmalarkaḻ paṉṉippuṉaintu — Ēyar., 65; Tamiḻāl viruppoṭum paravi — Ēyar., 92; Tiruppatikam .. pāṭi—Ēyar., 93, etc.

41. H. 60.
42. H. 42.
43. H. 27.
44. H. 97.
45. H. 81.
46. H. 79.
47. H. 78.
48. H. 45.
49. H. 46.
50. H. 80.

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first verse and in some places the names of the hymns in addition to the substance of the hymns. There are 81 such references. Of these, for 66, the initial lines or phrases are given: for three, the names of the hymns are given.[51] In 16 places, he gives the substance of the hymns without giving the initial phrases or lines. In 35 places he gives both the substance and the initial phrases. Of these 66 hymns, the hymn on Tillai is not traceable today though it must have been in the hands of Cēkkiḻār when he sang V. 107 of Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam (Teṇṇilā).

There is one other hymn[52] to be mentioned. This is as it appears today, sung at the temple at Tiruniṉṟiyūr. There is another hymn[53] on this very same temple and it is this which is referred to by Cēkkiḻār in unmistakeable terms.[54] Therefore, there is no reference whatever to this hymn No. 19 in Periyapurāṇam. Either it is a new addition or it has missed the attention of Cēkkiḻār. On reading this hymn No. 19, one wonders whether this may not be a hymn on Tiruniṉṟavūr which is referred to by Ārūrar himself as the place of Pūcalār.[55] The references to the devotee in honorific plural in the verses in h. 19 may be Pūcalār. This name Pūcalār is itself explained by the phrase of the second verse: "Nīṟu pūcattiṉār pukal innakar pōṟṟum em puṇṇiyattāl"—'Our embodiment of virtue who holds sacred this city which is the refuge of the Saint Pūcalār.' The reference in V. 5, to God presiding in the hearts of those who take refuge in Him may be taken as a reference to this Saint. So may be the phrase "Pūcai iccikkum iṟaivar",[56] "Cīlamum ceikaiyum kaṇṭuvappār,"[57] "Vāyār maṉattāl niṉaikkum avarukku aruṇtavattil tūyār,"[58] and "Pukaḻt toṇṭar."[59]

VIII

This study of Cēkkiḻār thus reveals the existence in his times of at least nine more hymns of Ārūrar, thus giving us a total of 109 as against 100 of Tirumuṟaikaṇṭa Purāṇam. But if it is assumed, on a reading of Cēkkiḻār, that seven of the hymns now

51. Tiruttoṇṭattokai, Cittanilait tiruppatikam, Namaccivāyat tiruppatikam.
52. H. 19.
53. H. 65.
54. Ēyar., 150.
55. Niṉṟavūrp Pūcal—Tirut, 11.
56. V. 8.
57. V. 9.
58. V. 10.
59. V. 11.

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available are not mentioned by him and that therefore were not before him, one may be tempted to reject them. Then the total number of hymns will come to 102. This falsifies the theory that a major portion of Ārūrar's poems were lost and that only a negligible part of it had been recovered. What one learns here justifies a belief in the story of 'Nātamuṉi's recovery of all the verses of the Vaiṣṇavite Saints without any loss. The reverence with which the Tēvāram hymns were copied and recited in Temples, as already pointed out, could not have allowed thousands of verses to be eaten away by white ants.

If one argues that in every place Cēkkiḻār refers to Ārūrar's worship, one must assume a hymn to have been sung, even then the total number of hymns cannot be more than 187, a figure which comes very near 160 which was arrived at on the calculation of the statistical average of the percentage of verses lost as against the percentage recovered.

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CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEM OF INTERPOLATION

I

The total number of hymns or patikams sung by Ārūrar now available are 100 and the total number of verses now extant are 1026. If there were only 10 verses in every hymn there must be only 1,000 verses. But there are patikams in which a few verses have been lost. In the 63rd hymn, the last two lines of the last verse are missing: in the 11th hymn there are only 8 verses available, the 8th and the 9th verses according to all the editions having been lost; in the 65th hymn, there are only 7 verses available, the 8th, 9th and 10th verses having been lost; in the 66th hymn, only 5 verses are available, the 6th to 10th verses having been lost. It looks as though the cadjan leaves containing the 63rd to 66th hymns have been originally eaten away by the white ants. If, therefore, allowance is made for these 10 verses lost, there must only be 990 verses, as against 1026 verses now extant. This excess of 36 verses has to be explained. There are 30 hymns with 11 verses each, which account for 30 additional verses and three hymns with 12 verses each, which account for the other six additional verses, in all making up a total of 36 additional verses. All the rest 67 hymns including the four hymns for which lines or verses are missing, have 10 verses each.

That the latter is the scheme of Ārūrar's hymns is made quite clear by his specific mention of number ten in 24 out of 63 such hymns. The word 'pattu' is not a shortened form of patikam which may contain 11 verses and 12 verses as in the hymns of Campantar. Instead of using the 'pattu', Ārūrar in a few places specifically describes the number ten without giving room for any doubt by referring to it as 'eṭṭōṭiraṇṭu' (8 plus 2);[1] 'aintōṭaintu' (5 plus 5;[2] 'aiñciṉotaiñcncu' (5 plus 5).[3] Campantar refers to his hymns as 'pattu', 'aintoṭu aintu' but that is on the basis the last verse or 'kaṭaikkāpu' is not numbered as one of the ten. That is clear from his scheme where almost all hymns contain 10 verses

1. H. 44.
2. H. 55.
3. H. 68.

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on God and the 11th about himself as composer whilst in Ārūrar's scheme as is made clear by 67 hymns, the verse containing his name as a composer is included within the ten verses of the hymn.

That these ten verses form individual music compositions is made clear by Ārūrar's description of them as 'cantam',[4] 'paṇpayilum pattu'[5] and 'icaikkiḷavi.[6] Cantam is the rhythm varying with the 'tāḷa' or time-pattern, 'Paṇ' is the melody type and 'Icai' is the general music. 'Pāṇi'[7] is 'tāḷa' or keeping time or a musical composition. It may be a shortened form of 'Tēvapāṇi', a musical composition in praise of God. Ārūrar has looked upon these compositions as pieces of Tamil Literature and he refers to them 'Oṇṭamiḻ'[8] Aruntamiḻ,[9] Naṟṟamiḻ,[10] Ceñcoṟṟamiḻ,[11] 'Tanṭamiḻ',[12] "Vaṇṭamiḻ'.[13] The longer poems came to be known as 'Pāṭṭu' or 'Pāṭal' from the time of 'Pattuppāṭṭu' and Ārūrar refers to his hymns of 10 verses each as a longer unit of poetry by referring to them as 'Pāṭal'.[14]

This idea of unity is still further emphasised by calling these hymns 'Mālai' or garland.[15] The individual verses are considered as so many flowers going to make up this garland of poetry or 'Nūlmālai',[16] and he refers to individual verses going to make up this garland as 'Colmalar,'[77] 'Tamiḻ malar'.[18]. In some places he refers to the hymns as his talk or message 'Pēccu.[19] All this make it clear that Ārūrar looked upon the hymns as separate units of poetry and music made into an organic whole by the unity of his message of poetry and his music representing thereby a garland—like beauty though consisting of distinct and seemingly

4. H. 73.
5. H. 16.
6. H. 84.
7. H. 12.
8. H. 40.
9. H. 9.
10. H. 3, 61.
11. H. 42.
12. H, 4.
13. H, 75.
14. H. 7, 8, 25, 34, 36, 54, 74, 85, 92 and 99.
15. H. 3, 4, 6, 10, 11, 27, 29, 41, 42, 47, 56, 60, 68, 69, 71, 75, 76, 79, 82 and 97.
16. H. 41.
17. H. 83.
18. H. 70.
19. H. 14.

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unconnected verses; and that under his scheme each hymn generally consisted only of 10 verses.

II

Having so far made it clear that Ārūrar's scheme is to sing only hymns of 10 verses each, the hymns in which 11 verses are found may be taken up for scrutiny. In H. 2, there are 11 verses and the last verse itself states that the hymn consists of 6 plus 4 plus 1 verses or 11 in all. This is a hymn sung in the presence of the Great kings of Tamil Land, Cēra Cōḷa and Pāṇṭiya. It is the Tamil tradition, that in addressing the kings, one can sing of his own praises.[20] This last verse, therefore, in singing of Ārūrar himself, in the presence of the kings, has an importance of its own, over and above the ten verses in praise of God. It has to be placed on a par with the 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' par excellence of Campantar; whereas in the other hymns of Ārūrar, the verses mentioning the name of the author are found included within the ten verses of the hymns, without any such extra significance. This difference explains why Campantar's poems alone were known as Tirukkaṭaiṭkkāppu' and not Ārūrar's. Therefore this exception of 11 verses in a hymn only proves the rule that Ārūrar's hymns contain only 10 verses.

There is one other exception as well and that is 'Tiruttoṇṭattokai'.[21] From Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi's Tiruvantāti and Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam, it is clear, this hymn contained 11 verses. Both these poets at the end of the descriptions of the lives of Saints catalogued separately in each of the 11 verses of Tiruttoṇṭattokai, sing a verse in praise of Ārūrar himself. There are eleven such laudatory verses by Nampi and eleven by Cēkkiḻār. Nampi in verse No. 88 of Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti gives the index of the eleven verses of Tiruttoṇṭattokai and Cēkkiḻār has divided his Purāṇam into eleven carukkams apart from his prologue and epilogue and these are named after the opening phrases of the eleven verses of Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

III

If the other exception was because of the Saint singing in the presence of the kings, this exception is because of the Saint

20. Maṉṉuṯai maṟattu ōlaittūkkiṉum ... taṉṉaip pukaḻtalum takum pula vōṟkē-Naṉṉūl—53.

21. H. 39.

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singing in the presence of the Śaiva Saints, his Lords, who are to him more than kings. Leaving these two hymns out of account, there are 28 hymns to be explained. Of these, the last verses of two hymns state that these hymns contain 5 plus 5 verses.[22] The hymn No. 61 states that it contains twice five verses. Therefore, there can be no doubt about these hymns having had originally 10 verses and no more. In six other hymns[23] it is clearly stated in the last verses they are 'pattus' or hymns of 10 verses each. These references clearly prove beyond any doubt that this scheme is based on a unit of ten verses only. Therefore, there is no explanation why there should be 11 verses in these cases and in other 19 hymns which do not have any specific reference to the number of verses. As for the hymns with 12 verses, such hymns occur in Campantar's poems where reference had to be made to 12 different names of Cīkāḻi in different verses or different orders but no such explanation is possible for Ārūrar singing in 12 verses. These verses over and above ten could not have been there originally except in H. No. 2 and Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

On this calculation the total number of Ārūrar's poems now available is 992 i.e. (1026-36 + 2) and the total number of verses originally sung should be 1090 or so.[24]

IV

The hymns containing verses more than ten may be studied at this point with a view to find out any verse or two which may be considered a later day addition. The last verse called 'Tirukkaṭaikkāppu' by Cēkkiḻār is 'Nāndi' verse or the benedictory verse giving the reader the information about the author and benefits that may accrue from reading the hymn. In Campantar's hymns this last verse stands apart and is in a pattern different from the other preceding verses which usually end as it were in a chorus or 'Pallavi'. If one examines Ārūrar's hymns Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8 etc., one will find that this kind of scheme to prevail. But hymns Nos. 1, 2, 7, 9 etc. do not follow this scheme; here, the last verse giving the name of the author follows the pattern of having the same ending 'Uṉakkāḻāi iṉi allēṉ eṉalāmē' etc. Therefore, it is not possible to say that these last verses are later day additions.

22. H. 55 and 68.
23. H. 67, 98, 16, 19, 34 and 36.
24. See Chap. 3: VIII.

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Though Ārūrar does not give as much importance to this last verse as Campantar, who will declare that it is his order[25] (Āṇai Namatē), yet Ārūrar also follows in the footsteps of Campantar in leaving his mudra or name in the last verses. It is this difference that has made Campantar's benedictory verses to be called Tirukkaṭaikkāppu par excellence. In some places, Cēkkiḻār refers to the last verse of Ārūrar's hymns as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu and in these places,[26] the hymns contain more than 10 verses. On this basis, it cannot be argued that wherever Cēkkiḻar uses the phrase Tirukkaṭaikkāppu, there must be 11 or more verses; for, hymns like 15 where also the last verse is described by Cēkkiḻar as Tirukkaṭaikkāppu,[26a] the total verses are only ten and no more. As this short cut of removing all the last verses, is not available, the hymns containing more verses than 10 have to be scrutinized in detail. Tastes differ and it is not easy to come to any unanimous verdict on any one verse. All the same, the attempt is worth making.

V

The hymn No. 7 contains 11 verses. The verse No. 8 seems at first sight an imitation of verse No. 2. The first line in V. 8 is against the rule of grammar about 'short U', though such 'Ārṣa' breaches of rules are found even in the musical compositions of Campantar.[27] This hymn is described as 'Cittanilait tiruppatikam' by Cēkkiḻar[28] and true to this name, this is addressed by the Saint to his own mind or 'citta'. The term 'Maṉattīr'[29] may be interpreted as referring to mind; the verses point out the defects including evanescence of this wordly life and give wholesome advice. The only verse, not based on this pattern is verse No. 10, which probably was introduced by some who wanted to have a hit at Viṣṇu and Brahma, as is used to be done by Campantar in a few verses preceding the last verse. When such references to Viṣṇu or the Jains come, it may be said verses containing them may be later day additions. But one must take into consideration whether Ārūrar himself might not have been in a remniscent

25. 3: 78: 11.
26. 7: 14—Ēyar., 82; 7: 36; Ēyar.—85
26a. Ēyar., 42.
27. 1: 106: 8.
28. Ēyar., 121.
29. V. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8.

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mood and therefore sometimes made such reference as Campantar himself, almost in the same order.

Hymn No. 9 contains verses alternately addressed to God as 'Aḻakaṉ' or the 'The Beautiful' and as 'Puṉitaṉ', 'The Pure'. This alternating pattern is spoiled by verses 9 and 10 which both address God as the 'Beautiful'. The last or the 11th verse tries to restore order by speaking of Him as the Pure. If either the 9th or the 10th is omitted, the alternating pattern of the 'Beautiful' and 'the Pure' will be restored and the hymn will contain only 10 verses and not 11 verses, as it stands now.

The hymn No. 12 is called 'Nāṭṭut-t tokai'. Tokai is a grouping or collection. In this hymn we get an illustrative catalogue of the holy places. Nāṭu means both an independent state and a province of a state. This hymn describes the temples mentioning the Nāṭu or Province or State in which the city of the temple is. This explains the name 'Nāṭṭu-t tokai'. The last line in each verse gives the name of the city and the name of the Nāṭu almost in similar terms: c.f. 'Marukal nāṭṭu Marukal'. In verses No. 10, this pattern is broken raising a doubt of interpolation by those who wanted to introduce the temples mentioned therein. Though verse No. 7 also does not end like the other verses, giving the name of a city bearing the name of the province itself, it does refer to the Īḻanāṭu, Teṉṉāṭu and Cōḻanāṭu. In passing, it must be also noted that Kiḷḷikuṭi which occurs at the end of this verse as one of the temples of Cōḻa Nāṭu seems to follow the pattern, for, Kiḷḷi is another name for Cōḻa. This hymn conceives God as the Great Wanderer, 'Nāṭataṉil tiriyum Perumāṉ',[30] or the great cosmopolitan or the citizen of the world-states and the places of Śiva worship are enumerated in terms of the various states or provinces: It is really the 10th verse which does not under any interpretation follow the pattern explained; if any verse has to be omitted, it may be suggested that it might be omitted.

The hymn No. 13 which also contains 11 verses, has a pattern of its own. The first two lines describe the 'Peṉṉai river' in high floods, the 3rd line refers to 'Turaiyūr' with appropriate adjectival clauses reminiscent of the bathing ghat (turai) or ford suggested by the name of the holy places (Turaiyūr), and the last line except for the first word is repeated as a prayer for Tapas.

30. V. 11.

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Verse No. 10 alone especially its first two lines do not follow this pattern prima facie, suggesting by that very breach that this may be an interpolation by those who thought there must be a reference to Brahma and Viṣṇu in this verse.

The hymn No. 14 contains 12 verses. The verses inclusive of the benedictory verse follow one and the same pattern and end with the chorus-like phrase "Ivaralātu illaiyō pirāṉār)"—Is there no Lord but He?' The first two lines in these verses refer to Ārūrar himself or his mind as having complete reliance on God and none else. The third line is a reference to 'Pāccil Āccirāmam', the name of the temple. The fourth line is an interrogation or an interjection: 'Is there no Lord but He, if He were not to help or save us!' Verses Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 follow this pattern. Of these, verse No. 8 is addressed to the poet's mind and therefore verse No. 4 which is also addressed to his mind and in that way a reference to the poet himself, may be said to conform to this pattern. Verses 5 and 7 are not modelled on this scheme; the 5th refers in its first line to Tripuradahanam and to God's help to His devotees, whilst the 7th is a description of God adorning Himself with skull and dancing on the grave yard. If these two are omitted, one gets only 10 verses. In some verses God is described as 'Aṭikaḷ' and in others as 'Paramar', the Lord and the Beyond. Even as 'Puṉitaṉ' and 'Aḻakaṉ' alternatingly formed a pattern of verses in hymn No. 9, perhaps originally there was an alternating pattern in this hymn as well, and there will be no difficulty in rearranging the verses on this pattern.

The 16th hymn on 'Kalayanallūr' also reveals a general scheme of its own. The first two lines give a purāṇic story of the Lord either of His destroying the evil or His blessing the Good, and the last two lines give beautiful descriptions of Man and Nature of the holy place: "If you ask what is the city of the Lord who has performed this great deed of Grace, it is Kalayanallūr of such beauty"—that is the pattern of the sentence occuring in every verse. The first gives the story of the penance of the Mother Goddess, the third that of Caṇḍēśvara, the fourth that of the playful covering of the eyes of the Lord by the entwining hands of the Goddess, the 5th that of Tripurādahana, the 6th of the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, the 7th the destruction of the pride of Rāvaṇa, the 9th burning of Kāma, the 10th of Brahma's worship, the 11th that of the Lord's begging—that is, all these

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give only one story each. The second and the eight verses, however, give more than one story. The first two lines therein in verse No. 2 may be said to introduce some unity by connecting these stories by way of contrast. Asura Jalandhara was killed and the same weapon which killed him was conferred on the worshipful Viṣṇu as a gift whilst the Lord hurled his weapons on the proud Indra and Andhaka. The 8th verse is really a problem; it refers, to the pillar of Fire, which form, the Lord assumed in the presence of the conceited Viṣṇu and Brahma, to the Lord adorning his crown with the crescent and to the drinking of the poison. Unless one strains a good deal, a unity may not be easily perceived. Sombody having the pattern of Campantar's poem must have thought that the reference to Brahma and Viṣṇu must succeed the verse immediately after the other verse describing Rāvaṇa. In this connection, one may usefully be reminded of the tradition about Veḷḷipāṭṭu—the interpolations by Veḷḷiampalat tampirāṉ of Dharmapuram in Tēvāram.[31]

In hymn No. 17, every last line states that the Lord's place is our Tirunāvalūr; the 2nd line or the third line refers to Veṇṇeinallūr where God saved Ārūrar—"Veṇṇeinallūril vaitteṉṉai āḷuṅkoṇṭār". The terms 'Veṇṇei nallūr' and 'Nāvalūr' do not find place in v. 2 though the verse describes in more detail the story of the Saviour. The heading 'Veṇṇeinallūr and Nāvalūr' does not, therefore, fit in with this verse. If this verse is omitted, one has only ten verses.

The hymn No. 19, as it stands at present, is against the scheme of ten verses. 'His place is Tiruniṉṟiyūr'—"Iṭamāvatu or iṭamām or iṭam Tiruniṉṟiyūrē"—that is the pattern of the sentence in every verse. Verse No. 10 has the other form, 'Ūr Tiruniṉṟiyūr'. In verse No. 3, the form, 'Iṭam Tiruniṉṟiyūr' occurs; but, whereas in other verses 'Iṭam' occurs in the fourth line and Tiruniṉṟiyūr also in the same line, in this verse, whilst the word Tiruniṉṟiyūr occurs in its proper place in the fourth line, the word 'Iṭam' occurs in the third line instead of in the fourth line. If Ārūrar's love of natural scenery is taken into consideration, one will be tempted to omit the tenth verse rather than the third, so as to reduce the numbers of verses to ten.

31. Campantar's Maṟaikkāṭu hymn 'Viṭaittēvar' and Kampa Rāmāyaṇam, etc.

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The hymn No. 30 comes next with its extra verse. The last sentence in every verse is a sort of chorus or 'pallavi'—'How sweet is He when we think of Him!' The third line describes the Kokuṭi (or the jasmine), the temple itself being named after this flower. The second line mentions the place 'Karuppaṟiyalūr', with its descriptions which sometimes begin in the first line itself. Verse No. 7 differs from this pattern in that, the first line contains an advice addressed to the world at large; and this may be omitted. In this hymn also, as in the hymns of Campantar there is one verse referring to Viṣṇu and Brahma and another to the Jains and Buddhists.

The hymn No. 34, the famous Tiruppukalūr hymn, contains 11 verses. These verses are addressed to the brother poets of the age, usually singing the vain glories of erratic men. Ārūrar assures them in the first two lines that even if they attribute in their verses all grand qualities to those who have them not, those men will never condescend to give them anything. Ārūrar, in the third line and sometimes in the second line, also advises them to sing the glory of the Lord. In the fourth line he affirms that there is no doubt whatever about those singing the praises of the Lord reaching Śivalōka in the next birth. "Yātum aiyuṟavillaiyē" is the ending of every verse. The contrast between the poet's imaginary description and the cruel reality is emphasised in every verse. This is the general pattern. Verse No. 10 does not specfically mention the contrast. It describes only the poet's hyperbole without even suggesting the reality of ugliness and meanness as in other verses. But so is verse No. 3. In verse No. 10, however, the use of the word 'Kaḷaṟu' may at first sight seem to be not very happy, but perhaps Ārūrar feels that the poets by sheer contrast bring home poignantly the truth of the world. No breach of pattern need be felt; it may be that the darker and more realstic side of the picture is there, in an implied sense. The verse No. 9 repeats the words 'Kaṟṟu nallaṉē' found in verse No. 3 and it repeats the idea of Kāma found in verse No. 10. The singing of the owls[32] reminds one of desolation; Pukalūr's fertility is described in terms of the owl's song, not a very happy description, indeed, of fertility. In hymn No. 32, wherein[33] Ārūrar complains of isolation and desolation, he mentions the owl as the sign of such state. In hymn No. 50, the first verse also refers to the song

32. Pottilāntaikaḷ pāṭṭaṟāp pukalūr—V. 9.
33. V. 4.

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of the owls. The reference to the high-way robbers in verses Nos. 2 and 5, the appearance of desolation in verse No. 4 and the mention of 'Kaḷḷi' in verses Nos. 6 and 8 make it clear that the context in which the owl is thought of can be only that of desolation—a place in ruins — "Paḷampati".[34] If this is admitted, the beauty of the fertile Pukalūr described in the last verse of the hymn, fits ill with the description of the owl's song. Hence verse No. 9 may be omitted.

VI

Hymn No. 36 is composed as the speech of the woman to whose doors the Lord goes to beg. All the verses end with the phrase "Āraṇīya viṭaṅkarē" — The natural unsculptured Beauty of the Forest'. They express their fear of His serpents and other articles of adornment and beg of Him not to bring them along with Him. The first line of verse No. 3 speaks of the Lord in the third person as contrasted with the other verses addressing Him in the second person. It is possible to suggest an emendation; 'Tūyavar' might have been 'Tūyavīr'; but even then the third line is neither musical nor poetical. If this is omitted one will have only 10 verses in this hymn.

Hymn No. 37 on Tiruvārūr is what is called in Tamil 'Tūtu' or 'Sandēśa' where the pining lady-love sends messages to her love through the birds. Cēkkiḻār calls this 'Kaikkiḷai' or one sided love. The first two lines in every verse addressing the birds, give the description of Ārūr or its Lord and end in 'Ārūrarai' in the accusative case or in 'Ārūrarkku' in the dative case. The last two lines enumerate the sufferings to be explained to the Lord, in triplets. Verse No. 7 does not follow this model in as far as the last two lines are concerned. Probably verse No. 6 does not also give three types of sufferings; but the states of the growth of the suffering can be easily distinguished as (1) sight of the Lord, (2) growing of the fire of love and (3) its consuming the body. In any case the word 'um' has a conjunctive force, but not so the 'um' in verse No. 7 which refers to only one suffering. Further 'Tēṉalaṅkoṇṭa tēṉ vaṇṭukāḷ', 'Pāṉalaṅkoṇṭa' etc., fall flat. Hence this verse No. 7 may be safely omitted.

Hymn No. 39 is the famous Tiruttoṇṭattokai. This hymn had already been explained as an exception. Verse No. 10, as

34. V. 1.

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contrasted with the other verses referring to specific devotees refers to devotees in general. When the full implications of the 10th verse are realised, it is not possible to reject it as an interpolation. Even during the times of Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi, there were these eleven verses. At least with reference to hymn No. 2, which we considered to be an exception to the rule of singing ten verses, it can be said that the last verse has no connection with the verses that have preceded it; but such doubts cannot arise with reference to this hymn. Therefore, it should be looked upon as an exception to Ārūrar's scheme of ten verse.

In hymn No. 40, verses Nos. 8 and 10 do not follow the general pattern found therein of piling up the accusative cases, in the first four lines. Perhaps the pattern should not be taken in such a detailed way. But verse No. 9 is really difficult; it repeats 'Caṭaiyāṉai[35] and the phrase "Tuṉiviṉiya tūyamoḻit toṇṭaivāy nallār tūnīlaṅ kaṇvaḷarum" does not make excellent poetry worthy of Ārūrar. If this is omitted the total verses here also will be ten.

The first two lines in every verse in hymn No. 43 refer to the beggar's part, the Lord plays; and they ask implicitly or explicitly: 'How are the devotees to live if their Lord is a Beggar!' The second two lines describe the Mutukuṉṟam and its natural scenery. Verses Nos. 4 and 9 are not of this pattern. A reference to the 4th line of the verse No. 9 makes it clear that the thrid line does not go along with 'muṭṭi' of line 4. The subject of 'muṭṭi' is not clear. In verse No. 4, the third and the fourth lines form a description of the Lord of Mutukuṉṟam and there are many places where the description of the Lord takes the place of the description of a city, in Tēvāram. Therefore, it is verse No. 9, which is not intelligible with its "Ceṭṭi niṉ kātali; aṭṭum in cil pāli; and muṭṭi toḻa", that has to be omitted.

Hymn No. 45 has the pattern of repeating the first word of every line suggesting thereby surprise or wonder or certainty. The verse No. 6 repeats the words already repeated in verse No. 1. It is probably a variation or a different reading of the first verse. If this is omitted the hymn will contain only ten verses. A study of hymn No. 99 will help us to understand this position.

35. C.f. 1st and 3rd lines.

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VII

In every verse of the hymn No. 46 there is a request for luxuries of life. But the verse No. 3 does not contain any such request. Probably for this reason, this has no place in this hymn.

In hymn No. 51, Ārūrar pines for the sight of the Lord of Tiruvārūr. The last line of every verse chimes like a chorus, "Pirintirukkēṉ eṉ Ārūr Iṟaivaṉaiyē". In the first three lines, he condemns himself for being away from the Lord. Verses Nos. 2 and 7 do not refer to Ārūrar in the first three lines except for the last phrases in the third lines. But this need not be considered a breach of a pattern as long as the fourth line is all right. In the absence of any breach of a pattern, one may search for any unpoetic repetition. Verses 5 and 9 repeat the reference to Brahma and Viṣṇu and one of these, possibly verse No. 5 which certainly does not rise to the poetic heights of verse No. 9, has to be omitted. It must be said, repetitions of ideas and purāṇic stories are not unknown even in Ārūrar's verse, though in this hymn one is on firmer grounds on rejecting verse No. 5, because one relies on a comparison of poetic worth.

Hymn No 56 contains 11 verses and it is a very difficult to decide which has to be omited. If the pattern of piling up the accusative cases in each is considered, the fourth verse may seem to be a breach; but, the first verse which is specifically mentioned in Periyapurāṇam is also very much like this fourth verse. Speaking subjectively, this present writer does not see much of poetic beauty or feeling in verse No. 7 which repeats in addition a phrase 'Viṭṭilaṅku'[36] for the sake of 'etukai'. Therefore, it may be concluded that it was not originally there in this hymn.

In hymn No. 57, perhaps, verse No. 10 had been interpolated for introducing a reference to Jains and Buddhists, since in the previous verses reference had been made to Viṣṇu and Rāvaṇa. "Iruntuṇ tērarum niṉṟuṇ camaṇum" is a phrase from Campantar's poems. The descriptions have no ring of sincerity. Verse No. 11 repeats the story of Tripura told with force in verse No. 5. If these two are omitted the hymn will leave only 10 verses.

In hymn No. 59, the verses pile up the description of the Lord in accusative cases and end by saying 'Is it possible to forget Him? The verse No. 4 states "Vaitta cintaiyuṇṭē, manṉa-

36. C.f. lines 1 and 3.

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muṇṭē, matiyuṇṭē, vitiyiṉ payaṉuṇṭē" whose significance is all too patent to mislead any one. The verse No, 5 is an elaboration on this model by some one who wanted to outdo Ārūrar. "Ceṟivuṇ ṭēl maṉat tāṟṟeḷi vuṇṭēl tēṟṟat tālvaruñ cikkaṉa vuṇṭēl, maṟivuṇṭēl maṟu maippiṟap puṇṭēl vāṇāḷ mēṟcellum vañcaṉai uṇṭēl, poṟivaṇ tāḷceyum poṉmalark koṉṟai poṉpō luñcaṭai mēṟpuṉain tāṉai, aṟivuṇ ṭeyuṭa lattuyi ruṇṭē yārū rāṉai maṟakkalu māmē" piled up in the first, second and fourth lines with no claim for perspicuity. If this is omitted the hymn will contain ten verses.

In hymn No. 61, the third lines refer to the Mother Goddess worshipping the Lord; the first two lines mention the other characteristics of God, and the fourth lines are but the chimings of a chorus—"Kampaṉ emmāṉaik kāṇak kaṇ aṭiyēṉ peṟṟavāṟē". Verse No. 10 is not according to this pattern, since all the three lines give the story of the worship of the Mother Goddess without any reference to the other characteristics of the Lord. The verse is really good; perhaps it has been composed by one who wanted to describe the purāṇic story in greater detail.

VIII

In hymn No. 67, though the verses look like objective statements, they are really expressions of subjective experience. Therefore, the mere piling up of purāṇic stories can have no place, and verse 9 seems to be, on this score, out of tune with the ring of other verses.

In hymn No. 69, Ārūrar refers in every verse to himself and prays for the removal of his misery; the expression, "Pāṭutuyar kaḷaiyāy pācupatā parañcuṭarē" occurs at the end of every verse almost like a chorus. But verse No. 4 introduces a variation, "Pāṭuvēr karelāy pācupatā parañcuṭarē"—"Bless me, who is singing your praises." This verse repeats Ārūrar's reference to his singing of Tiruppukaḷ in verse No. 2. The music of assonance is attempted at the cost of its meaning in this verse No. 4 and therefore this may be taken as not to have been originally in this hymn.

In hymn No. 72, one may first feel that the second verse is sacrificing sense, for a jingling assonance of 'arākam' in phrases like "Aravuri irantavaṉ". But "Naravuri irantavaṉ" is the reading suggested which makes good sense. Probably for many verses we

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are not having the correct reading. Therefore, in this hymn it is difficult to decide which verse has to be omitted.

The 73rd hymn also contains eleven verses. The first verse is unlike other verses in that there is no self condemnation there, as in the following. Again the verse No. 5 which may be interpreted as a special plea for God's pity on the poet based on his innocence does not fit in with the scheme of self condemnation. But it is not clear whether we are having the correct reading for some of the verses here. In the absence of a correct reading it is difficult to decide. The author of Periyapurāṇam, does not mention the initial line. He speaks as 'Tiruppatikaṅkaḷ'[37] in plural; probably the word 'Patikam' means not a hymn but a verse in this reference. If he meant more than one hymn, there must have been 20 verses of which only 11 are available; nine verses on the pattern of the first must be missing.

Taking hymn No. 77 for consideration, one finds that the verse No. 10 repeats what is found in the first line of verse No. 11. A repetition may be found in an 'antāti' composition but this is not one such. This verse probably had been introduced to bring in the story of Viṣṇu and Brahma.

In hymn No. 89, the verse No. 9 seems to be giving elaborate details of the story of Caṅkili and Ārūrar—somewhat more detailed than one may expect in this hymn. This verse must have been in existence even during the days of Cēkkiḻār who it may be said, has based this part of Ārūrar's story on this verse. Or, it may be that on the basis of Cēkkiḻār, somebody has introduced this detail in this verse.

In hymn No. 93, it is very difficult to decide upon the verse to be omitted. If the verses are taken to be referring to purāṇic stories and events, verse No. 8 which seems to describe the adornments of the Lord rather than give the purāṇic stories, may be omitted. It is possible to interpret this verse as referring to the purāṇic events but in that case it must be taken to be repeating the story of the tearing away of the elephant already mentioned in verse No. 2 and the story that followed after that mentioned in verse No. 5, the defeat of the ṛṣis of Dārukavana, who, enraged

37. Tatuṭ., 123.

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at the Lord going naked to beg at the doors of their wives, sent the deer, fire etc., all of which the Lord neutralized. In this case, one has to omit it on the score of reception when such repetition is not a pattern of the hymn.

In hymn No. 95, the verses speak of the devotees in the plural including therein the poet himself. Verses Nos. 2 and 11, however, speak of the poet in the first person. The verse No. 11 is the last verse and as usual it gives the name of the poet. There might have been a variant reading for this verse. As already stated the last verses cannot be omitted. The second verse simply repeats "Eṉ kaṇ koṇṭīr nīrē paḻip paṭṭīr" which occurs in the last verse, when there is no such pattern of repetition in the other verses. Further it states that the poet has committed no wrong whatsoever—a statement which is against the trend of his poems—c.f. hymn No. 55 and his principle — "Kuṟṟam ceyyiṉum kuṇam eṉa-k karutum koḷkai". The phrase 'maṟṟaikkaṇ' in this verse No. 2 is mentioned by Cēkkiḻār. Or, it may be that this verse was composed by others following the verse of Cēkkiḻār.

In hymn No. 98, the first two lines in every verse describe the Lord and the last two lines, the place where the Temple is situated. Verse No. 4 may be brought within this pattern. It is verse No. 10 which has to be omitted since the idea of Ceṅkaṇāṉ as found in verse 11, is repeated herein, and since it might have been introduced by those who thought that a reference to Rāvaṇa was necessary.

Hymn No. 99 gives in the first two lines of every verse, purāṇic stories and asks why these events took place. The story of Manmata is given in verses 7 and 9. These verses are almost a replica of each other except for the initial words and for a slight difference in line 4. As the 9th verse is more in accordance with the established practice of assonance than its altered form in the 7th verse, it might be taken to have been the original verse rather than the 7th.

IX

One has to confess, one is here in the land of conjecture except in a few cases like hymn No. 99. The difficulty may be explained with reference to a hymn which has only ten verses, for instance hymn No. 54. In that hymn, verse No. 8 is addressed

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to the Lord but in the middle of this verse, the poet turns to his own mind only to end with his address to the Lord, which forms a kind of chorus at the end of every verse of this hymn. This is not a case of any breach of a pattern. Perhaps the abrupt changes reflect truly the confusion of the poet's misery. It is verse No. 2 which repeats "Tiruvaṭip piḷaiyēṉ" without making any clear sense in any of its lines — perhaps an attempt to sing on the model of verse No. 1 — that seems to be omitted. Even the reference to Caṅkili is not clear. If this is omitted this hymn will have only nine verses, one verse having been already lost to us. It is not argued that this should be omitted; it is pointed out only for the purpose of explaining the difficulties in the way.

This examination has proceeded on the assumption that where there is a repetition of ideas or words without any poetic effect, in such repetitions they may not be the work of Ārūrar. As a check we have Periyapurāṇam which in some cases refers to particular verses and Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi Tiruvantāti. If verses have been referred to by these earlier works it will be difficult to set them aside as interpolations. The other assumption is that when a hymn follows a particular pattern, any verse which does not fit in with that pattern will have to be looked upon with suspicion. But one has to be on one's guard in deciding upon the pattern; one must avoid the temptation of imagining too detailed a pattern. A third source of suspicion which may after all turn out to be baseless, hovers around verses referring to Viṣṇu or Jains on the pattern of Campantar's hymns. Perhaps it is the fourth assumption of poetic worth of a verse — purely a personal prediliction inspite of all reasons given — that really decides the matter. It is not claimed that the judgements are final. A case, it is hoped, has been made for re-examining the verses of these hymns with a suspicion that there may be in them verses not sung by Ārūrar. Nothing more is claimed and that is why in our studies in the following pages we do not omit references to the verses here suspected to be interpolations.

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CHAPTER V

THE LIFE OF NAMPI ĀRŪRAR—THE TRADITION

I

The life of Nampi Ārūrar assumes great significance in Śaiva Philosophy. It is said to represent by some, the sakha mārga, the way of worshipping God as one's friend.

Civañana Cittiyār—Cupakkam, describes four ways of attaining God, the path of the servant, the path of the good son, the path of the friend and the path of truth.[1] These are equated with Caryā, Kriyā, Yōga and Jñāna Mārgas.

The path of the servant consists in sweeping the temple of the Lord, painting the ground with cow dung, gathering flowers and making them into various kinds of garlands for the Lord, singing hymns in His praise, setting up and lighting the temple lamps, preparing temple gardens, falling at the feet of Śaivites and doing their biddings.[2]

The path of the good son is explained as going with sweet smelling flowers, incense, light, bathing materials and food, performing the five purifications, conceiving and contemplating upon the seat, the image and the inner light of the image, performing worship out of pure love, praising, and conducting the ceremonies in the sacrificial fire with reverence every day.[3]

The path of the friend is the conquest of the sense organs, the control of the inspiration and expiration of breath to such a great extent that the movement of the body ceases, the knowledge of the inner seats of yōga and their internal ways of action, the realisation of their significance, going up the passage of yōga and reaching the sphere of the moon in the body and from there allowing the nectar to flow up to the brim into one's body, contemplating on the Absolute light and performing completely the yōga of eight parts.[4]

1. C.C., V. 270.
2. *Ibid.*, V. 271:
3. *Ibid.*, V. 272.
4. *Ibid.*, V. 273.

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The path of truth consists in the knowledge of all śāstras, philosophies and religions, the rejection of varied ways other than the jñāna mārga, realisation of jñāna of the good path, which, analysing the characteristic features of paśu (the soul), pati (God), and pāśa (the fetter) shows the way to the attainment of Paraśiva, the resulting absence of any quest after the knower, the known and the knowledge and the final communion with Śiva.[5]

It is said that the life of Appar represents the path of the servant, the life of Campantar, the path of the good son, the life of Ārūrar, the path of the friend and the life of Māṇikkavācakar, the path of truth. But this cannot be accepted as the final conclusion of the Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy. Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār[6] has no doubt whatever that all these saints reached the highest stage of spiritual development, viz., oneness with God. But Civañāna Cittiyār, which describes these four paths, explains them as four different stages in the development of spiritual realisation. The path of the servant takes you to the world of the Lord; the path of the good son brings you to the presence of the Lord; the path of the friend gives you His form; and the path of the truth brings you into Advaitic relation with the Lord.[7] All the four great saints, however, attained salvation through the jñāna mārga, though it is possible to differentiate in that path of truth itself, these four varieties of approach, all finally blossoming into the flower of realisation. It is in this sense that we can speak of the life of Nampi Ārūrar as exemplifying the path of friendship. Cēkkiḻār emphasises this by referring to the name of Nampi Ārūrar as Tampirāṉ Tōḻar[8] and speaking of all the activities of Nampi Ārūrar as yōga.[9]

II

Apart from this, the poems of Ārūrar, being the outpourings of his heart, have to be interpreted in relation to the events of his life. His hymns are full of references to his own life. It is, therefore, necessary to have a clear picture of his life for understanding his verses aright. It is better to begin with the story of his life as given in Periyapurāṇam. This story may be next examined in the light of references found in Ārūrar's hymns.

5. *Ibid.*, V. 274.
6. *Kaḷiṟ.*, V. 12.
7. C.C., V. 270.
8. Taṭut., 127-129.
9. Taṭut., 181.

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Cēkkiḻār begins his Purāṇam with the narration of events which happened on the top of the Mountain Kailas before Ārūrar was born in this world. The story is that he fell in love with two ladies of Parvatī's retinue, whilst gathering flowers.[10] Ālālacuntarar, that is the name which our poet bore in his previous birth there,[11] was, therefore, sent to this world for the fulfilment of his desires.[12] At his request, the Lord promised to save him from the ephemeral pleasures of the world.[12a] There are people who consider this as an interpolation in Periyapurāṇam. It is not necessary to go into this vexed question; for, we are not very much concerned with the previous birth of the saint. Beyond stating that our poet, as a Saivite, was a believer in the theory of Karma and transmigration of souls, we can make no scientific statements about his previous birth with the help of the hymns he had sung.

III

The story of Ārūrar is given in Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam, Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyanār Purāṇam, Kaḷaṟiṟṟaṟivār Nāyaṉār Purāṇam and the last Veḷḷāṉaic carukkam of Periyapurāṇam.

Ārūrar belonged to Tirumuṉaippāṭi Nāṭu and was born in the city of Tirunāvalūr[13]. His father was Caṭaiyaṉār and mother Icaiñāṉiyār.[14] He was named (Nampi) Ārūrar after the God of Tiruvārūr.[15] The chief of Tirumuṉaippāṭi Nāṭu, Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar, was captivated by the beauty of this child and he brought him up in his own place.[16] When Ārūrar came to be of the marriageable age, his parents made arrangements for getting him married to the daughter of Ṣaḍaṅgavi (Ṣaḍ aṅga vit) Śivāccāriyār of Puttūr.[17] Before the marriage could be performed, Śiva Himself came in the form of an old Brahmin and protested against the marriage of Ārūrar, whom he claimed as his slave.[18] To prove his preposterous story of one Brahmin becoming a slave of another Brahmin, he produced before the assembly of learned

10. Tirumalai., 24, 25.
11. Tirumalai., 22.
12. Tirumalai., 27.
12a. Tirumalai., 29.
13. Taṯut., 1, 2.
14. *Ibid.*, 3.
15. *Ibid.*, 4.
16. *Ibid.*, 5.
17. *Ibid.*, 7.
18. *Ibid.*, 37.

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Brahimns, the original deed of slavery duly signed by Ārūrar's grand-father and attested by witnesses of that age.[19] The signatures were compared and the assembly had to decide that the document was genuine and valid.[20] It was mentioned therein that this old Brahmin who claimed Ārūrar as his slave belonged to Tiruveṇṇeinallūr and every one assembled there was anxious to know where he resided. The old man led them all and disappeared at the entrance to the ṭemple of Tiruvaruṭṭuṟai.[21] At the time of the enquiry, Ārūrar at first abused the old man and tore off the copy of the document. Therefore, Śiva now praised him as 'Vaṉ Toṇṭaṉ'— 'The stubborn slave' — and declared that the best form of worship He loved was the song.[22] He bade Ārūrar begin singing by using his very word of abuse 'Pittā' — 'the madman' — and Nampiyārūrar sang the first hymn beginning with 'Pittā piṟaicūṭi.'"[22a] "Is it fair to deny after having become your slave?' — that is the strain (chorus) of the verses. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn, "Peritām Tiruppatikam,"[23] 'the great hymn,' because of the great revolution effected in Ārūrar,

From there, the poet naturally went to his place of birth, Tirunāvalūr, and sang a hymn in praise of the Lord of the temple there.[24] In obedience to the command of the Lord that he should go about the world singing His praises, Ārūrar started on a pilgrimage.[25]

The first place visited by Ārūrar was Tiruttuṟaiyūr.[26] He sang there the hymn beginning with "Malaiyār aruvi"[27]. In every one of the verses of this hymn, the poet desired that the path of Tapas (Sacrifice) might be shown to him. Periyapurāṇam describes this hymn as the hymn obstructing the path of births — "Pavaneṟikku vilakkākum Tiruppatikam".[28]

After visiting various temples of the Lord, he thought of Citamparam. He crossed the Peṇṇār (Peṇṇaiyāṟu), reached the

19. *Ibid.*, 59, 60.
20. *Ibid.*, 61, 62.
21. *Ibid.*, 65.
22. *Ibid.*, 70.
22a. *Ibid.*, 73, 74.
23. *Ibid.*, 74.
24. *Ibid.*, 78.
25. Ibid., 76.
26. *Ibid.*, 79.
27. H. 13.
28. Taṭut., 79.

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outskirts of Tiruvatikai which was the place where Saint Appar worked with his hoe or uḻavārappaṭai' and was so overcome by a feeling of reverence that he dared not even set his foot on such a sacred soil. He remained in the Cittavaṭa mutt. Whilst he was asleep, Śiva in the form of an old Brahmin, came and laid Himself down with His feet touching the head of Ārūrar. Ārūrar woke up and protested. The old man begged him to be excused for not knowing the direction because of His old age. But this kind of kicking on the head was repeated so many times that Ārūrar exploded: "Who art thou?" Then the old man disappeared saying, 'Don't you know me?' Only then the truth of divine presence dawned on Ārūrar and he sang the hymn, "Is there any one who does not know his Lord?"—"Tammāṉai aṟiyāta cātiyār uḷarē"[29] ending each verse with the interrogation, "Will I slight the Lord of Tiruvatikai even for a second?"[30]

After bathing in the river Keṭilam, Ārūrar worshipped the temples at Tirumāṇikkuḻi, and Tiṟuttiṉainakar where he sang the hymn No. 64 beginning with "Nīṟu tāṅkiya", advising therein his mind to take refuge into the sprout of Śiva—'Śivakkoḻuntu'.

He entered the temple Citamparam, through the northern gate. He was moved by the sight of the divine dance and sang a hymn praising his own birth as the most blissful because it gave him this great opportunity of worshipping the dance. Unfortunately this hymn is not available for our study. A voice was heard from the Heaven directing Ārūrar to proceed to Tiruvārūr.[31]

The poet crossed the Coleroon (Koḷḷiṭam) and approached Cīkāḻi. He could not set foot on the holy soil of that city where Campantar was born. Whilst on the outskirts of that city, the Lord appeared to him on the sacred bull along with his consort and the poet sang the hymn No. 58 beginning with "Cātalum piṟattalum", describing therein the vision as the very vision of Kailas. Cēkkiḻār describes this hymn as "Paṇ tarum iṉṉicai payiṉṟa Tiruppatikam"—'the hymn of the music full of rāgas or melody'.[32]

After offering his worship at Cīkāḻi, our poet passed through Tirukkōlakkā, Tiruppuṉkūr and various other shrines. The great

29. H. 38.
30. Taṯut., 82-88.
31. *Ibid.*, 108.
32. *Ibid.*, 113.

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Kāviri river was reached and our saint worshipped Mayilāṭuturai, Amparmākāḷam and Tiruppukalūr and reached near Tiruvārūr. The people of Tiruvārur were informed by Śiva of the approach of the poet and they went in a body and gave him a royal welcome. At the sight of this reception, Ārūrar sang the hymn beginning with, "Karaiyum kaṭalum",[33] ending each verse with the plea, 'The Lord resides at Tiruvārūr: ascertain from Him whether He will accept us as well'. That is the burden of every verse in this hymn. Here Cēkkiḻār observes that our poet reached the entrance of the shrine singing, "Canta icaip patikaṅkaḷ"[34] hymns of rhythm and music'.

Cēkkiḻār describes at this stage, the episode of love, in all its poetic glory. Paravaiyār, one of the common women, and a virgin, came to worship at the temple of Tiruvārūr and Ārūrar fell in love with her. Paravaiyār was not unwilling and she became love-sick. Ārūrar looked upon her as the very embodiment of Śiva's grace. Both were married and they led a life of happiness and piety. The devotees of the Lord conferred the title of 'Tampirāṉ Tōḻar' (the friend of the Lord) on Ārūrar.[35]

On another day, Ārūrar came to worship at the temple. At the entrance, there was a maṇṭapam of a grove called 'Tēvāciriyaṉ' where sat assembled all the saints of this world. Ārūrar mentally prayed for serving them and begged of the Lord to make him fit for such a service. The Lord revealed to him their greatness and directed him to sing their praises. He was not sure how to begin. Lord's voice was there heard: "Start with the line 'Tillai vāḻ antaṇartam aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ".[36] In obedience to the divine command, our poet composed the famous 'Tiruttoṇṭattokai' hymn No. 39. Periyapurāṇam is really the story of the saints enumerated in this famous hymn. Cēkkiḻār tries to impress the greatness of the message of this hymn by narrating the story of its birth in 15 verses.[36a] He calls this hymn as the true hymn of broad or universal outlook and love.[37] Thus ends the Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam of Periyapurāṇam.

33. H. 73.
34. Taṭut., 123.
35. *Ibid.*, 129.
36. *Ibid.*, 199.
36a. *Ibid.*, 189-203.
37. *Ibid.*, 201, 202.

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IV

The next part of the story of Ārūrar is continued in Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam. There was a Veḷḷāḷa called Kuṇṭaiyūr Kiḷār who was supplying Ārūrar with grains and other necessaries of life. A great famine came and the Veḷḷāḷa was at his wit's end. The Lord appeared in a dream and informed him of the gift of a mountain of grains. The problem was how to transport all the grains to Tiruvārūr. Ārūrar worshipped at the temple at Tirukkōḷili which is near Kuṇṭaiyūr and begged of the Lord by singing a Tiruppatikam beginning with "Nīḷa niṉaintu",[37a] begging the Lord therein to help him to transport this grain to Tiruvārūr, so that Paravai might no longer suffer. Periyapurāṇam tells us that the Pūtas carried overnight all this mountain of paddy to Tiruvārūr, where at the request of Paravaiyār all the residents took as much as they wanted from the great store.[38]

Whilst Ārūrar was thus worshipping at the temple of Tiruvārūr, Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār requested him to pay a visit to his place, viz., Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi. After worshipping various temples on the way, Ārūrar reached Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi, which was adorned by Kōṭpuli in a befitting manner, for welcoming the saint. Kōṭpuli worshipped the saint and arranged for a great feast. He brought his two children Ciṅkaṭi and Vaṉappakai and begged the saint to accept them as his servants. Our poet accepted them as his own daughters. He went to worship the temple at Tirunāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi and in the hymn sung there beginning with 'Pūṇ nāṇ',[39] the poet refers to Kōṭpuli and Ciṅkaṭi.

From there he reached Valivalam, where he sang the hymn No. 67. Therein he says that he had the vision of the Lord who was fond of the hymns of Campantar and Nāvukkaraiyar.[40] Cēkkiḷār mentions here that our poet had composed this hymn by weaving into music the all-pervasive Tamil garland.[41]

Ārūrar returned to Tiruvārūr. The Paṅkuṉi Uttara festival was fast approaching and Paravaiyār had no money for welcoming the pilgrims. Ārūrar had to think of bringing gold and he went to the temple at Tiruppukalūr and sang a hymn expressing

37a. H. 20.
38. Ēyar., 24-28.
39. H. 15.
40. H. 67: 5.
41. Ēyar., 43.

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his desire of getting gold from Him. But, this hymn is lost to us. Returning after worship, he felt so fatigued that he fell asleep on the cloth he spread out on the ground after arranging as his pillow the bricks lying there for the construction of the temple. When he woke up, he found to his great surprise that all the bricks had been turned into pure gold. He then sang the famous 'Tiruppukalūr' hymn beginning with 'Tammaiyē pukaḻntu'[42] declaring unto the world that God would give here and now unequalled happiness. Cēkkiḻār describes this hymn as a musical garland of sweet words.[43] On his way, whilst he was approaching Tiruppaṉaiyūr, he had the vision of the great dance of Śiva. He went into the temple there and sang the hymn beginning with 'Māṭa māḻikai'[44] giving expression to the joy of his vision: "He is indeed the beautiful, He the dancer!" Cēkkiḻār describes this hymn as the hymn which the world received for being saved.[45] Ārūrar returned to Tiruvārūr with the gold bricks in great joy and lived in peace with Paravaiyār at Tiruvārūr.

V

Again, Ārūrar started on a pilgrimage. He visited the great temple at Naṉṉilam, built, as stated in the last verse of the hymn which the poet sang there, by the Cōḻa king Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ.[46] Cēkkiḻār describes the hymn as the garland of Tamil.[47] From there he went to Tiruvīḻimiḻalai welcomed by the Brahmins of that place. The hymn No. 88 sung here begs the Lord who had given coins daily to Campantar and Appar with the desire of listening to the music of Tamil, to shower His grace on Ārūrar as well. Periyapurāṇam describes it as the garland of pure Tamil words of expansion.[48] The temple at Tiruvāñciyam was sung in hymn No. 76, when our poet worshipped the Lord there. Cēkkiḻār calls this the hymn of no blot.[49] Ārūrar reached Aricirkaraip puttūr but went to worship at Cittīccaram temple at Tirunaṟaiyūr. From there he returned to Puttūr welcomed by the Śaivites. In verse 6 of the hymn No. 9 of this temple, Ārūrar refers to the story of Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṉār,. Tiruvāvaṭuturai situated on his

42. H. 34.
43. Ēyar., 51.
44. H. 87.
45. Ēyar., 53.
46. H. 98: 11.
47. Ēyar., 56.
48. Ēyar., 59.
49. Ēyar., 60.

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way received the hymn No. 66, which immortalises amongst others, the story of Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ.[50] 'The munificent hymn of a garland of Tamil words'—so says Cēkkiḻār in praise of this hymn.[51] The various temples on the southern bank of Kāviri were visited and Ārūrar finally came to Tiruviṭaimarutūr. In the hymn No. 60, sung there, he requested the Lord to show him the way of escape. This is described in Periyapurāṇam as containing sweet flowers of Tamil words.[52] Tirunākēccuram was sung on his way, in hymn No. 99. Cēkkiḻār calls this the ever-expanding hymn.[53] Ārūrar is said to have visited Śivapuram but there is no hymn for that temple available. After worshipping at various temples, he came to Tirukkalaiyanallūr where he sang the famous hymn No. 16, describing the various purāṇic stories.

He came to Tirukkuṭamūkku or Kumbhakōṇam, Tiruvalañcuḻi and Tirunallūr and sang hymns though no hymns for these temples have reached us. Worshipping various other places, he came to Tiruccōṟṟuṯṯuṟai and composed the hymn beginning with 'Aḻal nīr oḻuki".[54] This, Cēkkiḻār calls, the hymn of beautiful words.[55] After worshipping at various temples including Kaṇṭiyūr, Tiruvaiyāṟu, Tiruppūnturutti, he came to Tiruvālampoḻil, where the Lord appeared in a dream asking why our poet had forgotten Maḻapāṭi.[55] Ārūrar had a vision of the youthful beauty of the Lord. Our poet reached the northern bank of Kāviri and went to worship at Tirumaḻapāṭi and sang the hymn No. 24, exclaiming, "Who else except yourself shall I think of hereafter?" Cēkkiḻār calls this the incomparable hymn of flowers.[55] Various other temples on both the banks of the river Kāviri were visited by Ārūrar. The Śaivities of Tiruvāṉaikkā welcomed the poet and he sang the hymn No. 75, where he asserted that the worshippers of the Lord were his Lords. In this hymn the poet sang of the Cōḻa of Uṟantai, offering his best necklace to the Lord which came to adorn the Liṅga brought in a pot through the Kāviri waters, for bathing it.[57] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as the hymn of pure or beautiful words.[58]

50. H. 66: 2.
51. Ēyar., 63.
52. Ēyar., 65.
53. Ēyar., 66.
54. H. 94.
55. Ēyar., 70.
55a. Ēyar., 72.
56. Ēyar., 74.
57. H. 75: 7; Ēyar., 76, 77,
58. Ēyar., 76.

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After worshipping at other temples, Ārūrar reached Tiruppāccilāccirāmam. Ārūrar prayed for money and Cēkkiḻār reminds of Ārūrar's path of friendship.[59] When no money was forthcoming from the Lord, he sang the hymn No. 14, wherein with disappointed heart, he cried, "If He is not going to shower His grace on His servants, if He is not going to give anything, is there no other Lord for us?" Periyapurāṇam tells us that a heap of money was given by the Lord at this place.[60] From there, Ārūrar went to Tiruppaiñ̃ñīli. He sang the hymn No. 36. It represents the speeches of the woman who fell in love witn Bhikṣāṭana, the beautiful person of the forest. This hymn is called by Cēkkiḻār, "the hymn of rare Tamil".[61] Iṅkōymālai and other temples were next visited though no hymns are available for us. Following the Kāviri, our poet reached Koṅkunāṭu.

At Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi, on the south bank of Kāviri, he sang the famous hymn No. 48, that his tongue would continue to utter the Pañcākṣara even if he were unconscious. This hymn is celebrated by Periyapurāṇam as the saviour hymn of Puruṣārtha on the way.[62] Passing through various temples, he reached Pērūr on the banks of the Kāñci river. There he saw the vision of the Tillai dance. He exclaimed, "What else is there for attaining, after one has worshipped this dance of Śiva?"[63] Unfortunately there is no hymn of this kind available for our study.

Ārūrar went to Veñcamākkūṭal, singing there the hymn No. 42, describing the Ciṟṟāṟu, the temple and the city on its bank. In this hymn, he asked the Lord whether he would accept him as well.

The Kaṟkuṭi mountain was visited next and Ārūrar in the hymn No. 27 sung there begged of the Lord to encourage him by saying, 'Fear not'. Periyapurāṇam speaks of our poet worshipping Tiruvāṟaimēṟṟaḷi and Tiru Iṉṉampar.[64] This is on the basis of the first verse of Tiruppuṟampayam hymn No. 35, where the poet states, "We had gone to Āṟaimēṟṟaḷi and had come to stay at

59. Ēyar., 80.
60. Ēyar., 82.
61. Ēyar., 84.
62. Ēyar., 88.
63. Ēyar., 91.
64. Ēyar., 94.

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Iṉṉampar and our Lord had not stated anything. Therefore, Oh, my heart! let us start for worshipping at Puṟampayam". This hymn is, according to Periyapurāṇam, the hymn of sweet music established firmly everywhere [65] At Tiruppuṟampayam, he was welcomed by the Śaiva worshippers. Whilst worshipping at many temples on the way after leaving Tiruppuṟampayam, the Lord appeared to him in the form of an old Brahmin at Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr. Ārūrar enquired of the old Brahmin the way to Mutukuṉṟam and the old Brahmin disappeared saying, "This is the way which leads to Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr".[66] All were surprised and our poet gave expression to his sense of divine wonder in his hymn No. 85, where he exclaimed, "I do not understand this wonder of the Lord coming this way".

After worshipping at the temple at Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr, Ārūrar went to Tirumutukuṉṟam and sang the hymn 43, the hymn of a garland of beautiful words according to Periyapurāṇam.[67] Ārūrar, according to Periyapurāṇam, had the intention of getting gold from the Lord.[68] The next hymn No. 63 repeatedly praising the Lord as Nampi was sung and Periyapurāṇam tells us that the Lord gave 12,000 gold.[69] Ārūrar requested the Lord for the safe transport of this gold, whereupon, the Lord ordered him to throw the gold into the Maṇimuttāṟu, for being delivered at the temple tank at Tiruvārūr, when he would reach that city.[70] After thus assured of the livelihood for his body, Ārūrar thought of the livelihood for his soul and went on his way to Citamparam. On his way, he worshipped various temples including Kaṭampūr. At Citamparam, he sang the hymn No. 90 praising the vision he had of the Tillai dance at Pērūr. He gave expression to his bliss at the sight of this dance in every one of the verses in this hymn.

From there he went to the Kokuṭikkōyil at Tirukkaruppaṟiyalūr, wherein he exclaimed, "How sweet is He unto us when we think of Him?"[71] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as the hymn of Truth and the garland of Tamil.[72]

65. Ēyar., 96.
66. Ēyar., 101-103.
67. Ēyar., 105.
68. Ēyar., 106.
69. Ēyar., 107.
70. Ēyar., 108.
71. H. 30.
72. Ēyar., 117.

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He sang a hymn at Tiruppaḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai.[73] Cēkkiḻār describes this as the hymn of praise beyond thought.[74] At Tiruvāḻkoḷiputtūr, he sang the hymn No. 57. "What shall I think of, forgetting this precious gem of Vāḻkoḷiputtūr?"—this is the burden of the hymn. When Ārūrar reached Kāṉāṭṭumuḷḷūr, he saw a vision of the Lord and the poet sang in hymn No. 40, that he had seen and worshipped Him there. Cēkkiḻār describes this as the hymn ruling the Heavens and the garland woven of munificent Tamil.[75]

At Tiruvetirkoḷpāṭi, he sang what Periyapurāṇam calls 'Cittanilait tiruppatikam'.[76] The hymn No. 7 is, true to its name, addressed to the mind, advising it to reach Etirkoḷpāṭi.

At Vēḷvikkuṭi, he sang hymn No. 18, coupling that place with Tirutturutti. Periyapurāṇam states that Ārūrar worshipped Śiva as the Lord of the sacrifice.[77] In every verse of this hymn, the poet exclaims, "Will we not serve Him, if we had known Him?"

Ārūrar returned to Tiruvārūr, worshipping on the way various temples. The gold has to be taken delivery at the temple tank and according to Periyapurāṇam, Ārūrar sang hymn No. 25, which is addressed to the Lord of Mutukuṉṟam. It begs of the Lord to remove the suffering and shower His blessings, in the very presence of Paravai. In the 9th verse when the poet sang, "Kūtta tantaruḷāy"—'Oh, Dancer, please do give!" It is said that gold appeared and was taken to the house of Paravaiyār.[78]

One day at Tiruvārūr, he sang[79] explaing the characteristic features of the Lord in the form of rhetorical interrogations.

VI

Ārūrar started on another pilgrimage to the various temples with his followers. After worshipping temples surrounding Tiruvārūr, he reached Tirunaḷḷāṟu. He sang H. 68, which is very much on the pattern of H. 57; but there[80] he addressed the Lord as the precious gem, whereas here,[81] he addressed the Lord as the nectar. Cēkkiḻār does not mention specifically this hymn.

73. H. 22.
74. Ēyar., 118.
75. Ēyar., 120.
76. Ēyar., 121.
77. Ēyar., 122.
78. Ēyar., 134-39.
79. H. 33.
44. H. 57.

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At Tirukkaṭavūṟ Mayāṉam Ārūrar sang the famous hymn beginning with "Maruvār koṉṟai"[82] and addressing the Lord 'Peria Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ', the Great King. Cēkkiḻār cslls this hymn as the hymn of overflowing music.[83] At Tirukkaṭavūr nearby, H. 28 was sung wherein the poet exclaims, "Where is any help for me except yourself?" This pathetic cry makes Cēkkiḻār label this hymn, "Maru īrat tamiḻ mālai"—'the loving (wet) garland of sweet fragrance'.[84]

At Valampuram, Ārūrar sang H. 72, which Cēkkiḻār thinks is full of rhythmic words: "Uraiyōcaippatikam".[85] Tiruccāykkāṭu rcceived a hymn from Ārūrar, according to Cēkkiḻār, which however has not reached us.[86]

Tiruveṇkāṭu received H. 6, wherein the poet as explained in the last verse of the hymn asks a number of questions of the Lord's activities.

Hymn 97 was sung at Naṉipaḷḷi and Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn "Naṟṟamiḻiṉ puṉita naṟuntoṭai"—'the fragrant pure garland of good Tamil'.[87] In this hymn, the poet referred to Campantar being blessed with jñānam.[88] The poem made no request herein except stating that the Lord's city is Naṉipaḷḷi—perhaps this is the purity or 'punitam' because Tiruvaḷḷuvar states, "Tūymai eṉpatu avā iṉmai"[89] 'purity is the absence of desires'. In verse No. 3, the poet described the transcendental and immanent aspect of God.

Ārūrar reached Tiruniṉṟiyūr and sang hymn No. 65, Cēkkilār calls this the hymn of beautiful words.[90] Ārūrar described therein, certain stories of God, showering His blessings on His followers and stated that these stories had inspired him to take refuge in

81. H. 68.
82. H. 53.
83. Ēyar., 145.
84. Ēyar., 146.
85. Ēyar., 147.
36. It is possible to interpret Cēkkiḻār's verse—Ēyar., 148—as referring to a hymn sung at Tiruveṇkāṭu and not at Tirucāykkāṭu.
87. Ēyar., 149.
88. 97: 9.
89. Kuṟal, 364.
90. Ēyar., 150.

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the Lord. It is this bubbling up of love that Cēkkiḻār refers to as, Oṉṟiya aṉpu uḷḷurukāp pāṭuvār"[91]—'he sang whilst his concentrated love melted inwards.' It is in this hymn that Ārūrar gave us the number of songs Appar had sung.[92] Cēkkiḻār as a great research scholar mentions specifically this reference in his description of this hymn.[93] There is another hymn[94] for this self same temple though it is not mentioned as such by Cēkkiḻār. We had already referred to this as belonging to Tiruniṉṟa ūr of Pūcalār.

Tiru Nīṭūr was on the way, but somehow or other our poet failed to go there, but something unique in him reminded him of the temple and he returned back to worship at that temple. He sang hymn No. 56, where the poet exclaims, "Can we leave off worshipping our Lord?". Cēkkiḻār calls this, "Meypporuḷ vaṇ tamiḻ mālai"[95]—'the garland of munificent Tamil of truth' probably because of various inspiring descriptions of the Lord in various verses of this hymn especially in verses 5 and 8.

Ārūrar passed through Tiruppuṉkūr and reached Tirukkōlakkā where he had a vision of the Lord,[96] and in the hymn No. 62 sung there, he spoke of his having the vision 'Kaṇṭu koṇṭēṉē'. In the 8th verse, reference is made to Campantar receiving the 'tāḷam' (cymbal). (Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn 'Poruḷ-mālait tiruppatikam'—'the divine hymn of a garland of significance'.[97] Our poet himself describes this hymn as "Nāṭu iraṅkimuṉ aṟiyum anneṟiyāl naviṉṟa pattu"[98]—'these ten expressed in the way what the world out of love knows always'.[99]

As usual, our poet did not set his foot on the sacred precincts of Cīkāḷi. He went round the outskirts of the city and was about to reach Tirukkurukāvūr. He was overcome by hunger and thirst. As though expecting him, the Lord came there in the form of a Brahmin and set up a shed, 'pantal', for distributing water and food. Our poet could not refuse this kind offer. His

91. Ēyar., 150.
92. 65; 2.
93. Ēyar., 150.
94. H. 19.
95. Ēyar., 151.
96. Ēyar., 153.
97. Ēyar., 154.
98. 62: 10.
99. 62: 10.

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retinue and himself were completely refreshed. Whilst they were asleep, the Brahmin disappeared. Realising the divine help offered, he sang hymn No. 29, which states, "Are you not the Lord of Tirukkurukāvūr? I have not realised this. You relieve hunger of those who praise you. You have saved my life." Cēkkiḻār calls this, "Meyttakaiya Tiruppatikam"[100]—'the hymn of truth.' Ārūrar thereafter went to worship at the temple and sang a hymn[101] which however has not reached us. After worshipping at the temples nearby, he reached Tirukkaḻippālai, where he sang the hymn No. 23. Ārūrar, after worshipping at Citamparam and Tiruttiṇainakar, reached his native place Tirunāvalūr, where the Śaivities and the residents welcomed him with all their hearts. He sang the hymn No. 17, which describes the Lord saving him at Tiruveṇṇeinallūr.

From there, he entered Toṇṭai Nāṭu and passed through its various temples and cities to reach Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam. He sang there hymn No. 81. Cēkkiḻār calls this, "Pā nāṭum iṉṉicaiyiṉ tiruppatikam"[102]—'the hymn of sweet music sought after by the rhythm of the verse.' It is not possible for us to explain the beauty of the musical compositions which Cēkkiḻār enjoyed so much.

From there Ārūrar reached Tirukkaccūr. His followers and himself almost dropped down because of starvation. The Lord, it is said, came in the form of a Brahmin, went about begging for alms in that city, offered the food to our poet and his followers and disappeared.[103] Ārūrar sang here hymn No. 41, wherein he cried out, "Will not your followers feel miserable at your begging? Is this that great Grace of yours?"

Welcomed by the Śaivites of Coñjīvaram, Ārūrar entered that great city of the Pallavas. Whilst worshipping Tirumēṟṟaḻi, he sang the hymn No. 21, where with all his confidence, he exclaimed that he would worship nobody else but the Lord and that he would not have further births or misery. Cēkkiḻār calls this "Pārār perumait tiruppatikam"—'the hymn of the greatness of the world.'[104]

100. Ēyar., 163.
101. Ēyar., 165.
102. Ēyar.. 173.
103. Ēyar., 175-180.
104. Ēyar., 190.

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Hymn No. 5 was sung at Tiruvōṇakāntaṉ Taḷi, Kāñci; this hymn according to Cēkkiḻār was sung for getting gold coins from the Lord.[105] Periyapurāṇam tells us God gave Ārūrar the required money.[106] Cēkkiḻār justifies this kind of procedure as one born of true friendship to the Lord. He calls this hymn as "Kalai viḷaṅkum yāṇarp patikam"[107]—'the hymn of beautiful yield wherein shines art.' In this hymn No. 5, we see the poet playing with the Lord in a humorous way. Hymn No. 10 was at Anēkataṅkāvatam which describes the temple as the place where resides the Lord of varied activities.

After worship at all the temples at Coñjīvaram, Ārūrār reached Tiruvaṉpārttāṉ Paṉaṅkāṭṭūr, where the poet contemptuously rejected the knowledge, the speech and the habit and the support of those who did not think or speak or depend on the Lord.[108] This richness of divine love makes Cēkkiḻar call this hymn 'Vaṇtamiḻppatikam'[109]—'the hymn of munificent Tamil', and Periyapurāṇam further states that our poet sang this hymn as a good musical composition.

Ārūrar passed through Tirumāṟpēṟu, Tiruvallam and other temples on his way to Tirukkāḷatti. Another hymn of sweet music was sung by our poet at Tirukkāḷatti,[110] which exclaims, "I cannot praise any one but yourself, my Lord". This is on the pattern of hymn No. 21. Cēkkiḻār describes this as "Matura icaip patikam"[111]—'the hymn of sweet music'.

There is a hymn for Sri Parvatam[112] and another for Tirukkētāram,[113] but according to Cēkkiḻār these were sung whilst our poet was at Tirukkāḷatti, mentally contemplating on these two great temples of the north.[114]

VII

Our poet passed through very many temples nearby worshipping at every one of these places and he reached Tiruvorṟiyūr

105. Ēyar., 191.
106. Ēyar., 191.
107. Ēyar.. 191.
108. H. 86.
109. Ēyar., 194.
110. H. 26.
111. Ēyar., 197.
112. H. 79.
113. H. 78.
114. Ēyar., 198.

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welcomed by the Śaivites of the place. He sang there, the hymn No. 91, full of love and nectar-like music, as Cēkkiḻār describes it to have sung as 'Kōtil amuta icai kūṭa.'[115]

Here is described the episode of Ārūrar's marriage with Caṅkiliyār. According to Periyapurāṇam, Caṅkiliyār was the daughter of a Veḷḷāḷa chief Tiruñayiṟu Kiḻār.[116] She felt that she was ordained for a Śaiva Saint and therefore swooned whenever there was a talk of a marriage for her.[117] Once it happened that the man, who sent his men for arranging the marriage with her, died along with the messenger.[118] This alarmed the parents. She was taken to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and was allowed to live in a building. built specially for the virgin. She performed her tapas there, weaving garlands of flowers to the Lord Tiruvoṟṟiyūr. Ārūrar, whilst he was returning from the temple of Tiruvoṟṟiyūr saw Caṅkiliyār as a flash of lightning, coming from behind a screen for handing over the garland and disappearing once again inside the screen.[119] He fell in love with her and resolved to win her with the help of Śiva. The Lord appeared and assured Ārūrar of His help. Śiva appeared in the dream of Caṅkiliyār and pleaded with her on behalf of Ārūrar. The Lord again appeared before Ārūrar and advised him to promise Caṅkiliyār that he would never leave her. As such a kind of promise would prevent Ārūrar from visiting the various temples, he requested the Lord to disappear from the liṅga, whilst he was to make such a promise and to stay under the 'makiḻam tree'. The Lord agreed but inspired Caṅkiliyār to insist on the promise being made under the self same tree. When the day dawned Caṅkiliyār explained the dream to her companions and they all went to the temple and Ārūrar had to make the promise under the 'makiḻam' tree. That night the Śaivite worshippers were directed by the Lord to arrange for the marriage of this couple. The marriage was duly performed and Caṅkiliyār and Ārūrar were leading a life of happiness.

But the zephyr came with the 'Vasanta' (Spring) season, the season of the festival of Tiruvārūr, when Paravaiyār used to dance before the Lord. Ārurar sang according to Periyapurāṇam the hymn No. 51, "How long can I remain separated from my Lord

115. Ēyar., 204.
116. Ēyar., 207.
117. Ēyar., 211.
118. Ēyar., 214, 215.
119. Ēyar., 226.

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of Tiruvārūr?" which is the burden of the song. He, therefore, left Tiruvoṟṟiyūr for Tiruvārūr, thus breaking the promise he had solemnly made not to leave Caṅkiliyār. He lost, therefore, his eyesight. The poet felt very miserable and the pathetic cry was given expression to in the 54th hymn. As Cēkkiḻār points out, this hymn expresses the horrible experience of blindness, his feeling of despair and his sense of shame.[120] Hymns Nos. 51 and 54 are praised by Cēkkiḻār for their music—'Icait tiruppatikam'[121] and 'Nallicaikoṭu paravi.'[122] The intense love for the Lord of Tiruvārūr dragged him on and at 'Vaṭa Tirumullaivāyil', Ārūrar sang hymn No. 69. There he requested the Lord to remove all his intense sufferings. He specifically stated there that the Lord had removed his eyesight because of Caṅkiliyār.[123] Cēkkiḻar calls this 'Nīṭiya Patikam'—'the immortal or long hymn.'[124] In this hymn, the poet refers to Toṇṭaimāṉ in one of the verses.[125]

At Tiruveṇpākkam, the 89th hymn was sung. The poet described his sufferings and begged of the Lord to pardon him. Every one of the verses states that the poet asked the Lord whether He was in the temple and the Lord replied, "We are here, you may go." The penultimate verse informs us that he was given a walking stick. This is also praised by Cēkkiḻar as 'Icait tiruppatikam'[127] 'the hymn of music.'

From there Ārūrar went to Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. Without entering into the city of the great lady saint Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, he sang the hymn No. 52. He regretted having fallen a prey to women and expressed his resolve that he would become the slave of the servants of the Lord. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn also 'Icait tiruppatikam.'[127] After worshipping at Tiruvūṟal, he reached Kāñci (Tiruvēkampam). There, he got back his left eye. "What a great blessing to have this eyesight, to have a vision of the Lord of Ēkampam embraced by the Mother"—thus he gave expression to his feelings of joy in his hymn No 61. The hymn begins with the description of the Lord as one who has enjoyed the poison given by the Dēvas. Probably because of this Cēkkiḻār feels that Ārūrar must have prayed to the Lord to accept and

120. Ēyar., 276.
121. Ēyar., 273.
122. Ēyar., 276.
123. H. 69: 3.
124. Ēyar., 277.
125. V. 10.
126. Ēyar., 281.
127. Ēyar., 283.

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forgive his sins even as he had accepted the poison.[128] This eyesight made him think of his Tiruvārūr and he sang the hymn No. 83, where he exclaimed, "When am I to reach my Lord at Tiruvārūr and see Him with my own eyes?" Cēkkiḻār calls this "Canta icai"[129] — 'the rhythmic music'.

On his way to Tiruvārūr, he worshipped and sang at Tiru Āmāttūr. The hymn begins with the exclamation, "I have seen Him! I have seen him!"[130] In the last verse the poet emphasises the truth aspect of God. Cēkkiḻār describes this also as "Icaittiruppatikam."[131]

Ārūrar crossed Toṇṭaināṭu and entered the Cōḻa territory. He offered the Lord his garland of words of flowers[132] at Tirunelvāyil Tiruaratturai.[133] Our poet himself called this as "Naṟṟamiḻiṉ mikumālai"[134] — 'the garland full of good Tamil.' He described the ephemeral nature of the world and this hymn is full of echoes from Tirukkuṟaḷ and Nālaṭiyār. He also referred to his falling a prey to women.

Ārūrar reached the Kāviri in which he bathed and reached Tiruvāvaṭuturai. He cried he had no eye and expressed his physical suffering. He exclaimed, "Oh Lord of Dēvas! There is no one but yourself for me. Show pity on me and encourage me by saying, 'Do not fear.'[135]" This is called, "Iṉkeṉakkār uṟaveṉṉum Tiruppatikam"[136] — 'the hymn stating that he had no relation— a hymn of helplessness.'

The poet went to Tirutturutti and prayed for the removal of the disease. He was ordered to bathe in the temple tank of Tirutturutti and he became whole.[137] He sang there the hymn No. 74, where he described the Lord as one who knew the desire of his worshippers and one who had removed the disease and sins

128. Ēyar., 286.
129. Ēyar., 291.
130. H. 45.
131. Ēyar., 293.
132. Ēyar., 294.
133. H. 3.
134. H. 3: 10.
135. H. 70.
136. Ēyar., 296.
137. Ēyar., 298, 299.

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of those who bathed in the Kāviri. This hymn, Cēkkiḻār calls "Coṟpatikam, sung with seven tunes."[138]

Tiruvārūr became visible from a distance but he was feeling miserable that he had not secured the sight of the other eye. He prostrated himself before the Lord of Tiruvārūrp paravai uṇ maṇṭaḷi. He begged of the Lord to save him from miseries and to show him the world with his own eyes. Cēkkiḻār calls this hymn[139] "Aruntamiḻ" and "Tuṅka icait tiruppatikam"[140] — 'the hymn of sublime music of rare Tamil'. From there, our saint went to worship at Mūlaṭṭāṉam, the central shrine of Tiruvārur. On his way he met the Śaivite worshippers and sang the 'Kaikkiḻai' hymn beginning with 'Kurukupāya'[141] thinking of them all as birds to go and report his words of love to the Lord feeling himself as the love-sick maiden pining for the embrace of the Lord (Kaikkiḻai-ēcaṟavu).[142] He entered the temple. He begged of the Lord to bless him with the other eye.[143] Ārūrar became desperate because of his rights as a friend. He exclaimed, "Your servants suffer. You do not listen to them. You do not restore them their eyes. Will you go on living happily?"[143a] This is described in Periyapurāṇam as the hymn of beautiful words — "Añcoṟ patikam."[144] He got back the sight of the other eye and enjoyed the sight of the Lord with both the eyes.[145]

VIII

But Paravaiyār could not allow Ārūrar to come near her. The Lord Himself had to intervene to pacify Paravaiyār.

Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār was red with rage against Ārūrar that the latter should have sent the Lord as a messenger to a woman. Ārūrar's heart, unable to bear this suffering of a Śaivite saint pleaded with the Lord to pacify Kalikkāmar. Kalikkāmar was inflicted with chronic dyspepsia (cūlai) and the Lord appeared before him to advise that the disease was incurable except at the

138. Ēyar., 300,
139. H. 96.
140. Ēyar., 303.
141. H. 37.
142. Ēyar., 305.
143. H. 95.
143a. 95: 1.
144. Ēyar., 309.
145. Ēyar., 310.

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hands of Ārūrar. The Lord also appeared before Ārūrar and directed him to go to Kalikkāmar to cure the latter of the disease. Kalikkāmar thought that this was adding insult to injury and committed suicide rather than bear the infamy of being cured by Arūrar who had ill-treated his Lord. Ārūrar came to the house of Kalikkāmar. Seeing him dead, he drew his sword for putting an end to his life when by the Grace of God, Kalikkāmar regained his life—thus were the two saints brought together and reconciled. Both of them went to Tiruppuṉkūr.

Overcome by this feeling of God's Grace, Ārūrar sang the famous hymn No. 55 at Tiruppuṉkūr where he recited a number of Purāṇic stories which inspired him to take refuge in the Lord. This hymn is based on the pattern of hymn No. 65. In this hymn, he refers to Kalikkāmar as Ēyarkōṉ. Both of them went to Tiruvārūr to worship at the temple and after sometimes Kalikkāmar returned home.

IX

At about this time Cēramāṉperumāl was chosen the king of the Cēras after Ceṅkōṟpoṟaiyaṉ's death. At the close of his daily worship, it is said, he used to hear the jingling of the anklet of the Lord of Dance.[146] One day, he failed to hear this sound and he was very much upset.[147] He was about to cut off his own head when the usual sound came to be heard with the explanation of the Lord that the dealy was due to the Lord listening to the hymns sung by Ārūrar at Citamparam.[148] The Cēra king at once resolved to go on a pilgrimage to Citamparam and to pay his respects to Ārūrar. He composed his 'Poṉvaṇṇattantāti after having a vision of the dance at Citamparam[149] and from there he went to Tiruvārūr[150] It was at this time that Ārūrar had gone to Nākai to sing the hymn No. 46, wherein he begged of the Lord to give him ornaments, unguents, varieties of dress, gold, horse, dirk (curika) and silk. He had his desires fulfilled and returned to Tiruvārūr just in time to welcome the Cēra king. Ārūrar came to be known as the friend of Cēramāṉ. Both these saints spent a

146. Kaḻaṟir., 24
147. *Ibid.*, 41.
148. *Ibid.*, 42, 44.
149. *Ibid.*, 56.
150. *Ibid.*, 62.

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few days at Tiruvārūr, Cēramāṉ being the honoured guest of Ārūrar Paravaiyār's in house.

Our poet started on a pilgrimage to the Pāṇḍya country along with Cēramāṉ.[151] After worshipping at Kīḻvēḷur, Nākai and other places, they reached Tirumaṟaikkāṭu or Vēdāraṇyam.[152] Hymn No. 71 was sung by Ārūrar at that place and Cēramāṉ recited the verses in his Antāti relating to the temple.[153] They worshipped at Akattiyāṉpaḷḷi, and at the temple of Tirukkōṭikkuḻakar, Ārūrar sang hymn No. 32, wherein he referred to the Lord residing there with Kāḷi or Kāṭukiḻāḷ. After worshipping at many temples in the Cōḻa territory, they entered the Pāṇḍya country. They reached Maturai after worshipping at Tirupputtūr[154]. The Cōḻa king was then the guest of the Pāṇḍya, the former being the son-in-law of the latter. The three ancient kings of Tamil land, the Pāṇḍya, the Cēra and the Cōḻa met at Maturai to worship the Lord Śiva there. Nampi Ārūrar had a royal reception at Maturai. The three kings and himself went to Tiruppūvaṇam and on sighting the temple Ārūrar sang the hymn No. 11.[155] They returned back to Maturai to go once again on a pilgrimage to Tiru Āppaṉūr and Tiru Ēṭakam.[156] On their return they went to Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam where Ārūrar sang, as he himself mentions in the last verse of the hymn, in the presence of the three ancient kings of the Tamil land.[157] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as the 'garland of munificent Tamil of sweet music'.[158] In that hymn, the poet exclaimed that he was afraid of serving the Lord aright and Periyapurāṇam states that after hearing this hymn, the three kings were so overpowered by their sense of reverence that they fell at the feet of our saint.[159]

From there, Ārūrar, along with the Cēra king left Maturai. They went and worshipped at Kuṟṟālam[160] where our poet is said to have sung a hymn which unfortunately is not now in existence. Tirunelvēli and Ramēśvaram were by their visit. Periyapurāṇam

151. *Ibid.*, 81, 82.
152. *Ibid.*, 84, 85.
153. *Ibid.*, 87,
154. *Ibid.*, 90, 91.
155. *Ibid.*, 97, 98.
156. *Ibid.*, 101.
157. H. 2.
158. Kaḷaṟiṟ., 103.
159. *Ibid.*, 104.
160. *Ibid.*, 106.

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states that from there Ārūrar sang the hymn No. 80 in honour of Tirukkētīccuram in Ceylon.[161] This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as 'the hymn of a word-garland'. They turned back and visited Tiruccuḷiyal where Ārūrar sang hymn No. 82. This hymn according to Periyapurāṇam is a flower of poetry.[162] Whilst our poet was asleep in that place, the Lord appeared in his dream in the form of a youth and stated that His place was Kāṉappēr. Next day, Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar started for that place and on their way our poet sang the hymn No. 84, the hymn of words,[163] wherein he pined for the sight of the Lord of Kāṉappēr. Tiruppuṉavāyil was next visited and hymn No. 50 was sung. Tiruppātāḷīccuram at Pāmpaṇimānakar[163a] in the Cōḷa Country was next worshipped on their way to Tiruvārūr. Hymn No. 8 was now sung at Tiruvārūr. Cēkkiḻār calls this "the hymn of regret'.[164] where the poet in a penitent mood gave utterance to his feeling of disgust of life and exclaimed that he no longer wanted this birth.

The Cēra king invited Nampi Ārūrar to his capital and from there both of them started on a pilgrimage to the temples in the Cēra country. They worshipped at the various temples on the southern bank of Kāviri. When they came out of the temple at Tirukkaṇṭiyūr,[165] Tiruvaiyāṟu was seen on the other side. When they started to cross the river the Kāviri was in high flood.[166] Nampi Ārūrar sang hymn No. 77 addressing the Lord of Tiruvaiyāṟu, and the Kāviri stopped flowing for some time allowing them to cross the river on its bed of sand.[167] This is alluded in Periyapurāṇam as 'the hymn of known greatness'.[168] They reached finally Tiruvañcaikkaḷam, the Cēra capital, where Ārūrar sang the hymn No. 44. Our poet stayed there as the honoured guest of the Cēra king for some time but he was soon reminded of Tiruvārūr and he sang hymn No. 59, exclaiming, "Is it possible to forget the Lord of Ārūr?" with an unwilling heart, the Cēra king had to

161. *Ibid.*, 109.
162. *Ibid.*, 111.
163. *Ibid.*, 114.
163.a *Ibid.*, 120.
164. *Ibid.*, 122.
165. *Ibid.*, 130.
166. *Ibid.*, 133.
167. *Ibid.*, 135.
168. *Ibid.*, 134.

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bid good-bye and he sent Ārūrar along with his Royal gifts. According to Periyapurāṇam, the Bhūtas of Śiva robbed Ārūrar of all those gifts waylaying him in the form of highway robbers, to remind him that he should not receive any gifts except from Him.[169] The poet went to Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi and sang the hymn No. 49 wherein he asked the Lord why he was in that place pested by highway robbers.[170] Periyapurāṇam calls the hymn as 'the hymn of beautiful words'.[171] Cēkkiḻār informs us that all the gifts were restored in front of the temple and Ārūrar reached Tiruvārūr.[172]

After a few days our poet was reminded of his good friend, the Cēra king, and he started on his journey to the Cēra capital.[173] Whilst going through the Koṅku Country according to Periyapurāṇam, he heard at Tiruppukkoḷiyūr, the mournings of a Brahmin family reminded of the loss of their child which was drowned 16 years back, a child which had played with another child which was being initiated into his religion (upanayanam) on the day of the visit of Ārūrar. Ārūrar sang hymn No. 92 and made the crocodile, which had swallowed the child, bring the child back. The child was restored to the parents. This news reached the ears of the Cēra king and the king gave a fitting reception to this great Saint of miracles. On this occasion, one day he sang hymn No. 4 addressed to the Father of Tiruvañcaikkaḷam. This hymn is described in Periyapurāṇam as 'the garland of Tamil'.[174] According to Periyapurāṇam, the idea behind this hymn is that the fetters of his body should be removed. The Lord sent the white elephant to bring Ārūrar to Kailas. The Cēra king followed him on a horse. On his way to Kailas, according to Periyapurāṇam, Nampi Ārūrar sang hymn No. 100, 'the garland of Tamil'[175] and reached Kailas to remain there and serve the Lord as of old.

169. *Ibid.*, 165.
170. *Ibid.*, 165.
171. *Ibid.*, 169, 170.
172. *Ibid.*, 171, 172.
173. Vellāṉāi., 3.
174. *Ibid.*, 29.
175. *Ibid.*, 39.

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CHAPTER VI

LIFE OF ĀRŪRAR — EXAMINED

I

The story as given in Periyapurāṇam may now be examined with the help of the references from Ārūrar's hymns, i.e., Cuntarar Tēvāram. As already pointed out, the name Cuntarar is not given by Cēkkiḻār when describing our poet's life in this world in the various carukkams. He describes our Saint as Nampi Ārūrar or Vaṉtoṇṭar or Tampiṟāṉ Tōḻar. The last term has to be explained at some length later on. The other names are found used by our poet himself: Ārūrar[1], Nampi[2] and Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ[3].

The statement that our Saint was born at Tirunāvalūr to Caṭaiyaṉār and Icai ñāṉiyār and that he was brought up by Naraciṅkamuṉai araiyar is borne out by references found in Ārūrar's Tēvāram. He calls himself the son of Icai ñāṉiyār[4] or Caṭaiyaṉār.[5]

He describes Nāvalūr as the city of the Lord, as his own city and the city where Naraciṅkamuṉai araiyar lovingly serves the Lord.[6] In various places, our poet refers to Nāvalūr as his native place.[7] Nāvalūr is probably named after the 'Nāval tree'.[8] Therefore, the terms 'Nāval Ārūraṉ should be interpreted as

1. 1: 10; 2: 11; 3: 10; 5: 10; 9: 11; 14: 12; 15: 10; 16: 11; 17: 11; 18: 10; 19: 11; 21: 10; 22: 10; 23: 10; 24: 10; 25: 10; 26: 10; 28: 10; 29: 10; 38: 10; 39: 10; 40: 11; 46: 11; 51: 12; 53: 10; 56: 11; 59: 11 61: 11; 62: 10; 67: 11; 69: 11; 71: 10; 72: 11; 73: 11; 74: 10; 76: 10; 82: 10; 84: 10; 36: 10: 90: 10; 92: 10; 93: 11; 95: 11; 93: 11.

2. 4: 10; 53: 10; 64: 10.

3. 12: 11; 17: 11; 33: 10; 34: 11; 36: 11; 41: 10; 42: 10; 45: 11; 54. 10; 55: 10; 57: 12; 64: 10; 67: 11; 68: 10; 70: 10; 72: 11; 75: 10; 87: 10; 88: 10.

4. 16: 11; 38: 10; 39: 11.

5. 7: 11; 16: 11; 34: 11; 39: 11; 47: 10; 57: 12; 58: 10; 98: 11.

6. 17: 11.

7. 4: 10; 6: 10, 13: 11; 14: 12: 16; 11: 18: 10: 19: 11, 20: 10; 23 10: 24: 10; 25: 10; 26: 10; 28: 10; 33: 10; 34: 11; 36: 11; 38: 10; 39. 11; 40: 11; 41: 10; 42: 10; 46: 11; 50: 10; 53: 10: 57: 12; 61: 11: 62: 10; 64: 10; 67: 11; 68: 10; 69: 1: 73: 11; 76: 10; 79: 10; 82: 10; 83 10; 84: 10; 85: 10; 87: 10; 88: 10; 97: 10; 100: 10.

8. Jamorin plum.

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'Ūraṉ of nāval' or Tirunāvalūr'.[9] We find the expressions Nāvalar kōṉ, Nāvalar maṉṉaṉ, Nāvalar vēntaṉ or Nāvalar kōmāṉ in some verses[10] and these also should be interpreted as the chief of the people of the place of Nāval or Nāvalūr. There is an underlying pun in these terms which suggest the idea of our poet being the chief of the orators or the great men of the tongue. 'Nā' meaning, tongue, and 'Kōṉ', 'Maṉṉaṉ' and 'Kōmāṉ' meaning 'king' or 'chief'.

Our Saint's name is Nampi Ārūrar according to Periyapurāṇam. That is also according to the same source, the name of his grand-father. Our poet calls himself Ārūraṉ Nampi.[11] Nampi is a title; Ārūraṉ alone remains to be explained. This is not a name which our poet earned because of his residence in Tiruvārūr. It is a proper name; our Saint was named after the Lord of Tiruvārūr as he himself had explained.[12]

Ārūraṉ is shortened into 'Ūraṉ' in some places.

II

The first incident described by Cēkkiḻar in the life of our Saint is the appearance of the Lord as an old man with the old cadjan leaf document to claim back our poet as His hereditary slave. Hymn 1 which is said to have been sung on the occasion of our Saint realizing that the old Brahmin who had come to reclaim him was Śiva Himself, does not give any details about this incident except for the chorus of an explanation, "I have become your slave. Can I now say 'no'?" After all, this may refer to the eternal relationship between the soul and the Lord. Hymn 17 gives some more particulars about this incident. That hymn states that our poet was saved by the Lord accepting him at Tiruveṇṇeinallūr. This is referred to in all the verses of this hymn. The second verse therein refers to the assembly where the poet was saved and where the poet spoke harsh words which

9. 14: 12; 19: 11; 25: 10; 26: 10; 40: 11; 46; 11; 53: 10; 62: 10; 67: 11; 73: 11:—these contain Nāval Ūraṉ.

10. 3: 10; 4: 10; 13: 11; 16: 11; 18: 10; 23: 10; 24: 10; 28: 10; 38: 10; 39: 11; 41: 10; 42: 10; 57: 12; 64: 10; 71: 11; 82: 10; 83: 10.

11. 53: 10.

12. 59: 11; 86: 10; 89: 10.

13. 4: 10; 7: 11; 8: 10; 10: 11: 10; 12: 11: 13: 11: 31: 10; 33: 10; 34: 11; 35: 10; 37: 11; 43: 11; 44; 11; 45: 11 47: 10; 48: 10; 49: 10; 51: 12; 52: 10: 54: 10; 55: 10; 58: 10; 60; 10; 64: 10; 68; 10; 72: 11; 77: 11, 78: 10; 80: 10; 81: 10; 83: 10; 86: 10; 91: 10; 96: 10.

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brought him the reputation of being a 'Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ'. This is a hymn which consists of 11 verses and it was pointed out that this verse might be argued as being an interpolation. The old cadjan leaf document above referred to is mentioned as 'Āvaṇam'. This 'Āvaṇam' is referred to in other hymns as well.[14] It might be that there was actually an old document of slavery and the old man, perhaps a Guru of Ārūrar utilized that old document to save him by creating the required feeling of spirituality in our poet.

'Āvaṇam' means a cadjan leaf document as referred to above and it is one of the basis of the reference to āvaṇam that the story of the Lord coming to save Ārūrar must have been built. The real difficulty about this kind of interpretation is that a similar term like 'Āvaṇam koṇṭemai yāṇṭa' is found in Campantar and in Appar also.[15] The phrase would, therefore, mean nothing more than emphasizing the relationship between the soul and the Lord.

The verse 2 in hymn 95 of Ārūrar seems to go against the literal interpretation of this story: 'Viṟṟukkoḷvīr oṟṟiyallēṉ virumpiyāṭpaṭṭēṉ' where our poet says that he of his own accord came to serve the Lord and not because of any compulsory legal relationship, like mortgage.

That our poet had some divine vision and a spiritual experience resulting in his conversion at Tiruveṇṇeinallūr seems to be clear and an old Brahmin of a Guru must have played an important part in bringing about this spiritual conversion. The spiritual Guru is always looked upon by Śaivites as no other than Śiva Himself.

The second hymn sung by Ārūrar is hymn 13 and therein naturally he prayed for a life of sacrifice after this sudden conversion.

III

The next incident is what may be called the 'Tiruvaṭi dīkṣā' i.e., the Lord coming in the form of an old man whilst our poet was asleep and placing his feet on the poet's head. It is the established practice among the Saivites to look upon the spiritual preceptor as the very incarnation of God. There is nothing

14. 5: 10; 23: 5; 62: 5; 68: 6.

15. Campantar: 1: 116: 3; 2: 81: 10; 3: 16: 4; Appar 6: 124: 3; 6: 125: 3.

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improbable in an old Brahmin, possibly, the one who brought about the poet's conversion coming and sleeping at the place where the poet slept at Tiruvatikai and trying to place his feet on the poet's head, only to walk away quietly without any notice after the event. But, there are not clear statements about this in this hymn No. 38. The first verse states that the poet is living in the hope that the Lord will come and place His feet on his head. The last verse describes the Lord as the great lover whom the poet had addressed without proper regard. Every one of these verses ends with an exclamation, "Would I slight Him even for a second?" It is on the basis of these references that the story of the incident stands. There is not the slightest doubt that the poet had undergone some kind of spiritual experience at the end of which he realized that he could not slight Him even for a second.

IV

The next turning point is the experience of the divine dance at Citamparam and his hearing there a voice from the Heavens ordering the poet *to go over to Tiruvārūr*. As already hinted, no hymn, sung after the vision of the dance, is available for our study. As for the hearing of the voice, we must remember our poet was living in an age when people were living in an atmosphere of visions and divine voices seen and heard by spiritually minded people. What Dr. Eliot says of Dante is true of Ārūrar as well: "It belongs to the world of what I call the high dream and the modern world seems capable only of the low dream. Dante's is a visual imagination. It is a visual imagination in a different sense from that of a modern painter of still life. It is visual in the sense that he lived in an age in which man still saw visions. It was a psychological habit, the trick of which we have forgotten, but as good as any of our own. We have nothing but dreams and we have forgotten that seeing a vision, a practice now relegated to the aberrant and the uneducated, was once a more significant, interesting and disciplined king of dreaming."

Every Śaivite looks upon the sight of Kailas as the be-all and end-all of his life. The story of Appar going on his pilgrimage to Mount Kailas and God ordering him to return to Tiruvaiyāṟu to have a vision of Kailas is significant. Our poet Ārūrar had the vision of Kailas at Kaḷumalam, i.e., Cīkāḷi according to Periyapu-

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rāṇam.[16] Though the word Kailas does not occur in the hymn, it represents a vision which the poet had. In verse 3, he spoke of a dream of the Lord and his disappointment after waking up from the sleep. Thereafter came the vision. Verse 4 shows the result. The poet was sure, that would never be born, that he would reach Him. His quest after the Lord was spoken of in verse 5. His mind no longer went on the multifarious paths. It now went in search of the Lord and nothing else. He prayed for the Lord with all his love and his whole body was full of bliss and then came the vision.[17] A net was spread out for catching a hare and a great elephant of a God fell into it.[18] The verse 9, speaks of the people who have a clear vision of the Vēdas remaining at home and of some delusion where the pond and its bank along with a bath therein appear like a great fact. The poet exclaimed that he had not realized the impropriety of believing in this delusion as truth. Then came the vision. The poet stated that the Lord was attained by those who bitterly wept for the past and repented.[19]

On reaching Tiruvārūr, it is said he had addressed hymn 73 to the worshippers of Śiva asking them whether Śiva would accept him as his servant. The poet was conscious of his power of concentration on God and he spoke of his shoulders as those embraced by the God of Wealth, a fitting description of the bride-groom of Paravai.

In two other places also, our poet is said to have had a vision of God. Whilst he was sleeping at Tiruccuḻiyal, he had the vision of the Lord of Tirukkāṉappēr in a form which was not found anywhere else and in that dream the poet was told that it was the form of Tirukkāṉappēr.[20] Hymn 84 said to have been sung at this time exclaims, "When am I to reach this Lord of Kāṉappēr?" It is said that the Lord appeared in the form of a youth and in this hymn the poet addresses the Lord as 'Kāḷai' or the youth. This hymn describes the beautiful personal appearance of the youth and in the last verse the poet speaks of the youth and there is the reference to the poet's contemplation of the form. Verse 6 speaks of his pining for the sight of the Lord and the Lord showering His blessings on him.

16. H: 58.
17. V. 6.
18. V. 7.
19. V. 10
20. Periya., Kaḻaṟiṟ: 112, 113,

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From Tiruppuṟampayam, Ārūrar, whilst going on his way to Tirumutukuṉṟam asked of a Brahmin coming on the road, the way to Tirumutukuṉṟam. The Brahmin replied that that was the way to Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟur, a place which Ārūrar never thought of. In hymn 85 sung at Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr, Ārūrar expressed his feeling of wonder "I have not understood this wonderful miracle of the Lord coming this way." This may be due to some spiritual experience the poet had or to the poet thinking of the Brahmin who had reminded about this temple as none other than the Lord Himself as stated in the Purāṇa. But the hymn refers to the Lord going that way with the Mother Goddess and surrounded by Dēvas and Bhūtas: these references make it a vision.

At Tirukkāṉāṭṭumuḷḷūr also, it is said, our poet had a vision of the Lord and the hymn No. 40 states that he had seen Him and worshipped Him there. Wherever the word 'kaṇṭu' is used by our poet, Cēkkiḻār explains it as a vision seen by the poet. In hymn 62 sung at Tirukkōlakkā, the poet exclaims: "I have seen him at Kōlakkā" and Cēkkiḻār states that the Lord appeared before our poet in that sacred place.

It is said that the poet was going to worship at Tiruvārūr temple as usual after his marriage with Paravaiyār and our poet mentally prayed to the Lord for becoming a servant of the congregation of Śaivites assembled at Tēvāciriya maṇṭapam. According to Periyapurāṇam, the Lord appeared before him, made him realize the greatness of this congregation and ordered him to sing, starting the first half of the line with "Tillai vāḻ antaṇartam aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ." There is nothing in hymn 39, the famous Tiruttoṇṭattokai referring to the vision but this hymn refers to a vision of the congregation whose significance one has to study separately.

V

The next important episode is that of his marriage with Paravai. Except the references to Paravai, we do not have any detailed description of the episode of his love with Paravai in any hymn. But as a true yōgi according to Periyapurāṇam, Ārūrar looked upon every event of life as being inspired by his Lord. It is from this point of view, Cēkkiḻār is describing Ārūrar's love affair. Verse No. 10 of hymn No. 51 gives support to Cēkkiḻar's version of the story. According to our poet, the Lord saved him

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and accepted him as his servant giving him Paravai of the beautiful eyes.

The mystics waver for some time through two contradictory experiences of exhilaration and depression. When the idea of God's Grace is uppermost in their mind they are so full of divine bliss that they look upon every event of life as having been brought out by the Lord and then they exclaim that they can never be separated from Him. But the world around them soon drags them down and they undergo experience of the dark chamber, feeling almost separated from the Lord. In a spirit of self-condemnation, they exaggerate all their drawbacks into heinous crimes. Ārūrar was no exception to this rule. In hymn 51, he felt that Paravai and Caṅkili were the ennobling gifts of God.[21] In hymn 52 and 60, he condemned himself as forgetting the Lord because of his intoxication with passion for women.[22]

The other incidents of his life with Paravai may also be conveniently dealt with at this stage. We are told that at the instance of Kuṇṭaiyūr Kiḷār, a great heap of paddy appeared as a gift from the God and that Ārūrar sang hymn 20 as a result of which the Bhūtas transported the mountain of paddy to Tiruvārūr. Hymn 20 explains Paravaiyār's pang of hunger,[23] and requests the Lord to give him servants to transport the paddy which the poet got at Kuṇṭaiyūr.[24] This hymn only proves that Ārūrar had no separate existence of his own, always identifying all the details of his life with the even flow of God's Grace. It is in this light that we must understand his request for labourers.

Ārūrar must have obtained the labourers for transporting the heap of grains and the story of the Bhūtas removing them to Tiruvārūr may be interpreted by those who do not believe in miracles as a poetic way of stating this truth by the astonished public.

VI

Gold was required for running the family and in addition, Ārūrar had to feed his followers and other visitors to Tiruvārūr on important festivals like Paṅkuṉi Uttiram. As already explained, whatever he got, he deemed as the gift from God. In hymn 45, he described God as that great lightning which showers gold on

21. 10 and 11.
22. 52: 4, 5; 60: 9.
23. V. 6.
24. VV. 1 to 10.

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him thereby allowing him not to leave the Lord.[25] According to Periyapurāṇam,[26] Ārūrar found, on waking up from sleep at Pukalūr, the bricks turned into gold. There is no specific reference to this miracle in the Tiruppukalūr hymn,[27] where the poet addressed his colleagues not to sing of men but of God who would give them food and clothes in this birth and make them rulers of the Śivalōkam in their next birth. Probably the tradition which Periyapurāṇam describes grew out of the feeling that this hymn was born out of the joy at the transformation of the bricks or any gift from the God which inspired the poet to address the hymn to other poets, hankering after gold, and knocking at the door of mean minded human beings. The miracle of the bricks may be explained away by the people who do not believe in miracles as gifts from a patron who chose to remain in-cognito for fear of Ārūrar refusing to accept any gifts from any human hand and that this fear it was which drove that patron to place the gold he offered in the form of bricks.

At Tiruvīḻimiḻalai[28] the poet referred to the Lord giving gold coins probably to Appar and Campantar and wound up the hymn with a request that he might also be so blessed.[29] It is rather curious that on this basis no tradition was built up to say that here also Ārūrar was given gold.

Periyapurāṇam tells us that at Tiruppāccilāccirāmam Ārūrar prayed for gold and sang the hymn No. 14 in great disappointment. Verse No. 4 therein exclaims: "Is there no other Lord but Himself if He does not give us anything?" In verse No. 9 he mourns: "If He will not forgive our mistakes and give us anything, is there no other Lord?" Probably on the basis of this statement, this story must have been built. But if we analyse the other verses, we find the hymn expressing the pang of separation from the Lord. "Whatever we may say, if He is going to get away from us in the twinkling of an eye, is there no other Lord?"[30] "If He does not love us and if He remains a lunatic, is there no other Lord?"[31] "If He pretends to be all truthful, in effect turning out to be untruthful, is there no other Lord?"[32] "If

25. V. 8.
26. Ēyar., 51.
27. H. 34.
28. H. 88.
29. V. 8.
30. V. 5.
31. V. 1.
32. V. 7.

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He talks big and does but little things or makes us suffer, is there no other Lord?"[33] "If He will not pardon our talk, is there no other Lord?"[34] In this feeling of despair, may be involved a feeling of financial strain; for as already pointed out, the poet depended on the Lord for everything in this world and the other.

At Tirumutukuṉṟam, hymn No. 63 was sung according to Periyapurāṇam with the intention of getting gold from God and we are told Ārūrar got 12,000 gold coins which were thrown out into the river Maṇimuttāṟu to be taken out at the temple tank at Tiruvārūr. There is no specific reference to this hymn or in hymn No. 43, (but unfortunately the last two lines of the 10th verse of hymn No. 63 are missing), unless we interpret the references herein as the blessings the Lord showered on His followers as indirectly suggesting this very gift. It is hymn No. 25 according to Periyapurāṇam especially the verse No. 9 therein that made the gold come out of the tank. Nor is this hymn clear about the miracle. This hymn addresses the Lord as the Lord of Mutukuṉṟam and it is this hymn which refers to the gift of gold to the poet.[35] This hymn must be, therefore, the basis for the story of Ārūrar getting gold from God at Mutukuṉṟam. When the hymn is specifically mentioning Mutukuṉṟam in every one of its verses it is not clear why it is stated to have been sung at Tiruvārūr. The Tēvāram editions give this as a Tirumutukuṉṟam hymn. Every one of the verses in this hymn requests God to shower His blessings so that the poet's misery may be destroyed in the presence of Paravai, who was suffering for want of wealth. The 3, 5, 6, 8 and 9 beg of the Lord to give, the word used being is 'tantaruḷāy'. It is not clear whether the words 'cempoṉai' 'tantaruḷi'[36] are to go with the finite verb "aruḷīr". Because of the reference to the presence of Paravai, it must have been thought that this hymn could have been sung at Tiruvārūr at the place of the residence of Paravaiyār, under the impression that women like Paravaiyār could not have followed Ārūrar on his pilgrimage. In this view of things verse No. 2 has to be interpreted as asking the Lord to give in the presence of Paravaiyār, the gold which the Lord offered already at Tirumutukuṉṟam. But the hymn, as it stands, seems

33. V. 11.
34. V. 9.
35. V. 2.
36. V. 2.

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to suggest that Paravai must have accompanied Nambi Ārūrar when he begged for gold for her sake at Mutukuṉṟam.

In all cases of miracles one has to differentiate between what even the sceptic will believe from what the believers alone could accept as true. As matters stand at present, miracles are beyond modern science. As Alexis Carrel has pointed out, science cannot disprove them. It is open to the believer to accept thc miracles described in Periyapurāṇam as historical facts. But in so far as scepticism continues in the world, it is also necessary for us to point out what is beyond any cavil. It is in this light these explanations are offered especially to those who are not orthodox Śaivites to whom a belief in Śaivite miracles may not be possible. Therefore, these remarks ought not to be understood as any denial of these miracles.

During his travel through the Toṇṭai Nāṭu, before he married Caṅkiliyār, our poet sang hymn 5 at a temple in Kāñci. After his desertion of Caṅkiliyār also, he has come to Kāñci to sing another hymn. This latter hymn has to be distinguished from the other hymn of Kāñcipuram. It is because of this, Cēkkiḻar takes the former hymn to have been sung before and the latter after the desertion. There is not a whisper about his losing the eye or undergoing any suffering in the former hymn. This hymn 5 is addressed to the Lord of Tiruvōṇakāṉṭaṉṭaḷi. The first verse states that if Śaivites worship Him with ghee, milk and curds, they will have mercy from their Lord and that they have only to rely upon His feet. Verse 3 asks, "In lean years can we mortagage you and eat?" Verse 7 exclaims, "You give nothing. You say nothing". Verse 9 enquires, "What can your servants get from you?" Because of these references, the hymn has been taken to have been sung with the intention of getting gold. If this were so, it must have been for the sake of other Śaivite worshippers. The general trend of the hymn seems to suggest that the poet is referring in a jocular vein to various characteristics of God. Verses 2, 6 and 9 justify this kind of interpretation and the remarks of the poet in the last verse still further strengthens this view.

After he returned to Tiruvārūr deserting Caṅkilyār at Tiruvoṟiyūr, Nambi Ārūrar is said to have gone to Nākappaṭṭiṉam where also he is said to have received from God gold, clothes and ornaments. The hymn 46 is full of such prayers for ornaments unguents, varieties of dresses, gold scimitar and dishes overflowing

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with ghee. In verse 5, he demands these things to be given from the treasury (Paṇṭāram) perhaps the temple treasury. If this interpretation is correct the temple treasury must have given him all that he prayed for. Verse 8 demands one third of that great treasure which was deposited inside Ārūr. It is not clear what the poet was referring to. Could it be that he was demanding a share of the wealth which the poet had amassed for the Ārūr temple? In verse 10, the poet says that the Lord accepted him as His servant or slave with the promise that He would give him great wealth and that now Nampi Ārūrar would not be deceived. He even threatened in verse 9, 'to sit dhāraṇā' or offer satyagraha for getting the livelihood from his Lord.

The last place where he is said to have received gold is at Tiruvañcaikkaḷam and that from the hands of the Cēra king Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ. There is no specific reference to this gift in any other verse of Nampi Ārūrar. According to Periyapurāṇam, this gold was robbed by the Bhūtas in the form of the hunters of Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi.[37] Hymn 49 sung at this place refers to the highway robbers and asks of the Lord why he stays there in the midst of the cruel hunters who knock away even the clothes. There is no reference here to the poet himself having been robbed of his gold. These poor hunters clothed in rags, the cruel and hard hearted, living on cows are accused of nothing but snatching away the clothes which probably they were badly in need of.[38]

In conclusion, it may be stated that though all the stories of the gift of gold are not conclusively proved by internal evidences, the prayer of gold especially in Nākappaṭṭiṇam hymn 46, goes to justify the traditional statement that Ārūrar always looked to God for the wherewithal of his life and that he looked upon whatever he received from any source whatsoever as direct gifts from God.

VII

The most important incident of Ārūrar's life from more than one point of view is the episode of his love for Caṅkiliyār. To justify this second marriage, the story of his previous birth at Kailas where he fell in love with two damsels is referred to. Some of the modern critics, as already stated do not accept this portion of Periyapurāṇam giving this story as coming from the pen of

37. Kaḷaṟiṟ: 170.
38. Verses 1, 2, 3, 4 and 7—Kūṟai koḷḷal.

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Cēkkiḻār. Questions of previous births are much more beyond scientific study than even miracles. Therefore, no useful purpose will be served in discussing this topic. Polygamy was not unknown to the age of Ārūrar and we need not go beyond this custom.

The story about God intervening and suggesting to Caṅkiliyār that she must demand of Ārūrar a promise of non-desertion under the 'makiḻam tree' rather than inside the temple, is on the basis of verse 9 in the 89th hymn. It has already been pointed out that some may argue that this verse may be apocryphal though this must have been in existence at the time of Cēkkiḻār. That Nampi Ārūrar lived with Caṅkiliyār as man and wife is proved by various references in his own hymns and as is the characteristic feature in Nampi's life, he honestly believed that he was inspired by God even in this love affair. He looked upon Caṅkiliyār as the gift of God.[38a] In the Nākappaṭṭiṉam hymn he speaks of God as the connecting link of Caṅkiliyār with himself.[39]

At Tiruvāmāttūr, he gave expression to the divine bliss and in verse 4, stated that he went to Tiruvoṟṟiyūr and embraced Caṅkili and that was the Grace of the Lord of Āmāttūr.[40] In hymn 51, verse 11, our poet couples the gift of nectar to the Dēvas along with the gift of Caṅkili to himself.

Caṅkili is mentioned in hymns 54: 2 and 69: 3. These two references give us the further developments of the story of Caṅkili. He must have promised Caṅkili that he would never leave her, in a moment of his love for Caṅkili forgetting his own nature and mission in life. His worship consisted in the outpourings of his heart in the beautiful hymns he sang from temple to temple, in the company of worshippers who followed him wherever he went. It is this life of song and service that represented to our poet the highest conceptions of bhakti and 'aṭimai'. To be imprisoned at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr almost like a sick patient, must have been unbearable to this spirit of worship and service. There was some special attachment to Tiruvārūr as far as this poet was concerned. This is revealed by the various hymns he had sung at Tiruvārūr exclaiming, "Can I forget Him?"[41] "When shall I reach Him?"[42]

38a. 89: 10.
39. 46: 11; Also hymn No: 51, verses 10 and 11.
40. 45: 4.
41. H. 59.
42. H. 83.

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"Will He accept my services and bless me?"[43] "How long shall I be separated from Him?"[44] "I am afraid of the wordly pleasures".[45] In one hymn he sang of sending birds as envoys of love to the Lord of Tiruvārūr.[46] According to Periyapurāṇam, it has already been seen, our poet heard a voice at Citamparam calling upon him to go over to Tiruvārūr—a tradition which emphasizes the special attachment of Ārūrar to Tiruvārūr. There was also Paravai at Tiruvārūr and this also must have made the place unforgettable. In hymn 59, verse 11, he speaks of the Lord of Ārūr who cannot be forgotten because of the damsel. The damsel, it is true, may be interpreted to mean the Mother Goddess; God of Ārūr cannot be forgotten because of the Mother Goddess who represents to the Śaivites the most important aspect of Lord's Grace. Periyapurāṇam tells us that whilst at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr he thought of Tiruvārūr and sang hymn 51; this thought must have sent Ārūrar on his journey to Tiruvārur. The promise he had given to Caṅkili must have come to his mind and he probably was overcome by a feeling of criminal desertion. He sings as, "Caṅkiliyō ṭeṉaip puṇartta tattuvaṉai-c-caḷakkaṉēṉ eṅkulakka-p pirintirukkēn eṉṉārūr iṟaivaṉaiyē?"[47] This shows his moral sensitiveness which made him sing elsewhere that he had not committed any mistake—"Kuṟṟam oṉṟum ceytatillai kottai ākkiṉīr".[48]

On his starting to leave Tiruvoṟṟiyūr, according to Periyapurāṇam, he became blind. He got one eyesight at Kāñcipuram and the other at Tiruvārūr. Modern psychology will explain this away as the blindness that has been brought on by the poet's feeling of sin and cured by his feeling of holiness or trust in God. However much this may be explained away, the fact of the poet's greatness, feeling such an amount of remorse as to become blind and to rely so much on God as to become cured of blindness, stands before us to be considered with reverence and awe. This is probably the significance of the yogic path, our poet has followed, the path of friendship as a path of salvation unless purified by such incident as this, will become a path of passion. It is this incident which proves that the path of God is not a path of licence, but a path of morals.

43. H. 73.
44. H. 51.
45. H. 8.
46. H. 37.
47. 51: 11.
48. 95: 2.

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Hymn 54, verse 1 begs of the Lord for some medicine for the eyes. Verse 2 cries in despair, "What shall I do for the love of Caṅkili and how shall I explain even if I am a liar? I shall do nothing wrong to the holy feet even if I go wrong. I had agreed to accept willingly all you do". The hymn is very expressive of the sufferings of blindness and even a casual reader will not fail to note ths ring of seriousness of personal suffering. The poet cries, "I cannot bear to be dragged in haste like a dog tethered to a stick."[49] "I am getting lost in hell even in this very birth."[50] "How ean I live without eyes in my face, O! Lord of the three eyes!"[51] The suffering is as unbearable as when Saturn enters the constellation Makham and the poet addresses the Lord Himself as Saturn.[52] Hymn 69 sung at Tirumullaivāyil describes the Lord as the great one who had deprived his eyes because of Caṅkili[53] and begs of the Lord to remove his sufferings at Tiruveṇpākkam.[54]. He again referred to the Lord depriving his eyes of their sight. He spoke of the cataract (paṭalam in the eye).[55] He pleaded for pardon for his wrongs.[56] He stated, "I exclaimed 'Are you here?' and God replied, "We are here; you go'."[57] He spoke of the Lord giving him Caṅkili.[58] In this place he had received a walking stick to which he had made a reference in verse 10. But when he went to Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, he was so overpowered by his feeling of sin that he condemned himself as one who had become a prey to women.[59] We had already pointed out that there was no real contradiction. At Tiruvēkampam in hymn 61, there is a cry of joy: "Ah! what a great thing! I have reeeived my eyesight, to have the sight of this Lord worshipped by the Mother Goddess."[60] From this it must be assumed that he had been restored at Kāñcipuram only the sight of one eye. But at Tiruvāvaṭuturai[61] the poet speaks of his being without eyesight.[62] Should we take this to have been sung before he reached Kāñci? At Tiruvārūr in hymn 95, he speaks on behalf of all worshippers crying in despair, "If they come and if they do not see and you

49. V. 5.
50. V. 6.
51. V. 9.
52. V. 9.
53. V, 3.
54. H. 89.
55. 89: 1.
56. 89: 3.
57. H. 89: 1-10.
58. 89: 10.
59. 52: 4.
60. V. 1.
61. H. 70.
62. V. 2.

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do not listen to them, then you alone may go on living happily."[63] In the second verse, he spoke of 'maṟṟaikkaṇ', the other eye. It is this which has suggested the story of getting one eyesight at Kāñcipuram and the other at Tiruvārūr. In V. 7, he accused the Lord of the deprival of the eye. Therefore, it is clear that till he came back to Tiruvārūr, he did not recover his eyesight completely. It was seen that the poet was speaking of a cataract of the eye[64] and curiously enough some would say that he begged the Lord to give him spectacles (Kāmpiṉoṭu nēttiraṅkaḷ) at Nākappaṭṭiṉam;[65] even after he was cured of blindness he must have felt the necessity for spectacles. Should one argue that this was also sung before he got the eyesight? There is also the further question whether spectacles were in existence in that age. But as 'kāmpu' and 'nēttiram' are only varieties of dresses, this kind of interpretation of begging for spectacles in his age has no place at all.

All the poems which he sang when he was blind are full of poetic emotion. As music is considered to be the proper language of emotion, Cēkkiḻār always refers to these verses by emphasising their musical aspect. According to the tradition, Ārūrar never went back to Caṅkili but our poet speaks of the Lord as the great prop of Paravai, Caṅkili and himself.[66] If all the three had not lived together, this reference must be taken to refer to the Lord bringing in together Paravai, Caṅkili and Ārūrar at the first instance.

During that period of his blindness he came to suffer from other ailments of the body. Mental suffering is known to bring on bodily ailment. He referred to this disease as 'Uṭampil aṭu nōy', tormenting his body in the hymn No. 70[66a] sung a Tiruvavaṭuturai on his way to Tirutturutti. According to Periyapurāṇam, at Tirutturtti he was ordered to bathe in the northern temple tank and the poet was cured of his new disease whilst he bathed as directed in the tank.

63. V. 1.
64. 89: 1.
65. H, 46: 2.
66. 46: 11.
66a. V. 2.

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Hymn 29 sung at Tirukkurukāvūr, in verses 4 refers to the Lord as removing the poet's diseases including fever, but this hymn is said to have been sung before he became blind. In the Tirutturutti hymn also, the poet speaks of the Lord removing the disease tormenting his body; perhaps the Tirukkurukāvūr hymn was sung by the poet when he felt that God had saved him from all diseases, thanks to a feeling of perfect health. After he became blind, this feeling of perfect health and happiness must have been disturbed a great deal. In hymn 3 sung during this period of blindness he spoke of the body as that which could not bear even the prick of a paddy's tail.[67] It is this feeling that must have allowed the diseases to torment his body and it is this which he refers to in hymn 74[67a] as having been removed by the Lord, thanks to the development and strengthening of his trust in God which was to a certain extent shattered by his sudden blindness.

VIII

In this life of pilgrimage and self-surrender, he relied on none but God and whenever he was about to starve with his followers, the tradition states that he had the food supplied in a miraculous way.

The paddy incident of Kuṇṭaiyūr[68] had already been described. When Ārūrar was going from Cīkāḻi to Tirukkurukāvūr,[69] his followers and himself were overcome by hunger and thirst and the Lord Himself according to Periyapurāṇam came in the form of a Brahmin putting up a thatched shed of a pandal for supplying water and viaticum (poti cōṟu) and expecting this group of Śaivites. It is said that whilst they were asleep, the pandal and the old man had disappeared.

Again when our poet coming from Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam[70] to Tirukkaccūr Ālakkōyil,[71] our poet had to lie down because of starvation and according to Periyapurāṇam, the Lord came in the form of a Brahmin to beg for food from houses in the village and to feed the poet and his followers. In the hymn 29 which was sung at Tirukkurukāvūr except for the reference in verse 3 that the Lord removed the hunger of those who sang of him and his

67. H. 3: 6.
67a. V. 1.
68. H. 20.
69. H. 29.
70. H. 81.
71. H. 41.

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exclamation in the first verse, "I had not known all this", there is not any specific reference to this miracle. The poet sang of the Lord protecting the poet from fever and other diseases and from slander.[72] He described the Lord as one who removed the illusion from the minds of the worshippers.[73] In verse 7, the poet stated that he had come without bearing probably the poet's suffering. As already seen, our poet took even ordinary incidents to have been inspired by God and if anybody fed him on the way he would have described it as God Himself feeding the followers and himself.

Hymn 41 sung at Tirukkaccūr also does not refer to any miracle. The hymn refers to the Lord going a-begging at midday and asks the Lord, "Will not your worshippers feel for this act of begging?"[74] but since the poet states that the Lord goes a-begging in the Kapāla or skull,[75] it could not possibly refer to the Brahmin going and begging. This hymn must be taken to be referring to the Bhikṣāṭana form. Verse 7 begs of the Lord to think of those who think of Him "Niṉaivāravarai niṉai kaṇṭāy." If the miracle had happened, it would be very unfair for the poet to make that suggestion to the Lord who had come to rescue the worshippers even before they ever thought of Him. But there is nothing miraculous or improbable in a casual help of this kind from a Brahmin whom as usual our poet would have considered to be no other than the Grace of God.

IX

Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār is one of the congregation of Śaivities assembled at Tēvēciriya maṇṭapam of Tiruvārūr. After Ārūrar was completely cured of his blindness and the Lord made Paravai reconciled to Ārūrar, it is said that this Kalikkāmar developed a hatred for our poet because he was responsible for the bringing of the Lord to the position of an errand boy. He committed suicide but at the approach of Ārūrar, Kalikkāmar is said to have become alive. Unfortunately there is no reference to this miracle, in the Tiruppuṉkūr hymn[76] which is said to have been sung at this place—except for the phrase, "Ēyarkō ṉuṟṟa iṟumpiṇi

72. 29: 4-5.
73. V. 6.
74. V. 2.
75. V. 1.
76. H. 55.

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tavirttu",[77] 'the Lord who removed the chronic disease from which Ēyarkōṉ was suffering.' This Ēyarkōṉ is spoken of as the Lord of twelve vēlis of wet land and this reference to twelve vēlis is explained in verse 2 as that piece of land which had been given away probably by Ēyarkōṉ to the Lord in grateful recognition of the rains which the Lord brought, after the whole country suffered without rain for a long time.

X

The other great miracle attributed to our poet is bringing back the Brahmin boy swallowed by a crocodile many years back. Hymn 92 is said to have been sung on this occasion. Verse 4 therein is interpreted as requesting the Lord to order the God of Death and the crocodile to give back the boy and it is said that as soon as this verse was sung the boy was brought. If this hymn was a prayer for the return of the boy, it is a surprise that there is not any mention about this in verses 1, 3, 5, 6, 7 and 8.

In verse 3, our poet prayed that he might be saved from future birth. In verse 7 he prayed for escape from hell. Verse 5 says that His hall of Dance is the graveyard. Verse 8 says that the Lord will make even blind eyes see. Verse 6 is a rhetorical interrogation, "Is becoming a slave unto the Lord a crime?" The last verse usually explaining the hymn and its purpose, does not mention any word about this miracle.

Verses 2 and 9 refer to 'Māṇi' and this word is interpreted as an unmarried boy. Both these verses speak of that 'Māṇi' having come to bathe in the tank, as having duped our poet or as having created a delusion. An attempt is made to interpret this sentence as to mean, "What sin does this unmarried boy do to deserve death?" The reading in all the available editions is "Eṉaik kiṟi", which is only possible if we take the word in the accusative case. In the sense of 'Which' the form should be "Eṉai kiṟi" without the doubling of 'k'. Verse 2 seems to be addressing the 'Māṇi' and speaking of him in the second person 'Māṇi nī'. "Is it fair that you who had come along with others on the way, should get away?" In the very next phrase in that verse which addresses the Lord, probably there is a feeling that this person who had come along with them and disappeared was none other than the Lord. If the boy had been brought by the crocodile there is no

77. 55: 3.

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necessity for the poet referring to this disappearance in verse 9.[78] It looks as though the poet is referring to some experience of his, but it is not possible to state definitely what it could have been.

There is another miracle narrated in the Periyapurāṇam. That is of the river Kāviri, which was in floods stopping its flow and thereby piling up its flowing water as high as the Himalayas on the western side whilst the river bed was dry on the eastern side for allowing Ārūrar to cross the river to reach Tiruvaiyāṟu from Tirukkaṇṭiyūr. Hymn 77, said to have been sung at the time of this miracle, gives definite reference to this miracle. The poet stated therein that he was always thinking of the Lord but as yet had not any communion with Him, that he knew of no mistake committed by him and that even if there was any mistake the Lord might order that to be erased.[79] In the 9th verse he sang of realizing the Lord, as if He were a radiating hunger. He confessed the futility of all conscious efforts and in that sense spoke of the impossibility of his swimming against the current in the sense that he could not go against the will of the Lord. It looks as though that this reference to the impossibility of swimming had been taken literally, and the tradition had grown that the poet was pathetically crying to the Lord that he could not reach Tiruvaiyāṟu because of the flood in the Kāviri. It was impossible for Cēkkiḻār to leave off this tradition which must have become universal by his time.

XI

The last miracle is our poet going on a white elephant to Mount Kailas. The question must have arisen how the people of this world got this hymn which was sung after he left this world. "Ūṉuyir vēṟu ceytāṉ" (1) — thus sings the poet — 'the Lord has separated the soul from the body'. This verse 1 itself seems to run counter to the tradition that he went with this original body as is made clear by Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in his Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti, "Māṉava ākkaiyoṭum pukkavarai."[80]

78. In one edition of the hymns of our poet, instead of Māṉi, we have 'Māmaṉi' in all the three places in the two verses 2 and 9 where this word 'Māṉi' occurs.

79. V. 5.

80. V. 86.

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The verse 10 answers the question how the world got this hymn. There the Lord of the Oceans is ordered to bring this hymn to the notice of the Lord or the king of Vañci. If Cēramāṉ accompanied our poet, where is the necessity for informing him? Anyway Periyapurāṇam tells us that Ārūrar did not know of Cēramāṉ following him. It would be very difficult to prove this hymn to be genuine in the literal sense. Nor, is it clear why Ārūrar should have gone over the sea? From this reference to the sea a later day oral tradition had woven a story of Cēramāṉ going to Mecca, a tradition which cannot be believed by anyone who has studied the mental development of these saints as revealed in their works. The significance of this hymn as an allegory is explained later in this study.

XII

In some of his poems Ārūrar refers to Vaṉappakai and Ciṅkaṭi and calls himself their father. According to the tradition preserved in Periyapurāṇam, they are the daughters of Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār of Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi and adopted by Ārūrar as his own children at the instance of the natural father. There is nothing specific in the hymns to support this tradition of their being the children of Kōṭpuli. It is true Ārūrar referred to Kōṭpuli in his hymn on Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi[81] where also he described himself the father of Ciṅkaṭi, but Ciṅkaṭi or Vaṉappakai is nowhere mentioned as the daughter of Kōṭpuli. That these two persons are women is clear from the references to them by Ārūrar. He describes 'Ciṅkaṭi' as "Pūṅkuḻar Ciṅkaṭi",[82] "Cilaiyār vāṉutalāḷ nalla Ciṅkaṭi;"[83] "Maimmān taṭaṅkaṉ maturamaṉṉa moḻiyāḷ maṭac Ciṅkaṭi"[84] and "Naṅkai Ciṅkaṭi."[85] In describing himself as the father of Vaṉappakai, the poet uses the term "Vaṉappakai yavaḷ appaṉ."[86] He calls himself their appaṉ,[87] "Tantai"[88] and "Tammāṉ"[89]—all the three words meaning father in Tamil.

81. 15: 10.
82. 15: 10.
83. 27: 10.
84. 47: 10.
85. 57: 12.
86. 29: 10; 87: 10.
87. 12: 11; 15: 10; 27: 10; 30: 11, 33: 10; 34: 11; 37: 11; 42: 10; 57: 12; 68: 10; 70: 10.
88. 57: 12; 68: 10; 98: 11.
89. 47: 10.

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Ciṅkaṭi's name is given as 'Ciṅki.'[90] If that is so, Ciṅkaṭi must be taken to be a corrupt form of "Ciṅki aṭi" or Ciṅki aṭikaḷ. This word Aṭi or Aṭikaḷ is usually used in the sense of the Sanskrit word "Svāmī" either to a king as in the phrase Perumāṉaṭikaḷ or to a great religious person as in Iḷaṅkōvaṭikaḷ, Cēkkiḻār aṭikaḷ, etc. It must be therefore taken that Ciṅkaṭi was a great religious personality and probably "Cēṭiyal Ciṅki"[91] emphasizes this fact. 'Cēṭu' and 'Cēṭār' are used in the sense of 'Siṣṭas' in Sanskrit. There is also the expression "Cēṭār Pūṅkuḻaṟ Ciṅkaṭi."[92] 'Cēṭu' also means goodness.[93] Ciṅkaṭi is also called famous, "Pukaḻc Ciṅkaṭi"[94] and Vaṉappakai is similarly called Cīrppakai."[95]

As far as Vaṉappakai is concerned, the poet described her in one place as "Cīrppakai ñāṉi".[96] 'Pakai' is the contracted form of Vaṉappakai and the term 'ñāṉi' applied to her, leaves no doubt in any one's mind that she was also a great religious personality.

In two hymns,[97] both of them are mentioned. There are 18 references to them, 8 references to Ciṅki and 10 to Vaṉappakai inclusive of the above two. The question arises what is the real relationship between these and Ārūrar? Prima facie, they seem to be his own children; but the reference to them as Jñāni and Aṭikaḷ, i.e., spiritually great persons lead us to interpret this term Appaṉ as the spiritual Guru in which case they may be according to the old tradition the children of Kōṭpuli or somebody else. But even here nothing prevents Ārūrar being the natural father of these spiritually great women and it is worth remarking that even on the basis of the chronological arrangement of Ārūrar's hymns, reference to these children came only after Ārūrar's marriage with Paravai. The fact that the poet Ārūrar mentioned these as his children along with his father would justify in taking these references literally.[98]

Vaṉappakai means the enemy of the forest and it may also refer to the lion; but on this score Vaṉappakai could not be identified with Ciṅkaṭi because in the two references already quoted, these two are mentioned together as two different perso-

90. 98: 11,
91. 98: 11.
92. 15: 10.
93. Cintāmaṇi, 21: 12.
94. 37: 11.
95. 44: 10.
96. 44. 10.
97. 57: 12; 68: 10.
98. 34; 11; 47: 10; 57: 12; 98: 11.

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nalities. These names suggest the name Narasiṁha, the Pallava king Rājasiṁha who was ruling during the time of Ārūrar in whose honour probably they were named Vaṉappakai and Ciṅkaṭi. Or, they might have been named as such in memory of Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar who was Ārūrar's patron in his younger days. But this name Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar itself must have been assumed by that prince after the then ruling king not Rājasiṁha but Narasiṁha Māmalla, for if Rājasiṁha was ruling during the adulthood of Ārūrar, the king who must have been ruling during his childhood must be Narasiṁha I. If these children were themselves such great spiritual personalities as to be described Aṭikaḷ and Jñāni, the spiritual stature of Ārūrar certainly grows in height.

XIII

Nampi is the title usually of a prince and it is used to be conferred on important individuals.[99] In this way it has come to mean by the time of Piṅkalantai, the elite among men. Owing to the spread of the temple cult, the priests, the Ādi Śaivite Ācāryas, some of whom appear to be the 'Kula Gurus' of the Cōḷas had conferred on them the title of Nambi. The name of Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi will occur to anyone conversant with the Śaivite Literature. Perhaps Puruṣōttama Nampi, one of the authors of the 10th Tirumuṟai, was another. From this, we may infer that the title of Nampi which occurs in the phrase Nampi Ārūrar, is due to our poet being an Ādi Śaiva Ācarya. Ārūrar calls himself "Maṟaiyārtam kuricil."[100] Not only was he born in the Brahmin community but he had also undergone the course in four Vēdas and 6 aṅgas—"Nāṉmaṟai (āṟ) aṅkam ōtiya nāvaṉ."[101] From the descriptions of the course of studies obtaining in various Universities or Centres of Learning of the Pallava Age such as Kāñci, Bāhūr and Ghaṭikācalam, we know this is not an empty boast.[102]

He was blessed with not only the highest learning of the age, he was also reputed to be of exemplary character which makes him describe himself with modesty as "Cīlamtāṉ peritum mika

99. Tol. Eḻuttu, 154, commentary, and Naṉṉūl 158, commentary of Mayilainātar.

100. 25: 10.

101. 54: 10.

102. See Administration of Pallavas of Mīṉākṣī.

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valla Ciṟuvaṉ."[103] In another place,[104] he spoke of himself in the first person, "Iḻiyāk kulattiṟ piṟantōm" — those of no low caste. As this is a reference in plural to all the bhaktas, it is safer to interpret it as referring to the community of bhaktas, of which Periyāḻvār speaks as 'Toṇṭakkulam'[104a] — a holy community, which our poet had visualised in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai. He is often proud of describing himself as Aṭittoṇṭaṉ,[105] Śiva toṇṭaṉ[106] (for which the other reading is Ciṟu toṇṭan); Śivaṉaṭiyārkaḷukkaṭiyāṉ aṭittoṇṭaṉ;[107] Aṭiyār aṭi nāyūraṉ;[108] Āṭiyār aṭiyaṉ;[109] Aṭiyavarkkaṭiyavaṉ;[110] Aṭiyaṉ;[111] Aṭiyāṉ;[112] Meyppattaṉ[113] etc. According to Periyapurāṇam, he was called Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ because he abused the old Brahman who claimed him as his slave. Even otherwise, the firm hold he had on Śiva completely relying on Him for everything and threatening at times to sit dhāraṇā would justify his name of Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ.[114] In one place he describes himself as 'Aṇukka Vaṉtoṇṭaṉ'.[115]

The name Nampi[116] may also be explained as being deserved by him because he grew up as a prince of Narasiṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar's family. Periyapurāṇam calls him Tampirāṉ Tōḻaṉ.[117] This term, as already pointed out, occurs in the inscriptions in the sense of companion to the king. Ārūrar did not call himself Tampirāṉ Tōḻaṉ though Periyapurāṇam states that this title was conferred on him by Śiva Himself.[118] Ārūrar spoke of the Lord being his Tōḻaṉ;[119] and his Tūtaṉ, a companion and an envoy.

103. 54: 10.
104. 95: 8.
104a. Pallāṇṭu -8.
105. 3: 10; 21: 10; 28: 10; 44: 10; 80: 10; 86: 10.
106. 49: 10.
107. 78: 10.
108. 94: 10.
109, 50: 10.
110. 74: 10.
111: 6: 10; 47: 10; 86: 10.
112. 21; 10: 28: 10.
113. 37: 10.
114. 12: 11; 17: 11; 31: 10; 33: 10; 34: 11; 38: 10; 42: 10; 45: 11; 54: 10 55: 10; 57: 12; 62: 10; 64: 10; 67: 11; 68: 10; 72: 11; 75: 10; 87: 10; 88: 10.
115. 70: 10.
116. Nampiyūraṉ—4: 10; Ārūraṉ Nampi—53: 10; Nampi Vaṉ Toṇṭaṉ — 64: 10.
117. Tatut., 129.
118. Tatut., 129.
119. 51: I0; 68: 8; 84: 9.

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Probably it is this term 'Tūtaṉ'[120] which is responsible for the story that the Lord went to appease the anger of Paravai on behalf of Ārūrar. As Ārūrar relied upon God for everything in the world and believed that it was the Lord who arranged everything for him, the Lord is his companion and envoy in more senses than one.

As for the training he received as a prince though there are not direct references, the hymns throw some light on his upbringing. When he referred to 'Nāvalūr', he spoke of himself in plural, 'Namakku'[121] and described it as the city both of Naraciṅkamuṉaiaraiyar and himself. He was proud of his strength developed probably as befitting a prince: 'Malai malinta tōḷūraṉ':[122] Ūran of the shoulders like mountains; 'Malliṉ malku tiraḷ tōḷ ūraṉ':[123] Ūraṉ of the shoulders full of wrestling strength; "Tirumaruvum tiraḷ tōḷāṉ':[124] He of the shoulders of strength embraced by Wealth; 'Matayāṉai Nāvalārūraṉ':[125] Ūraṉ of Nāval city great in the strength of elephants; 'Kūṭalar maṉṉaṉ kula Nāvalūrkkōṉ':[126] The king of Nāval and the Lord of the enemies. He described himself as Nāvalūrāḷi;[127] Nāvalar kōṉ;[128] Nāvalūr Maṉṉaṉ;[129] Nāvalūrkkōṉ;[130] Nāvalar Vēntaṉ;[131] Nāvalar Kōmāṉ.[132]

One may be tempted to take the term Nāvalārūraṉ[133] to mean only a resident of Nāvalūr. But in view of much clearer and unmistakable references to his princehood, this will not be correct. In his 18th hymn, he described himself "Kūṭalar maṉṉaṉ kulanāvalūkkōṉ[134] the ruler of the enemies and the prince of Nāvalūr of the proper community. Probably he spoke of this community of rulers because of his training under Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar. His references to the strength of his shoulders assume a new significance in view of this description of Ārūrar, i.e., the king of his opponents. It is in this light we have to interpret the reference to the Lord as "He who brings confusion

120. 68: 8; 84: 9.
121. 17: 11.
122. 30: 11.
123. 81: 10.
124. 73: 11.
125. 40: 11.
126. 18: 10.
127. 64: 10.
128. 4: 10; 16: 11; 23: 10; 24: 10; 28: 10; 41: 10; 42: 10; 83: 10; 84: 10.
129. 13: 11.
130. 38: 10; 39; 11.
131. 57: 12; 71: 10.
132. 82. 10.
133. 40: 11.
134. 18: 10.

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to those chiefs who refuse to pay tribute to the Pallava king who was then ruling the country': 'Maṇṇulakam kāval pūṇṭa urimaiyāṟ Pallavarkkut tiṟai koṭā maṉṉavarai maṟukkum ceyyum perumaiyār.[135] That reference seems to establish some connection between Citamparam and Pallavar, perhaps suggesting that Hiraṅyavarmaṉ mentioned in Kōyil Purāṇam as worshipping at Citamparam and improving the temple was a Pallava king.

XIV

In the hymn[136] quoted above is found developed the divine right theory of king. This is a philosophy which is something new to Śaivism which preached absolute self surrender to God with-out reference to political or worldly motives. There was the illustrious example of Appar refusing to follow the command of the Pallava king. He retorted by saying that 'Nāmārkkum kuṭiyallōm'.[137] 'We are the servants of none but God.' 'Pārāṇṭu pakaṭēri varuvār collum paṇi kēṭkak kaṭavōmō paṟṟaṟṟōmē'[138] "Civaṉē eṉṉum nāvuṭaiyār namaiyāḷa uṭaiyāraṉṟē nāvalantī vakattiṉukku nātarāṉa kāvalarē ēvi viṭuttārēṉum kaṭavamalōm kaṭumaiyoṭu kaḷavu aṟṟōmē,"[139] "Ummōṭu maṟṟum uḷarāy niṉṟa paṭaiyuṭaiyāṉ paṇikēṭkum paṅiyōm allōm,"[140] "Vantīrār maṉṉavaṉāvāṉṟāṉ ārē"[141] — 'Are we bound to listen to the orders of those who rule the world riding on elephants?'[142] 'Our Lords are those who utter the word of Śiva; even if the Emperor of Jambudvīpa orders us, we shall not obey, for we are devoid of all stratagem, deceit and cruelty';[143] "Paṭaiyuṭaiyāṉ paṇi kēṭkum paṇiyōmallōm."[144] It is not our duty to listen to the orders of the chieftains of the army'. 'Who are you? What have I to do with your king?'[145]

In a sense, this is believing only in the brotherhood of God's followers. To a certain extent this attitude was necessary in the

135. 90: 4.
136. 90: 4.
137. 6: 98: 1.
138. 6: 98: 3.
139. 6: 98: 6.
140. 6: 98: 9.
141. 6: 98: 8.
142. 6: 98: 3.
143. 6: 98: 6.
144. 6: 98: 9.
145. 6: 98: 8.

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Age of Appar, because the king was an anti-Śaivite to start with. But when the Pallavas, thanks to the Satyāgraha of Tirunāvukkaracar, became Śaivites and great temple builders, there was no necessity to preach any anarchism. It was the duty of any Śaivite to offer his help in this Pallava propagation of Śaivism and it was from this point of view that Ārūrar felt that those who opposed the great Śaivite Pallava king were opposing the will of Śiva. Apart from this, the divine right theory of king has slowly crept into the minds of the learned people of the age. Nammāḻvār sings, "Tiruvuṭai Maṉṉaraikkāṇil Tirumalāikkaṇṭēṉē eṉṉum" — "When ever she sees the kings of royal wealth, she says she sees the Lord God."

XV

But Ārūrar has also been honoured by the rulers of the three ancient Royal families of the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras, and the Cōḻas. If we follow the chronology given in the Periyapurāṇam, our poet entered the Pāṇḍya country only in the company of the Cēra king, i.e., almost at the fag end of his life. It is really surprising that he had stepped into the Pāṇḍya country only during the closing years of his life. Can it be that his aggressive support of the Pallava, stood in the way of his going to the Pāṇḍya country? After his friendship with the Cēra, he visited the Pāṇḍya temples and the temple in the Cēra land. It is this visit to these temples almost in his later age that created a feeling of separation and it was this which he gave expression to in some of his poems when he exclaimed, "Kātaluṟattoḻuvateṉṟu kolō."[146] "When shall I worship Him with all my love?' His feeling of surprise was also expressed — 'Is this Pūvaṇam?'[147] He referred to the three kings in his hymn 2:4 where he stated that hymn was sung in their presence at Paraṅkuṉṟam. At Tiṟucculiyal[148] Ārūrar spoke of the worshippers becoming kings in their respective points of the compass — "Aṭi toḻuvār avvat ticaikku aracākuvār.[149] One wonders whether he had any reference to these three kings gaining the upper hand or somewhat of freedom.

But there is one incident which does not fit in with this interpretation of Ārūrar's aggressive support of Pallava king in the

146. 7: 84: 2.
147. H. 11.
148. H. 82.
149. V. 3.

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early part of his life. Hymn 15 which is said to have been sung immediately after he married Paravai in the early part of his life refers to Kōṭpuli,[150] a commander who had conquered the opposing rulers. This Kōṭpuli if our interpretation is correct must have been one of those friends of Ārūrar supporting the Pallavas. This verse which mentions Kōṭpuli refers to the Cōḷa country but this reference simply means that Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi was within the old Cōḷa country — "Ceṉṉi nāṭār tol pukaḷ Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi Nampi."[151] The name Cōḷa country had become a geographical term losing all political significance and there was nothing preventing this Cōḷa country being under the control of the Pallavas. The real difficulty arises because of Cēkkiḻār calling Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār, a commander of the Cōḷas — "Vaḷavar tantiriyarāy."[152]

Or, it must be assumed that Kōṭpuli and the Cōḷa king were on the side of the Pallavas long before Ārūrar met the Pāṇḍya king. According to Periyapurāṇam the Cōḷa prince was there as the son-in-law of the Pāṇḍya king suggesting probably a new realignment in the political picture of the land.

150. V. 10.
151. 7: 15: 10.
152. Koṭ Purāṇam, 1.

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CHAPTER VII

AGE OF NAMPI ĀRŪRAR

PART I

VARIOUS THEORIES PUT FORWARD

I

The life of Cuntarar (Ārūrar) — the various events relating to his associations with the rulers and chiefs of his age cannot be appreciated without our understanding the historical back-ground The age of Ārūrar should therefore be fixed at least provisionally. Some of the points to be taken into consideration in fixing his age are the following:

I. (a) The following saints are said to be the contemporaries of Ārūrar:

1. Caṭaiyaṉār, the father of Ārūrar.[1]

2. Icai ñāṉiyār, the mother of Ārūrar[2]

3. Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmar, a chief who was opposed to Ārūrar to start with and who became his friend later on. Cēkkiḻār calls the family of Ēyar as the family of the commanders-in-chief of the Cōḻa army.[3]

4. Māṉakkañcāṟar is the father-in-law of this Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmar.[4]

5. Viṟaṉmiṇṭar is spoken of as belonging to the cultivators' of Vēḷāḷars' community by Cēkkiḻār. The first word of this phrase 'Viṟal' suggests that he was a victorious commander or a chief. According to Cēkkiḻār, he was opposed to our saint.[5]

1. 7: 11; 16: 11; 34: 11; 39: 11; 47: 10; 57: 12; 58: 10; 98: 11.
2. 16: 11; 38: 10; 39: 11.
3. Verse 5 of Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Puraṇam in Periyapurāṇam.
4. V. 34, Māṉakkañcāṟar Purāṇam, *ibid.*
5. Viṟaṉmiṇṭar Purāṇam, *ibid.*

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6. Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ was the emperor ruling during the life of Ārūrar, who mentions him in the present tense: "Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ."[6]

7. Pūcalār was a contemporary of Kāṭavarkōṉ.[7]

8. Ceruttuṇaiyār is the king of Tañcai according to Ārūrar and a contemporary of Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ according to Cēkkiḻār.

9. Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ, the Cēra king, was the patron of Pāṇapaṭṭirar and a friend of Ārūrar. He is otherwise known as Kaḷaṟiṟṟaṟivār Nāyaṉār.

10. Kōṭpuli, who won a victory over a group of kings according to Ārūrar,[8] a commander of the Cōḻa army and a friend of Ārūrar who is said to have adopted the daughters of Kōṭpuli according to Cēkkiḻār.[9]

11. Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpar: Cēkkiḻār describes him as the chief of Perumiḻalai and the name Kuṟumpar suggests that he was a Kuṟumpa chief.[10] According to Periyapurāṇam, he was worshipping Ārūrar in his mind and died on the day previous to the departure of Ārūrar to Kailas[11].

12. Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar is the chief of Nāvalūr who brought up Ārūrar.[12]

13. Sōmācimāṟar: Sōmāci is a Tamil form of Sōmayājin. "One who had performed the Sōmayajña." According to Periyapurāṇam, he went and lived at Tiruvārūr as a great friend of Ārūrar.[13]

(b) The age of these Saints will be the age of Ārūrar in which Cēramāṉ and Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ as kings and Ēyarkōṉ and Kōṭpuli as chieftains must have played an important part.

6. 39: 9.
7. Pūcalār Nāyaṉār pūrāṇam in Periyapurāṇam.
8. 15: 10.
9. Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār Purāṇam in Periyapurāṇam.
10. Kuṟumpu—Subordinate chief: Puṟanāṉūṟu: 97.
11. V. 4-6, 9, 10 of Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpa Nāyaṉār Purāṇam.
12. Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam, 5.
13. V. 4, Sōmācimāṟa Nāyaṉār Purāṇam.

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II. (a) Campantar and Appar lived anterior to Ārūrar and the following are said to be their contemporaries:

1. Ciṟuttoṇṭar.[14]
2. Kuṅkiliyakkalayar.[15]
3. Muruka Nāyaṉār.[16]
4. Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar.[17]
5. Nīlanakkar.[18]
6. Vaḻuti (Neṭumāṟaṉ).[19]
7. Maṅkaiyarkkaraci.[20]
8. Kulacciṟaiyār.[21]
9. Appūti.[22]
10. Appar refers to Campantar.

(b) Among these, Ciṟuttoṇṭar is considered to be the Pallava commander, who captured Vātāpi about 642 A.D. during the reign of Narasiṁha Varma Māmalla, or about 672 A.D. during the reign of Paramēśvara Varma I. Neṭumāṟaṉ, identified[23] with Arikēsari-Neṭumāṟaṉ according to Prof. Nilakanta Sastri may be assigned the period 670-710 A.D.[24] and according to others 640-680 A.D.[25]

III. (a) Campantar, in addition, refers to Pukaḻttuṇaiyār[26] and Appar refers to Kaṇampullar,[27] Amarnītiyār.[27a] Campantar refers to Amarnītiyār.[28] Appar refers to Cākkiya Nāyanār.[29]

14. Campantar Tēvāram, 3: 63: 1, 2. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 9; 10.
15. According to Periyapurāṇam, this saint is said to have met Ñāṉacampantar (and Appar)—Kuṅkiliyakkalaya Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, 32-33.
16. Campantar Tēvāram: 2: 92: 3, 5.
17. 1: 62: 9; 3: 115: 6. Yāḻmuri is said to have been sung to show Yāḻppāṇar his place: 1: 136. Periyapurāṇam: Campantar Purāṇam—V. 448.
18. Campantar: 3: 58: 2, 11.
19. Neṭumāṟan: Campantar: 2: 66: 11; 3: 51: 1-11; 3: 120: 2.
20. Campantar: 3: 120: 1.
21. Campantar: 3: 120: 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11.
22. Appar: 4: 12: 10.
23. Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, page 53.
24. Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, page 41.
25. Pāṇḍyas by T. V. Sadāsiva Pandārattār following Venkayya.
26. 2: 63: 7.
27. 4: 49: 9; 6: 12: 7.
27a. 4: 98: 7.
28. 3: 121: 1.
29. 4: 49: 6; 6: 52: 8.

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Both of them refer to Caṇḍēccurar,[30] Naminanti,[31] Kaṇṇappar.[32] Kōcceṅkat Cōḷar is mentioned by Appar.[33] Appar mentions Tillaivāḷ Āntaṇar[34] and Campantar mentions Tillaivāḷ Antaṇar[35]. It is doubtful whether the reference in Appar's is to Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.

These must be considered to be anterior to Appar and Campantar.

(b) The following are not found mentioned in the Tēvāram hymns of Appar or Campantar but as all the hymns sung by these saints have not reached us, one cannot conclude that all of them came only after these two saints. Some of them must be anterior to Appar and Campantar. They are as follows: Pukaḻccōḷar, Kāraikkālammaiyār, Tirumūlar, Mūrtti Nāyaṉār, Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār, Aiyaṭikaḷ, Arivāṭṭāyaṉār, Eṟipattar, Kāri, Atipattar, Kalikkampar, Kaliya Nāyaṉār, Cakti, Vāyilār, Muṉaiyaṭuvār, Itaṅkaḷi, Iyaṟpakai, Nēca Nāyanār, Iḷaiyāṉkuṭimāṟar, Meypporuḷ, Tirunāḷaippōvār, Ēṉātināta Nāyanar, Āṉāyar, Uruttirapacupati, Tirukkuṟippattoṇṭar, Mūrkkar, Ciṟappuli, Kaṇanātar, Tirunīlakaṇṭar and Taṇṭi.

Pukaḻccōḷar and Eṟipattar are contemporaries and the fact that this Cōḷa ruled from Karuvūr suggests that he must belong to the period when the Cōḷa kingdom was in the hands of Kalabhras and others. Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār and Mūrtti Nāyaṉār probably belong to the period of Kalabhra interregnum. Tirumūlar should also be taken to have preceded these two saints. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār is referred to as Pēyār by Ārūrar. According to Cēkkiḻar, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār lived long long before Ñānacampantar who is therefore not said to have set foot on the sacred precincts of Ālaṅkāṭu, made sacred by the foot dust of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār.[36] Yāpparuṅkala virutti quotes a verse heginning with 'Karaippāl perumōṭṭu' in its commentary on Cūtram 93 as an ārṣā or a verse

30. 1: 48; 7; 1: 106: 5; 2: 43: 5: 3: 54; 7: 3: 68: 10; 3: 155: 5: 4: 48: 4; 4: 49: 3; 4: 65: 6; 4: 73: 5; 5: 2: 4; 5: 70 1; 5: 73: 8; 6: 18: 10; 6: 33: 10; 6: 73: 6; 75: 9.

31. 1: 62: 6; 4: 103: 2; 6; 14: 4.

32. 3: 35: 7; 3: 69: 4; 3; 109; 7; 3. 116: 7; 4: 49: 7; 4: 65: 8; 6: 12: 6; 6: 39: 9; 6: 81: 6; 6: 96: 1.

33. 4: 49: 4; 6: 20: 5; 6: 23: 3; 6: 56: 6; 6: 74: 8; 6: 75: 8; 6: 83: 6,

34. 4: 80: 2.

35. 1: 80.

36. Campantar Purāṇam 1009.

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sung by a ṛṣi or saint and it mentions that it was sung by both Pūtattār and Kāraikkāṟpēy.[37] This will make her a contemporary of the first three āḷvārs.

In our study of Tiruttoṇṭattokai, it was suggested that the people who bear the epithet 'Kali' may have some relationship with the Kaliyaracar or Kalabhras. The number of free lances like Muṉaiyaṭuvār, Iṭaṅkaḻi, Cakti etc., seems to suggest that they lived in an age of confusion which preceded the restoration of order by Kaṭuṅkōn, the Pāṇḍya and Siṁhaviṣṇu, the Pallava. Meypporul, the chief of the Cēti country and Ēṉatināta, the chieftain who obtained the title of Ēnāti, were living perhaps in these trouble times. Cākkiyar must have lived in an age of Buddhistic domination, described by Fahien, i.e., before their deterioration described by Hieun Tsang.

(c) But all of them could not be said to have preceded Appar and Campantar. Aiyaṭikaḻ, if our identification of this king with Mahēndravarmaṉ II is correct, must have come between Campantar and Ārūrar. Again Kaṇanāta who worshipped Campantar must have come necessarily after Campantar and before Ārūrar.[38]

In any case, for our purpose, it is enough if we take them as anterior to Ārūrar for fixing the upper limit of his age.

II

Apart from these names, certain traditions and suggestions may be now considered:

1. The names Aiyaṭikaḻ Kaṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ seem to suggest a relationship between them. The stories of these saints given in Kannaḍa and Sanskrit works makes them father and son.[39]

2. Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ is said to be ruling the world surrounded by the seas, thereby suggesting his naval power.[40] Kaḻal is the heoric anklet worn as a sign of victory. According to Periyapurāṇam,

37. P. 352.
38. Kaṇa. Purāṇam, 5.
39. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1925, pp. 9-10.
40. 39: 9.

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(i) Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ came of the old Pallava line; (ii) his mind never knew anything but the feet of Śiva and his worship; (iii) the frontiers of his enemies fell before him and he captured the northern land; (iv) when Ceruttuṇai Nāyaṉār cut away the nose of the queen for smelling the flower set apart for God at Tiruvārūr, Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ cut away her hands which took up the flowers. Of these four points the last alone is found in Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi's Tiruvantāti (verse 64).

3. Kāṭavarkōṉ, the contemporary of Pūcalār is said to have built the Kaṟṟaḷi at Kāñci. The Pallava king Rājasiṁha according to the inscriptions heard a divine voice.[41] This is taken to refer to the message which he received for fixing a date for the consecration of the temple different from that fixed by Pūcalār for consecrating his mental temple.[42] Periyapurāṇam, however, speaks of a dream.[43]

4. The Periyapurāṇam gives the following details about Aiyaṭikaḷ: (i) He came of the Pallava family; (ii) he subjugated other lands; (iii) he established the dhārmic path of Śaivism and the Vēdas; (iv) he abdicated and crowned his son as king; (v) he went on a pilgrimage to Śaivite temples singing a 'veṇpā' at each temple. Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi refers only to the first and fifth points[44] which are proved by the existence of Kṣēttira veṇpā and the very name of the king Aiyaṭikaḷ.

5. Kōṭpuli according to Ārūrar conquered a crowd of kings and he belonged to the Cōḷa country. But, according to Periyapurāṇam he was a commander of the Cōḷas. He is said to have killed his relatives including his baby child for having tasted the rice reserved for bhaktas.

6. (a) Cēramāṉ was the patron of Pāṇapattirar, a musician in the court of Varaguṇa, the Pāṇḍya. (b) Śince Varaguṇa II, a Śaivite saint praised by Paṭṭiṇattār and others is not mentioned by Ārūrar, Varaguṇa I, the contemporary of Cēramāṉ must be anterior to this Varaguṇa II. (c) Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar met the Pāṇḍya and his son-in-law, the Cōḷa, at the royal court of Madura. Therefore, all of them must have been friends. This requires that

41. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Part I, No. 24, v. 7.
42. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, Part I, No. 24, v. 7.
43. Pūcalār Purāṇam, 9 and 10.
44. Tiruvantāti : 56.

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we must find a period for Ārūrar when the Pāṇḍya, the Cōḷa and the Cēra could have been on friendly terms. (d) The word Neṭumāṟan occurs in Ārūrar's hymns[45] suggesting that he was his contemporary.

7. (a) There is a tradition that Cēramāṉ went away to Mecca and became a Muslim. (b) The Kollam era is said to have been started with his disappearance.

8. (a) The Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarma Pallavamalla speaks of an important elephant name Paṭṭavarttaṉam, (Paṭṭavardhana) which he conquered from the Gaṅgas.[46] Ārūrar speaks of an elephant of a Toṇṭaimāṉ:

"Collarum pukaḻāṉ Toṇṭaimāṉ kaḷiṟṟai-c
cūḻkoṭi mullaiyāṟkaṭṭi-ṭ
Ṭellaiyil iṉpam avaṉpeṟa veḷippaṭ
taruḷiya iṟaivaṉē."[47]

"You bound the elephant of Toṇṭaimāṉ of fame beyond words and you came to bless him with infinite happiness" This is suggested as a reference to the Paṭṭavardhanam.[48]

(b) In addition, it is suggested that terms like Kāṭavarkōṉ etc., used by Ārūrar are not found used by the Pallavas themselves as their family names before the reign of Nandivarma Pallavamalla.

Part II

THE THEORIES DISCUSSED

I

The various theories put forward on the basis of these various points may be discussed to offer us the starting point and show us our way.

The Mysore Archaeological Report 1925 tries to fix the age of Ārūrar, after fixing the age of Ñānacampantar. The Karnāṭaka Kaviccakravartti, in his Triṣaṣṭipurātana caritrē, mentions according to the Report[49] that Jain ascetics Jinasēna, Nayasēna, Śṛtakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Buddhacandra and Suvṛtakīrti attempted

45. 38: 8; 39: 8.
46. Tandantōṭṭam Plates, V. 7.
47. 69: 10.
48. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 99, Verse 7, Footnote 6.
49. P. 12.

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to cure the Kūṉ Pāṇḍyaṉ by making use of Jaina charms and spells, but failed in their attempts whilst Campantar tried next and cured him. The Jinasēna mentioned herein is the author of Bṛhad Harivamsa Purāṇa and at the end of that Purāṅa, Jinasēna himself writes as follows: "When 700 years in the era of Śāka increased by five have elapsed, when Indrāyudha, son of Kṛṣṅa was ruling over the north, and Śrīvallabha, the south, when Vatsarāja, the king of the Avanti country was ruling over the east and when the brave Jayavarāha was ruling over the Śūrasēnamaṇḍala in the west, this Harivamśa was composed": This gives the year—Sāka 705 or 783 A.D.

It is also stated by Karnataka Kaviccakravartti that Campantar was assisted by Haradatta and Vāgīsa. The report writes: "This epoch is in harmony assigned to Haradattācharya in Haradattamāhātmya", and translated, the verse giving this detail as follows: "When 4,000 years greater by 21 years from the beginning of Kali had elapsed, in the year Vilamba, on Friday, the 5th lunar day of the white half of the month of Puṣya, Haradatta, of Maudgala-Gōtra and father of eight children ascended the heaven. His passage on a brilliant vimāna was a pleasing sight, as witnessed by the inhabitants of the village Kamsa on the northern bank of the Kāvēṛi (Kañcaṉūr?)". But the report itself admits that 4,021 Kali that is 920 A.D. was not Vilamba year and therefore concludes: "Perhaps the verse was composed long after the event happened." The report however continues:[50] "The Rājāvalīkathē, a Canarese historical work of the Jains furnishes some additional evidence confirming the epoch of Kūṉpāṇḍya fell partly in the 8th and partly in the 9th century. It is stated in the work that Bhaṭṭākaḷaṅka whose name is mentioned by Jinasēna in his Mahāpurāṇa taught Hoysaḷa, the legendary founder of the Hoysaḷa dynasty some charms to enable him to conquer Kūna Pāṇḍya of Madura." This is the translation of the portion in Rājāvalī Kathē: "The Śāka year 800 in the Vilambi year on Thursday the 10th lunar day of the white half of the month of Caitra with the constellation Puṣya, Dhṛiti yōga, and girijākaraṇa, Akaḷaṅka taught Hoysaḷa, the necessary charm and spell for his victory." The Report itself condemns these dates: "The error is that the 10th lunar day of Caitra of the year Viḷambi, 878 A.D., is Monday and not Thursday. Nor, can it

50. P. 12.

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be believed that Bhaṭṭākaḷanka, who must have been old enough to be referred to by Jinasēna about A.D. 783 could have lived as long as 878."

The whole argument turns on the mention of the name of Jinasēna, in the list of Jain ascetics who tried to cure Kūṉ Pāṇḍya. The author of "Triṣaṣṭi Purātana Caritrē" in his attempt to glorify the success of Campantar has brought in the names of all famous Jains of all ages in his list of Jain ascetics and pitted them against Campantar. If this assumption is correct, no reliance can be placed on this verse for fixing the date of Campantar whose date has been conclusively proved by late Prof. Sundaram Pillai, in his classic essay on "Some mile-stones in the History of Tamil Literature." Appar was the contemporary of Guṇabhara Mahēndra Varma and Campantar referred to Ciṟuttoṇṭar of the great Vātāpi fame, the great commander of Narasiṁhavarma when Vātāpi was conquered in 642 A.D. The Kūṉ Pāṇḍya was Arikēsarivarmaṉ I of the 7th century.

This report itself fixes the date of Dabhrabhakta, i.e., Ciṟuttoṇṭar correctly. The report writes: "The exploit of Dabhrabhakta, a general of the Chōḷa king (Pallava king?) in destroying the fortification of Vātāpi is another historical event which throws a flood of light on the chronology of the Śaivite Saints in general. According to the history of the Pallavas, it was Narasiṁhavarman I, that destroyed the fort of Vātāpi (Bādāmi) and captured alive Pulakēsi II, one of the Chāḷukya kings about A.D. 634 (643?). This decides the date of Dabrabhakta,..... and also the dates of other Śaivites who are mentioned along with him."[51]

Unfortunately, the Report has failed to take note of the fact that the other Śaivites mentioned along with Dabhrabhakta or Ciṟuttoṇṭar, are Campantar and Appar.

Proceeding next to fix the date of Ārūrar, naturally in a period subsequent to the period fixed for Campantar and it was for this reason that we had to criticise the views on the age of Campantar, the report writes as follows;[51a] "Lastly, regarding the date of Sundaranampi Nāyaṉār, reliable information is furnished by Sōmadēvasūri in his Yaśas Tilaka Campu. In the

51. P. 11.
51a. P. 13.

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colophon he writes. "When 881 years in the Sāka year have elapsed on the 13th lunar day of the month of Caitra, in the year Siddhārtha and when Krishna Rāja was reigning in Mēlyāti, after conquering Pāṇḍava Simhalōchana, Chērama and other kings in the Gaṅga country under the rule of king Vāga, the eldest son of Arikēsari, a descendent of the Chāḷukyas and the crestjewel of the feudal chiefs under king Krishna, has feudal Lord, this work was caused to be composed." The Report assumes that Chēramāṉ mentioned here is Chēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār and therefore Ārūrar must have lived up to 959 or 960 A.D., mentioned in the above works. It is impossible to bring Ārūrar to the period of Cōḷa supremacy of Vijayālaya and his successors of the 10th century. Cēramāṉ is a common name of Cēras and from this one cannot fix any date even as it is impossible to fix any date with the help of the single name Pāṅḍaya or Cōḷa.

II

There is an interesting reference to the Skanda Purāṇa emphasised in this report,[52] where Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷarciṅkaṉ are mentioned in Sanskrit. Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ is translated as Pañcapādasiṁha. The report writes as follows : "In the Skāndōpapurāṇa, Śivarahasya, and Śiva Bhakta Māhātmaya, the Pallavas are called Āryagṛhyas, worthy of social intercourse with the Āryans. This indicates, that though a non-Āryan tribe, they were regarded as Āryans probably for their devotion to Śaivism. One Pañcapāda Siṁha or Siṁhāṅka is said to have built a number of Śiva temples. His father Bhīma is said to have dedicated his life to the service of Śiva and retired from his kingdom early in life, installing Siṁhāṅka on the throne. According to Epigraphical records, however, Siṁhavarman (550-575 A.D.), was the father of Bhīmavarman." If Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ were to be the contemporary of Ārūrar our saint should be taken to have lived in the closing years of the 6th century in the regin of Siṁhaviṣṇu. This wiil be an absurd conclusion, for Appar whom Ārūrar praises as his leader came only in the reign of Mahēndravarmaṉ, the son of Siṁhaviṣṇu.

The report continues :

'Though with regard to genealogical order, the statement of Skāndōpapurāṇa is wrong, the consangunity of the two Pallava

52. P. 11.

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personages in the story is in itself a reliable index to their position in the genealogy of the Pallava kings. It follows, therefore, that Pañcapādasiṁha or Siṁhāṅka of the Skāndōpapurāṇa identical with the Tamil name Aiyaṭikaḷ or Kāṭavarkōṉ Nāyaṉār is none other than the Pallava Siṁhavarma (550-575) father of Bhīmavarma. Kaḍava or Kāḍava is another name of the Pallavas".

It is clear that the two references in the Skāndōpapurāṇa naratting the story of the 63 Śaiva saints is to Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ whom the Purāṇa makes son and father. There is evidently a confusion much more than is noted in the report. Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ was a contemporary of Ārūrar and therefore Aiyaṭikaḷ must be an ancestor of Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ, not his son. Nor does the term Aiyaṭikaḷ mean Pañcapāda. All this confusion is due to the later day Sanskrit writers attempting to translate the Tamil stories, and the Tamil names into Sanskrit. We have already explained the difficulty, Cēkkiḻār, a great Tamil scholar, feels in arriving at conclusions about these ancient stories. The consanguineous contiguity of the two Pallava saints must have been suggested to the Sanskrit writers by some Tamil scholar who probably interpreted Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ, as Kāṭavarkōn the son of Aiyaṭikaḷ and the name Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ as Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ, the son of Kāṭavarkōṉ. This usage of interpreting the first half of a compound personal name as the name of the father and the second half as the name of the person concerned is as old as the Tolkāppiyam.[53] The names Danti Nandi and Nandi Nṛpatuṅga in the Pallava history show that this usage was current even in the eighth and ninth centuries. But Cēkkiḻār has interpreted these two phrase-names Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ as Aiyaṭikaḷ, the Kāṭava king and Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ the Kāṭavarkōṉ taking the term Kāṭavarkōṉ as the general name of the Pallava kings. But in any case the tradition about the consanguineous relationship preserved in these Sanskrit versions will have to be taken note of in fixing the date of Ārūrar, the contemporary of Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ.

In this connection, one may note the story of Pūcalār Nāyaṉār who built a temple in his own imagination with all that sincerity and reverence required by the Āgamas and fixed a date for the Kumbhābhiṣēkam (consecration) of this temple on a date and hour, which synchronised with the date and hour fixed unknown

53. Tol. 350.

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to him by the Pallava king or Kāṭavarkōṉ for the consecration of his own temple at Kāñcipuram. We are told that Śiva requested the king to change the day and time because Pūcalār had already fixed upon the original day and time. Historians of the Pallava age[54] conclude that this is referred to in Rājasiṁha's inscription in the Kailāsanātha Temple in the following terms: "If in the Kṛta (age) kings like Dushyanta, who saw the gods and were engaged by saints like Kaṇva, would hear a heavenly voice without body, that is not a matter of wonder, but ah! this is extremely astonishing, that Śrībhara has heard that voice in the Kali age from which good qualities keep aloof.[55]

Therefore, one has to conclude with Mr. C. V. Nārāyaṇa Aiyar, "Since Pūcalār Nāyaṉār was one of the 63 devotees honoured by Sundaramūrti (Ārūrar) in the Tiruttoṇṭattokai, Sundarar (Ārūrar) must have been a contemporary of Narasiṁhavarman II or any one of his successors."[55a]

III

Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, however, concludes that Ārūrar lived in the middle of the 9th century A.D.,[56] on the basis of an inscription[57] where one Narasiṁhavarma is referred to by another Narasiṁhavarma of Tirunāvalūr, Milāṭuṭaiya Nāṭṭāṉ. This belongs to the 17th year of Kannara Deva's reign, i.e., 957 A.D. This inscription refers to another Narasiṁhavarma whom according to the Tamil usage Mr. Rao assumes to be the grand-father living a 100 years previous to him as a contemporary of Ārūrar. The other argument of Mr. Rao is based on the assumption that Cēramāṉ, the friend of Nāmpiyārūrar and the patron of Pāṇapattiraṉ, a musician, was the contemporary of Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya who was according to Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṅam, the Pāṇḍya patron of the same Pāṇapattirar. From Ārūrar's verse that Śiva creates confusion amongst those kings who do not pay tributes to the Pallava king[58], Mr. Gopinatha Rao concludes Ārūrar must have lived in an age when Pallava supremacy was being questioned by

54. *Pallavas of Kāñci* by Gopalan, p. 109.
55. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 24, line 7.
55a. Origin and Early History of Saivism in South India, p. 446.
56. *Sentamil*, Vol. III, p. 312.
57. 120/1900.
58. 90: 4.

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its subordinates. Mr. Rao refers to the Udayēndram Plates and to the Trichy. Inscription of Varaguṇa to conclude that these refer to this period of Pallavas' fall. He assigns these documents to the 9th century A.D. This essay of Gopinatha Rao was written in 1905, but subsequent research has shown that the Udayendram Plates belong to the age of Nandivarma Pallavamalla who ruled between 733 and 795 A.D. In view of this conclusion, the argument based on the inscription of Kaṉṉaradēva also falls to the ground.

IV

The late Mr. K. Srinivasa Pillai, in his Tamil Varalāṟu, Part II, concludes that Ārūrar must have lived in the reign of Dantivarmaṉ. He proceeds to fix the lower limit and the upper limit of the age of Ārūrar. Having come after Appar and Campantar, Ārūrar should be later than the first half of the seventh century. As according to Mr. Piḷḷai, Māṇikkavācakar lived in the age of Varaguṇa II and since Ārūrar does not refer to this saint, Ārūrar must be anterior to 862 A.D., when, according to Mr. Piḷḷai, Varaguṇa ascended the throne. Ārūrar meets the Cōḷa living under the shelter of his father-in-law, the Pāṇḍya and this Cōḷa, therefore, should be one of those who preceded the powerful Vijayālaya, who required no such protection and who ascended the throne in 849 A.D. As Pāṇapattirar, who came to Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ is said to be a musician in the court of Varaguṇa must be Varaguṇa I, the grand-father of Varaguṇa II. Mr. Srinivasa Pillai within these upper and lower limits fives definitely the year 825 as the date of Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar leaving this world on the basis of the tradition that Kollam Era began, on the date Cēramāṉ Perumāl left Malayāḷam for Mecca for becoming a Muslim. Mr. Pillai refers to the mention of the name of Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ by Ārūrar. But this name according to him is an honorific title rather than a proper name. He feels it cannot refer to Rājasiṁha because in his age of peace and no war, none would have refused to pay tribute to him whereas Ārūrar in the Citamparam hymn mentions such refusal. He is forced to conclude that Ārūrar was a contemporary of Dantivarmaṉ who was conquered by the Rāṭṣrakūṭa king Govinda III and who, therefore, must have found it difficult to collect tribute from his subordinates. Because he has built temples like Kailāsanāthar temple in Ālampākkam of the Trichy. Dist., wherein he enshrined the Dantiliṅgam named after

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him, Mr. Srinivasa Pillai feels that he was such a great patron of Śaivism as to be referred to in the Tiruttoṇṭattokai. But Dantivarmaṉ, though he had built the Kailāsanāthar temple is considered to be a Vaiṣṇavite[59] who had built and renovated Vaiṣṇavite temples; and some told that Tirumaṅkaimaṉaṉ was a contemporary of Danti as well as Nandivarma Pallavamalla.

V

Dr. Mīnākṣi on other grounds confirms the period of Ārūrar as the first half of the 9th century, making Ārūrar a contemporary of Nandivarman III, the Teḷḷaṟeṟinda Nandivarmaṉ and not Dantivarmaṉ.[60]

She writes: "The first half of the 9th century, which is the date generally assigned to Sundarar (Ārūrar) seems to receive confirmation from his own padigam 'Tiruttoṇḍattogai' where he describes among other Śiva bhaktas 'Kaḍal sūḻnda ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ kāḍavarkōn kaḷaṟ-ciṅgaṉ'[61]—that is, the Kāḍava king, Śiṅgan, with the kaḷal (anklet), who is guarding the entire world surrounded by the sea. The mention of him as Kāḍavarkōṉ leads us to believe that he was a Pallava king probably a contemporary of the Saint".[62]

Very carefully she lays down the requirements: "The following points must be satisfied by an attempt to identity the monarch. Firstly, the Pallava king must be a sufficiently prominent ruler; it would be well if it could be shown that his activities extended beyond the seas to justify the description 'Kaḍal sūḻnda ulagelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ'. Secondly, 'Kaḷal Siṅgan' undoubtedly implies that he was a warrior king. Thirdly, this Kāḍavarkōṉ must have also been a great devotee of Śiva in order to receive such an encomium from Sundarar (Ārūrar)".[63]

Applying these tests, she concludes that Nandivarman III satisfies these requirements:

"Now the king who best satisfies all these points seems to be Nandivarman III, who may be said to have ruled the Pallava

59. *S I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 515.
60. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 300.
61. 39: 9.
62. P. 299.
63. Pp. 299-300.

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kingdom between the years 840-865 A.D. Let us proceed to consider the points raised above. We have no direct evidence to assert that Nandivarman III extended his sway beyond the seas by conquest. However, we find that the economic relations of South India with the outside world were well established in the 9th century A.D. From the Nandikkalambagam, we learn that Nandi was a master of a navy and from the inscriptions of his period it is clear that he encouraged external trade. The maritime relations of the period are further corroborated by an inscription in Siam which mentions a tank called Avani Nāraṇam evidently named after Nandivarman III (whose title was Avani Nāraṇan).[64]

She refers to Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri for her arguments. Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri has also suggested in editing the Takuapā inscription from Siam that the builder of the tank was probably a prominent noble from Nāṅgūr in South India, who "went over to Takua-Pā and became the author of some charitable works in that locality. The name he gave to the tank was reminiscent of the political allegiance he owed to Nandivarman III."[65]

"These observations are sufficient indications to explain the description 'kaḍal sūḻnda ulagelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ'[66] says she, and she continues: "Regarding 'Kaḷal Siṅgaṉ' a better description than this, of the Victor of Teḷḷāṟu, cannot be sought. The Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grant and the Bāhūr Plates glorify Nandivarmaṉ as a great warrior. Further, his own inscriptions which attribute to him the epithet "Teḷḷāṟeṟinda Nandivarmaṉ' the very object of the Kalambakam and the introductory verse in the 'Bhārata Veṇbā', establish his fame as a victor. Besides, in the Kalambakam we read: "Aṟaikaḷal muḍitta Avaṉi Nāraṇaṉ'[67]—Avaṉi Nāraṇaṉ who wears the victorious 'anklets'. Again we have "Kurai kaḷal Vīra Nandi,"[68] i.e., the heroic Nandi (who wears a) jingling kaḷal—and in another place we find him described as the lion among the Pallava kings—"Pallava kōḷari".[69] Thus the name 'Kalal Siṅgaṉ' noticed in Sundarar's (Ārūrar's) poem is supported by these phrases in the Kalambakam."[70]

64. Pallava Administration, p. 300.
65. J.O.R., Madras, Vol. V., p. 300, Pallava Administration, p. 300.
66. Pallava Administration, p. 300.
67. Verse 66.
68. Verse 28.
69. Verse 59.
70. Pallava Administration, p. 300.

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"That Nandivarman was a great Śaiva devotee is evident not only from the epigraphy of the period but also from the Kalambakam where he is spoken of as one whose mind is always concentrated on Śiva: 'Śivanai muḻudum maṟavāda cintaiyāṉ'.[71]

"Other facts may be adduced in support of the view that 'Kaḷal Siṅgan' of Sundarar (Ārūrar) was Nandivarman III. The Periyapurāṇam relates that 'Kaḷal Siṅgan' was a Pallava king who distinguished himself by invading the northern regions and defeating the kings of the North"[72]. She proceeds to quote from the Kalambakam: "Cēra Cōḷarum Teṉṉarum Vaḍapulattaraśarum tiṟai taṇḍa" — "besides the Cēra, Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kings, the kings of the North also paid tribute to the Pallava king Nandivarman" and from Vēlurpāḷayam Plates to prove that the northern enemy was the Rāṣṭra Kūṭa king who had in the reign of Dantivarman claimed tribute from the Pallavas. She has quoted a verse.[73] She writes: "It thus becomes evident that the chief northern enemy of Nandivarman III was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa against whom the Pallava king led an invasion soon after he ascended the throne of Kāñci to liberate his kingdom from the payment of the tribute. This is implied in the phrase 'rājyasriyam samavāpat'."[74]

And, she continues:— "The successful raid of the Pallava king against his northern foes was enough at once to rouse the jealousy of the southern kings, and give them an opportunity to join together under the Pāṇḍya leadership for a fight against the Pallava king, on his return from the north" (at Teḷḷāṟu).[75]

She sees a reference to this in Sundarar (Ārūrar): "In his padigam on the god at Śiṟṟambalam he makes a reference to the Pallava king. He says: '(Here in Śiṟṟambalam) resides the God who punished those kings who refused to pay the tribute due to the Pallava king'—'Urimaiyāṟ Pallavarkkut tiṟai koḍā maṉṉavarai maṟukkkañjeyyum, Perumaiyāṟ puliyūrc ciṟṟambalattemberumāṉaipperṟāmaṉṟē.' Here is clearly a reference to the refusal of the

71. Verse 97, *ibid.*, p. 301.
72. Periyapurāṇam, Kaḻaṟciṅka Nāyāṉār Purāṇam, Verses 1 and 2.
73. Pallava Administration, p. 301.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 303.

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southern kings to recognise the Pallava ruler. Again, we have another verse of Sundarar (Ārūrar) where the same defeat of the southern kings is implied though under a different context.

"In his padigam on the God at Nāṭṭiyattāṉguḍi, Sundarar (Ārūrar) purposely pays tribute to his friend Kōṭpuli by referring to the latter's military exploits. He says that Kōṭpuli was successful in a war against a host of enemies—"Kūḍā maṉṉaraik kūṭṭattuveṉṟa koḍiṟaṉ Kōṭpuli." Again, in his Tiruttoṇḍattogai he praises Kōṭpuli as one famous for his victory—"Aḍal sūḷnda vēl Nambi Kōṭpulikkumaḍiyēṉ."

"That Kōṭpuli was a contemporary of Sundarar (Ārūrar) is certain; and in the Periyapurāṇam we read that he was a commander of the army under his contemporary king who was evidently the Pallava Nandivarman III. It is also narrated that Kōṭpuli was suddenly ordered by the king to fight against his enemies in a battle where he distinguished himself by defeating a host of kings.[76] It is thus evident that Kōṭpuli was one of the leaders of the Pallava army which engaged itself against the southern kings at Teḷḷāṟu."[77]

She concludes: "The course of events described so for enables us to distinguish the Pallava king as a great hero. His devotion to Śiva and his interest in Tamil literature deserved well the unique eulogy from his contemporary Śaiva Nāyaṉār who in the presence of Śiva at Tirumēṟṟaḷi extolled Kāñcī the capital of the Pallava as the city on earth: 'Pārūr Pallavaṉūr maṯiṟkāñci mānakarvāy-c Cīrūrumpuṟaviṟ ṟirumēṟṟaḷi-c civaṉai Ārūraṉṉaṭiyā naṭit toṇṭaṉā rūraṉconṉa Cīrūr pāṭavallār Civalōkañ cērvārē'."[78]

She dismisses the theory identifying Kaḷaṟsiṅgan with Rājasiṁha very summarily in a foot note.[79] 'Pandit M. Rāghava Iyengar identifies 'Kaḷal siṅgan' with Rājasiṁha.[80] This is untenable as Sundarar (Ārūrar) cannot be assigned to an earlier date than the first half of the 9th century."

76. Periyapurāṇam: Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār Purāṇam.
77. Pallava Administration, p. 305.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 305.
78. 21: 10; *Ibid.*, p. 305.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 299.
80. Aḻvārkaḷ kālanilai, pp. 135-136.

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It is very unfortunate that she has not here given us her reasons. Is she relying on the tradition about Cēramāṉ's departure to Mecca and the beginning of the Kollam era? The tradition about the Kollam era may be conveniently examined at this place.

Though there is a tradition that Kollam era began with the disappearance of Cēramāṉ, the inscriptions give a different story about the introduction of this new era. The inscriptions of Malabar always speak of their dates as coming so many years after the foundation of Kollam — "Kollam tōṉṟi.....āṇṭu"[81] The question arises what is the meaning of the phrase "Kollam tōṉṟi"? Teivaccilaiyār, a commentator on the Tolkāppiyam throws some light on this problem. The Tolkāppiyam describes the standard dialect — 'Centamiḻ' and the Provincial dialects — 'Koṭuntamiḻ'. This commentator enumerates the 12 provinces and in addition speaks of 12 countries from which foreign words or 'ticaiccol' came into Tamil. The following is an old sutra of Agastya he quotes: "The old Kollam, Kūpakam, Siṅkaḷam on the South of the river Kumari, Koṅkaṇam, Tuḷuvam, Kuṭakam, and Kuṉṟakam on the west of Saiyyam, Karunāṭam, Vaṭuku, Teluṅku and Kaliṅkam on the east of Saiyyam or the mountain." He finds that this description of Kollam as being south of Kumari does not agree with the state of affairs existing in his own times. He therefore proceeds to explain as follows: "Of these, Kūpakam, and Kollam became submerged under the seas and perhaps, people were made to immigrate to a new city on the northern bank of the Kumari river which was the same name as Kollam." This suggestion agrees with the conclusions of modern research that in 822, old Kollam disappeared because of erosion by the sea and in 825 the new Kollam was founded at its present place, Quilon.[82] Therefore, this tradition of departure to Mecca has no historical value.

On the tradition that Cēramāṉ going away as a Muslim to Mecca, an event celebrated by the new era of Kollam referred to as already stated in Tamil varalāṟu, Mr. C. V. Nārāyaṇa Aiyar expresses himself very forcibly in his work on 'Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India':

81. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, pages 57 and 58.
82. *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, pages 57 and 58.

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"It will be clear to any one who reads the above mentioned arguments[83] that the conclusions are unworthy of acceptance, since they are based ultimately upon a baseless tradition about Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ becoming a Mahommedan. We know that Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ is a Śaiva saint glorified by Sundarar (Ārūrar) and cherished by all the Tamils even at the present day. Such a thing would be impossible if Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ had become a Mahommedan.[84]

VI

Mr. C. V. Nārāyana Aiyar like Mr. Gopinatha Rao, lays much emphasis on the fact of the meeting of the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya on friendly terms, when Ārūrar went to Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam. The Coḷas and the Pāṇḍyas were intermarrying in this period. It was therefore against the Cēras, the Paṇḍyas were leading their expedition off and on. Therefore he proceeds to find out the Pāṇḍya in whose reign there was no such expedition and who might be taken to be the king of Madura to whom Cēramāṉ came. Arikēsari is said to have defeated the Kēraḷa many a time.[85] Kōccaṭaiya Ranadhīra, his son fought against the chieftain, Āy Vēḷ of the South Malabar and not against the Cēra king and his son was Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya. Rājasiṁha's wars were all against the Pallava. Pāṇḍya's hostility against Cōḷas and Cēras was renewed only during the reign of the donor of the Vēḷvikkudi grant, Pāṇḍyan Neṭuñcaṭaiyaṉ and continued during the reign of Śri Vallabha. Mr. Aiyar concludes: "When we remember that friendly relations must have prevailed between the Cōḷa, the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya and that the Pāṇḍya king must have been a Śaiva devotee, we more or less lay our finger upon Ranadhīra's son Rājasiṁha. The inscription speaks of him as having worshipped Paśupati at Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi."[86]

He interprets the reference to 'Kūṭāmaṉṉaraik kūṭṭattu veṉṟa Kōṭpuli' as alluding to the battles against those who came

83. i.e., of Mr. K. Srinivasa Pillai in his Tamil Varalāṟu, Vol. II, p. 66.

84. Page 445.

85. Pār aḷavum taṉicceṅkōṟ kēraḷaṉaip palamūṟaiyum.....veṉṟukoṇṭum — Ep. Ind. XVII, p. 300, ll. 56-59.

86. Ep. Ind., XVII, p. 455.

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against the Paṇḍya Kōṭpuli as the commander of the Cōḷā force, fighting on the side of Pāṇḍya, commanding the whole army. He next points out that the enemy so fought was Nandivarma Pallavamalla — the battles were those mentioned in the Udayēndram plates of the 21st year of Pallavamalla's reign, viz., 753 or 754 A.D. In passing it may be noted that Mr. Gopinatha Rao also concluded that Ārūrar was a contemporary of the Udayēndram plates though he assigned 9th century for them. Mr. Aiyar assumes that Ranadhīra who ruled before Rājasiṁha must have been known as Varaguṇa which is the name of the Pāṇḍya patron Pāṅapattira and that Cēramāṉ was a contemporary of Ranadhīra and Rājasiṁha.

He further refers to the poem:

"Apparuk keṇpat toṉṟu aruḷvāta vūrarukku-c
Ceppiya nāleṭṭiṟ ṟcyvīkam — Ippuviyiṟ
Cuntararkku mūvāṟu toṉñāna Campantarkku
Antam patiṉāṟu aṟi."

"Appar lived 81 years; Vātavūrar (Māṇikkavācakar) 32 years; Ārūrar 18 years; and Campantar 16 years" and remarks:

"Ārūrar became a devotee of Śiva only after he was called away by the Lord on the eve of Ārūrar's marriage. He must have been about 16 years old at that time. Thus as a devotee and Tēvāram hymner his life consisted of only two years, that is between his 16th and 18th years. So when he knew his contemporary Kōṭpuli, Ārūrar was between 16 and 18 years old. That was about the year A.D. 731, as we have concluded just now. Therefore the Pāṇḍaya king who honoured him was Rājasiṁha I."[87]

Therefore according to Mr. Aiyar, the contemporary of Ārūrar was Nandivarmaṉ II, the Pallavamalla. But he was a 'paramavaiṣṇava', — a staunch Vaiṣṇavite — who was interested in the construction of Paramēśvara Viṇṇagaram and Nandipura Viṇṇagaram and he therefore could not have been included as Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ in the list of Śaivite saints by Ārūrar.

Somasundara Desikar had suggested that Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ was Narasiṁhavarmaṉ, the Māmalla, the conqueror of Vāṭāpi and that therefore Ārūrar was his contemporary. This would make

87. Page 458.

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Appar and Campantar contemporaries of Ārūrar (Cuntarar). Ārūrar gives the total number of hymns sung by Appar and this could have been done only after the death of Appar. Some time must have elapsed before Ārūrar could make those reverential references to them as he has done. Therefore, the age of Māmalla is too early a period for Ārūrar.

Mr. M. Raghava Aiyangar, Mr. T. V. Sadasiva Pandarattar and other scholars have suggested as already mentioned the age of Rājasiṁha or Rājasiṁhavarmaṉ II as the age of Ārūrar and we had seen the criticism levelled against this conclusion by Srinivasa Pillai and Dr. Mīnākṣi.

It will be thus seen that one or other of the important Pallava kings who reigned between 575 and 850 A.D. from Siṁhaviṣṇu to Nandivarmaṉ III, has been referred to as the contemporary king of Ārūrar by one scholar or another. But if the force of all the arguments are scientifically weighed there may not be any great difficulty in fixing the age of Ārūrar.

Part III

THE LOWER AND UPPER LIMITS OF ĀRŪRAR's AGE

I

We may now try to fix the lower limit of Ārūrar's age. Images of Ārūrar came to be set up in the temples. Kulōttuṅka II refers to these images in reverential terms.[88] Rājarāja had set up the images of Ārūrar and Naṅkai Paravaiyār in the Rājarājēśvara Temple and these images are included in the list of images set up in the temple within the 21st year of his reign.[89] This takes us to the beginning of the 11th century. But the wife of Uttama Cōḻa who began to reign about 969 A.D. was called "Ārūraṉ Poṉṉampalattaṭikal."[90] Ārūrar is one of the names of Cuntarar. In an inscription belonging to the 8th year of Uttama Cōḻa's reign the dowager queen provides for reciting the Tiruppatiyam.[91] Tiruppatiyam means the Tēvāram hymns. Nampi Āṇṭār Nampi was thought of as the person who collected these

88. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 485; p. 298.
89. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 38; p. 151.
90. 47/25.
91. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, 151.

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hymns and we have suggested that he belonged to the regin of Ādityaṉ of beginning of the 10th centry. But the hymns were sung even in the 9th century during the reign of Nandivarma. There is a copy of an old inscription preserved on the walls of the Tiruvallam temple belonging to the 17th year of Kō Vijaya Nandi Vikramapaṉmar which provides for the singing of the hymns:

> "Iṉṉellilt tiruvamirtukku nellu aṟunūṟṟuk kāṭiyum tiruvuṇṇaḷikaiyuḷ ḷārātittup pācarikkum Śivabrāhmanarkku nellu aiññūṟṟukkāṭiyum Srī pali Koṭṭuvvārkkum nellu aiññūṟṟukkāṭiyum tiruppaḷḷittāmam paṟippārkkum Tiruppatiyam pāṭuvāruḷḷiṭṭa palapaṇi ceyvārkkum nellu nāṉuṟṟukaāṭiyum."[92]

"Of this paddy, six hundred kāḍi of paddy (are allotted) for offerings; five hundred kāḍi of paddy to the Śaiva Brāhmaṇas who desire to be fed, beginning with those in charge of the store-room of the temple; five hundred kāḍi of paddy to those who beat (drums before) oblations; four hundred kāḍi of paddy to those who pick (flowers for) temple garlands, and to those who perform various (other) services, including the *singers of the Tiruppadiyam.*"

If this is considered to belong to Nandivarmaṉ III, it will take us to the middle of the 9th century.

The casual way in which the reference to the reciting of Tiruppatiyam is made, suggests that it was, in the reign of Nandivarmaṉ III as usual and widespread as other services. Unfortunately, the full force of this argument had not been realized. If this is correct, Nandivarmaṉ III's reign will be the lower limit of the age of Ārūrar.

II

As for the upper limit, we can take 642, the date of the capture of Vātāpi by Ciṟutoṇṭar, the contemporary of Campantar and Appar, as the starting point. As already pointed out, Ārūrar must have lived at least a generation after Appar to make all those reverential remarks about these saints contained in his hymns. If the reference to the 'aśarīri' voice in Rajasiṁha's inscription is as claimed by Mr. Gopalan and others, to an incident

92. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, Part I, No. 43.

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in Pūcalār Nāyaṉār story, Āruūrar could not have lived earlier than Rājasiṁhaṉ, because Ārūrar includes Pūcalār in the list of saints in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

Ārūrar, therefore, must be either a contemporary of or one who lived after Rājasiṁha. The question is which of these two alternatives would be correct? If we could assume that Ārūrar came in the latter part of Rājasiṁha's reign he would be more or less a generation removed from Appar and Campantar and also could have known the incident about Pūcalār Nāyaṉār's story. It has already been pointed out that Nandivarmaṉ Pallava II, being a Vaiṣṇavite could not have been referred to by Ārūrar as a great Śaiva saint, that Dantivarmaṉ could not have been referred to as 'Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ' and that by the time of Nandivarmaṉ III the hymns had become sacred enough to be recited in the temples. This argument leaves Rājasiṁha alone to be considered seriously as the contemporary of Ārūrar. We have already emphasised the fact that Ārūrar in his Tiruttoṇṭattokai is speaking of the Pallava king in the present tense. In the Pūcalār Nāyaṉār story, Cēkkiḻār refers to the king as Kāṭavarkōmāṉ possibly following Ārūrar who speaks of Kaḷaṟciṁkaṉ as Kāṭavarkōṉ.

It has been argued that the name Kaḷaṟciṁkaṉ is not a proper name, None can argue the 'kaḷal' would have been there in the proper name. 'Kaḷal' means a heroic anklet and it comes as an epithet to any king or warrior of heroic fame. If this is omitted, we get Ciṁkaṉ alone as the proper name and this not a name unknown to the Pallava family. Kōpperuñciṁkaṉ coming almost to destroy the Cōḻa Empire could not be the person referred to by Ārūrar who came many centuries before this Pallava chief. Siṁhaviṣṇu and Narasiṁha Māmalla are too early for Ārūrar. This leaves us Rājasiṁha or Narasiṁha II alone to be taken into consideration in fixing the age of Ārūrar. It is only in the absence of anyone having Ciṁkaṉ as his proper name that one will be justified in taking that name as an honorific title. Taken as an honorific title, it would be under certain circumstances as good as a proper name and we have no evidence whatever to show that either Pallavamalla or Danti or Teḷḷāṟeṟinta Nampi had such specific title. The description of Nandi in Nandikalampakam as Kōḷari cannot be taken as such a specific title as Viṭēl viṭuku or Avaṉi Nāraṇaṉ occurring in that Kalampakam.

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Following Dr. Mīṉakṣi,[93] Dr. Rajamanikkam combines two descriptions in Nandikkalampakam: "*Kaḷal* Nandi"[94] and 'Pallavar kōḷ*ari*[95] and underlines the word 'kaḷal' in the first phrase and 'aṟi' in the second pharase to conclude that Nampi is Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ.[96] If we follow this method of literary equation, there is not any king who may not be called Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ as will be clear to any student of Tamil literature. Reliance is often made on the Periyapurāṇam by Dr. Rajamanikkam[97] for this kind of interpretation. But when Cēkkiḻār speaks of 'Kāṭavar kuricilārām kaḷaṟperuñ ciṅkaṉārtām,[98] it is clear that he speaks of the proper name of the king as Ciṅkaṉ. He refers to him as Siṁha the Great, even as the admirers of Kōpperuñciṅkaṉ in the later age, sing of the Pallava chieftain of the 12th and 13th centuries A. D.

It is argued that in the traditional story about Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ given in Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti and Periyapurāṇam, he is said to have cut off the hand of his own queen for smelling the flower set apart for God at Tiruvārūr, whose nose was cut off by Ceruttuṇaiyār and that this could be true only of the queen of Nandivarmaṉ III.[99] We had already pointed out of the discrepancy between the description of Ceruttuṇai found in Ārūrar and that given by this tradition. We had also noted the acts of cruelty sometimes described in the Purāṇas are more imaginary than real. We also suggested that Ārūrar mentions the names of kings for their great patronage and propagation of Śaivite Religion than for anything else. Therefore, the suggestion that the queen whose hand was cut off was probably Saṅka the Jain queen of Nandivarmaṉ III, the daughter of the Jain king Amōghavarṣa, rather than Raṅgapatākai, the queen of Rājasiṁha who herself was a great patron of Śaiva temples, carries no weight.[100] If such an event had occurred in the reign of Nandivarmaṉ III so as to be celebrated in the verse of Ārūrar, one may expect a reference to what was considered to be a glorious act in any one of the inscriptions of Nandivarmaṉ III. On the other hand, in Bāhūr Plates,

93. Administration and Social Life under Pallavas, p. 299.
94. Verses 13 and 28.
95. Verse 59.
96. Pallavar Varalāṟu, p. 198.
97. Pallavar Varalāṟu, p. 198.
98. Kaḷal., V. 2.
99. Periyapurāṇa Ārāicci, pp. 55-56.
100. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 23.

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Nṛpatuṅga, the son of Nandivarmaṇ and this queen, after the death of Nandivarmaṇ, that is after this cutting off of her hand, if ever it took place, speaks of the queen-mother as the mother of the people, the incarnation of the good fortune of the king, the most beautiful queen well versed in the various arts. To suggest that these were written after her hand was cut off cannot be believed.

III

Mr. Srinivasa Pillai's objection to Rājasiṁha being the contemporary of Ārūrar is that in his peaceful age, no one would have refused to pay the tribute as referred to by Ārūrar: 'Urimiyāṟ pallavarkkut tiṟaī koṭā maṉṉavarai maṟukkam ceyyum perumaiyār puliyūrc ciṟṟampalattem perumāṉai-p peṟṟāmaṉṟē.'[101] Nor. according to him and others, could the reference in the Periyapurāṇam[102] to the conquest of northern territories by Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ be true of Rājasiṁha.

It is true, the historians of the Pallava period once came to the conclusion expressed by Gopalan: "His reign appears to have been completely peaceful and free from foreign invasions."[103] As late as 1943,[104] the epigraphist speaks of Rājasiṁha's reign as comparatively free from political disturbances.[105]

But a study of the 'Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple, Kāñci', by Dr. Mīnākṣi, has completely upset this theory and she writes in a note on page 53 of that work: "It is believed that the reign of Rājasiṁha did not witness any warfare. However, from the sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭaperumāḷ temple we are able to gather that his rule was marked by some disturbance probably towards the end of the reign and just before the coronation of Parameśvaravarmaṇ II. This piece of evidence is supported firstly by (Rājasiṁha's) birudas which glorify him as a mighty kṣatriya and a great wrestler. In the inscriptions of his temple, Rājasimheśvaragṛham, he is described as Śri Aparājitah, Śrī Amirtamallaḥ, Śrī Arimardhanaḥ and Śrī Āhavakēsari. In his oft quoted praśasti he is known as the great wrestler — and as

101. 90: 4
102. Kaḷal., V. 2.
103. Pallavas, p. 108.
104. The introduction to *S.I.I.*, Vol. XII.
105. Int., p. 3.

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one who is always victorious in battle (Raṇajayaḥ). Secondly by a foreign source, namely Chinese text, we learn that, 'In the year 720 A.D., the king of the kingdom of South India, chelittna-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasiṁha) proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Ta-che (Arabs) as well as Tou-po (Tibetans) and others. Moreover, he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army "the army which cherished virtue."[106]

"So far we have not obtained any internal evidence to support Rājasiṁha led any expedition against the Arabs and the Tibetans. However, it is not unlikely that he had some northern enemy whom he defeated. In this connection we may refer to a note by Krishna Śāstri who has suggested that in the period of Rājasiṁha, the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands."[107]

The history of Rajasiṁha's reign is described through the sculptures of the panels 14 to 19 in wall No. 5, lower row of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple. Dr. Mīnākṣi describes them as follows in her Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 63—The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikuṇṭaperumāḷ Temple, Kāñci, pp. 31, 32 and 33:

"Panel XIV. — The son and successor of Paramēśvaravarman was Narasiṁhavarman II, surnamed Rājasiṁha. Pallava history tells us that he was a great Śaiva devotee, who constantly wore on his head Śiva as his crest jewel. 'Sivachūdāmaṇi' was a surname of Rājasiṁha. He is best remembered as the builder of the great Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñcī. Though his surnames pronounce him to be an excellent warrior, his rule is generally believed to have been free from foreign invasions.

"The present panel first represents his coronation.[108] He looks a very handsome king, and it is no surprise that he is described in the Kailāsanātha inscriptions as "he who possesses the

106. Chavannes: Notes additionneless sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux, T'oung pao II 5: See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri's Foreign Notices of South India, Introduction, page 16, and text pages 116-117.

107. EP., Indi., Vol, XVIII, p. 152, note 1.

108. Pl. X, 3.

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grace of Cupid" and as "one whose beauty is unrivalled." It appears as if Rājasiṁha was married immediately after his coronation, for soon after this scene we see him standing with his mahishī, perhaps the famous Raṅgapathākā.[109] The king holds the right hand of his queen and is leading her. Their facial expressions, their dress and their poses bear striking resemblance to the royal portraits of a king and queen depicted on the monolith, the so-called Arjuna's Ratha at Māmallapuram. Therefore, we may tentatively conclude that the king and queen depicted here in this panel are the same as on the monolith at the Pallava seaport. The military commanders and chief officials of the realm are paying their respects to the newly crowned sovereign.

"Panel XV. — The sketch of Rea of this panel is far from being a faithful copy. This picture shows in fact a continued attack of horsemen and elephants from the left and foot-soldiers from the right on a fortress standing at a height. The fight as seen in the picture is very severe. To the right of this, the king sits on an '*āsana*' and under a *chatra*. To his left are sitting two men; one on an '*āsana*' and the other on the floor. We cannot fail to notice in this panel the armed soliders and horsemen vigorously engaged in a conflict on one side, of the panel, and the king sitting with an anxious and grave look on the other half. We have said that Rājasiṁha's rule is generally accepted as one free from warfare, but it is possible that he met with troubles towards the end of his rule, either from the side of the Chālukyas or from some other enemy.[110]

"Panel XVI. — In this the king is seated on his throne. An individual with a *kirīṭa* on his head stands on his left and is touching the king's shoulder in the act of consoling the king who looks very worried. Another man stands to the right of the king with his hands in *añjali*. Two more men are seen to the right of the throne; the one on the top has his hands in *añjali* and the one below is standing. Next comes a building constructed on high plinths and covered with a roof bearing close resemblance to the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñci. Below this temple are depicted two men seated on the floor.

109. See *S.I.I.*, Voi. I, No. 29, p. 23., Pl. X., 4.

110. Pl, VII, 2.

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"Panel XVII. — This represents the same king seated on his throne. This portion of the panel is slightly damaged. A small man stands to the left of the king in the act of reporting some important news. To the left of this man, we seem to find the picture of a soldier (dressed), his head being demaged as well as his hands. He is depicted as if he is about to fall down. Perhaps he is a wounded soldier who was one of the men defending the fortress represented in panel XV. Two tiny attendants are standing by the side of the throne. The two men whom we saw by the side of the king in panel XV are again standing here, the one with his arms folded and the other anxiously watching something. Before them stand two men wearing turban-like head-dresses, the foremost reporting something. Behind these are two elephants with riders on them.

"Panel XVIII. — The king and queen are seated on the throne. The queen's figure is very much damaged and so also the bust of the king, whose head is also missing in the actual panel, though Rea's sketch includes it. Two Brahmins are seated on the floor below the king's seat, as if they are praying for the welfare of the king, In the top right corner to the left of the king are two men, one facing the other, in the act of carrying a man in a cloth hammock to the presence of the king. This also seems to be a wounded chief. The carriers are feeling the weight of the man who is being carried. We have also a number of men who are distinctly shown as if excited over something, very likely over the presence of the wounded chief.[111]

"Panel XIX. — This depicts the coronation of Paramēśvara-varma II, the predecessor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla."[112]

Therefore Cēkkiḷār's reference to war in the northern countries seems to be borne out by these sculptures. The Kūram Plates describe the successful war which Paramēśvara I, the father of Narasiṁha carried against the Chāḷukyan king Vikramāditya. Panel XI[113] in the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple and XII[114] describe his capture and destruction of the Chāḷukyan capital into which the Pallava king and queen enter. Panel XIII[115] which precedes

111. Pl. XII, 6.
112. Pl. XII, 7.
113. P. 30.
114. P. 31.
115. P. 31.

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Panels XIV representing the coronation of Rājasiṁha shows that the war was not over when Paramēśvara died and when Narasiṁha ascended the throne as may be seen from Panel XIII described by Dr. Mīnākṣi. Panel XI[116] already described thus seems to be a continuation of the present warlike activities of the Pallawas represented in Panel XIII.[117] Thus Rājasiṁha's contribution to Śaivism as stated by Cēkkiīār, begins after his conquest of the northern country.[118]

IV

Whilst referring to these sculptures of Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple one may refer to a few other facts mentioned by Cēkkiḻār which are also confirmed by the description of these panels by Dr. Mīnākṣi. As these are connected with the story till now narrated, they may be discussed conveniently here. We had already mentioned the reference in Skandapurāṇam to Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kaḷaṟciṁkaṉ. As already stated there is a confusion of names: for we find Aiyaṭikaḷ himself being called Siṁha or Kaḷaṟciṁkaṉ. But what is important is that this Purāṇa perpetuates some lingering tradition of the close proximity of the reign of Aiyaṭikaḷ and Kāḷarciṁkaṉ. According to this tradition, we find Aiyaṭikaḷ abdicating his throne in favour of his son. The same tradition is preserved in Periyapurāṇam. Cēkkiḻār speaks, in the second verse of Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ Purāṇam, of this king subjugating first his enemies. The poet next refers to Aiyaṭikaḷ's rule being according to Dharma, Śaivism, and Vēdic faith. In the third verse he is said to be desirous of serving the Lord through literature. He is described as feeling the yoke of political sovereignty as a source of grief; therefore he crowned his son as king in his place and took to a life of service composing a song on every one of the temples of Śiva he visited.

The question arises who was the king who had thus abdicated in favour of his son? Tradition preserved in the Skānda Purāṇa suggests that we should look to this king very near the age of Rājasiṁha, if our assumption that Kaḷaṟciṁka is Rājasiṁha is correct. True to our expectations, we find the scene of abdication depicted in one of the panels preceding the description of the lives of Rājasiṁha and his father Paramēśvara. Panels XVII,

116. P. 30.
117. P. 31.
118. Kaḷal., 2.

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XVIII and XIX (on wall No. 5, upper row) describes the incidents in the life of Mahēndravarma II, who has abdicated in favour of his Son Paramēśvaravarma. Dr. Mīnākṣi describes and comments on the Panel as follows:[119]

"Panel XVII.—After the death of Narasiṁhavarman I Mahāmalla, his son Mahēndravarman II succeeded to the throne. We have neither copper-plates nor stone inscriptions of this Mahendravarman except a few references to him found in the grants of his successors.

"The Kūram grant[120] of his successor Paramēśvaravarman I, says that Mahēndravarman 'throughly enforced the sacred law of the castes and orders' and the Kāśākuḍi plates glorify his benevolent charities towards temples and his devotion to Brahmins. This pious-minded patron of Brahmins seems to have ruled only for a short time. This may be due to more than one cause, We must know that Narashiṁavarman I ruled for a long time and when the Pallava throne came to his successor, the latter, i.e., Mahēndravarman II, must have been a fairly old man. Secondly, being pious-minded himself, he did not perhaps care to continue as king very long, and might have renounced the throne if favour of his young and enterprising son Paramēśvara. That Mahēndravarman II ruled only for a short time is not only corroborated by the complete absence of any inscriptions dated in his reign but also by the next panel where we have the old king witnessing the coronation of his young son.

"In this panel we witness the coronation of Mahēndravarman II. Two royal elephants are depicted on the right upper corner. The corresponding lower half of the sculpture is effaced.

"Panel XVIII.—The king sits on his throne with three attendants standing behind and one sitting below. In front of the king stands a man with a conical head-dress and another individual is standing behind him.

"Panel XIX.—This panel is divided into two halves. In the upper register we have the old king who sits on his throne. The

119. pp. 27 and 28.

120. *S I I.*, Vol. 1, p. 152, i. 17.

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crown on his head is missing, perhaps indicating that he had renounced his kingship. Four attendants are standing behind him, the foremost having his hands in *añjali*. In the lower register is represented the coronation of the young son, to whose right we see two officers, seated, the one in front folding his hands in *añjali*."[121]

There is no other abdication of this kind found in the whole history of the Pallavas depicted in these historical sculptures. If we assume that the phrases Aiyaṭikaḷ Kaṭavarkōn and Kāṭavarkōn Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ have been interpreted by the Purāṇa writers as Kāṭavarkōn the son of Aiyaṭikaḷ or Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ the son of Aiyaṭikal, then we get three kings, Aiyaṭikaḷ, Kāṭavarkōṉ and Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ corresponding to Mahēndravarmaṉ, Paramēśvaravarmaṉ and Rājasiṁha. It is not found that Paramēśvara had ever the specific title of Kāṭavarkōṉ unless we assume that the legend Kaṭhacitra on an ancient gold coin refers to this king.[122] But the Kūram plates justify his being called the great Pallava by the people of his age. However, except for the purpose of showing that this tradition to a certain extent is based on historical fact as shown above, much reliance could not be placed on this, when we conclude that the Purāṇic writers have been confused over this interpretation.

Cēkkiḻār who knew better makes Aiyaṭikal, the king that abdicated. The name Aiyaṭikaḷ itself proves this story. Cēkkiḻār's reference to Aiyaṭikaḷ's propagation of Dharma, Śaivism and Vēdic path is amply borne out by the references in the Kūram plates and Kāsākuḍi plates. All these still further strengthen our interpretation that Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ is Rājasiṁha.

V

The story of Rājasiṁha's conquest is well established by the sculptures of Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple. What we have stated so far satisfies the second test laid down by Dr. Mīnākṣi that Kaḷaṟciṅkan should be a warrior king. So far, it has been pointed out that Rājasiṁha led his expedition successfully against the northern king. This may not answer the objection raised by Mr. Srinivasa Pillai on the basis of Ārūrar's reference to subordinate

121. Pl. XII, 4.

122. Dr. Mīnākṣi, Administration and Social life under the Pallavas p. 89, note 47.

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king of Pallava refusing to pay tribute to Kaḷaṟciṅkan. Dr. Mīnākṣi, we had already pointed out, suggests that there were disturbances probably towards the end of the reign of Rājasiṁha.

We may now turn to find out if more particulars could be obtained. Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri assigns to Arikēsari Māṟavarmaṉ of the Vēḷvikkuḍi grant and Smaller Sinnamanūr plates, whom he identifies with the Arikēsari Parāṅkusa of Larger Sinnamanūr plates, a period between 670 and 710 A.D., and to his son Kōccaṭaiyaṉ of Vēḷvikkuḍi grant whom he identifies as Jaila of the Larger Sinnamanūr plates the period between 710 and 740 A.D. The Pāṇḍya records of Arikēsari do refer to his wars with Pallava. The Larger Sinnamanūr plates speak of the "Villavarum nelvēliyum viri poḻil Caṅkaramaṅkai-p Pallavarum piṉkaṇṭa Parāṅkucan."

Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sastri writes as follows: — "But amidst all this uncertainty, one large fact stands out clearly. It is evidently under this king that the Pāṇḍyan power comes into collision, apparently for the first time in this period, with its neighbours the Pallavas on the north and the Kēraḷas on the west; and as important successes seem to have been won, we may take it that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom extended its territorial limits in both these directions beyond its traditional boundaries. And this expansion of Pāṇḍyan rule into foreign territory, that is, into territory lying outside the traditional limits of the Pāṇḍyan country, remains a permanent factor in the history of the rest of the period, and leads us to describe it as the Age of the First Empire."[123]

Ārūrar refers to Neṭumāṟaṉ in two places. One is in the list of Śaivite Saints given by him in Tiruttoṇṭattokai. The other is in his Tiruvatikai hymn. In the latter hymn he describes Śiva, 'Poṭiyāṭu Tirumēṉi Neṭumāṟaṉ muṭimēl Teṉṉāṉaik kuṭapāliṉ vaṭapāliṉ kuṇapāl cērāta cintaiyāṉ."[124] The word Neṭumāṟaṉ here is split by some editors into 'Neṭumāl' 'taṉ' so as to make it refer to Viṣṇu. The description of this person is given as "Poṭiyāṭu tirumēṉi" — one whose form is besmeared with the sacred ash and the word

123. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 53.

124. 38: 8.

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which follows is Teṉṉāṉ which brings to our mind the name of the Pāṇḍya — Teṉṉavaṉ. Neṭumāṟaṉ or the Kūṉ Pāṇḍiyaṉ came to besmeared with the sacred ash by Campantar who is reputed to have sung the famous Tirunīṟṟuppatikam or the hymn on the sacred ash, in which Campantar himself states that it was sung to cure the Teṉṉāṉ. Bearing all this in mind one cannot help taking the phrase Neṭumāṟaṉ in the present context to refer to the Pāṇḍya king Neṭumāṟaṉ on whose head or crown, Śiva as the real Pāṇḍya of Pāṇḍyas is said to rest as the ruler of the south without ever thinking in his mind of the east, the north or the west. This phrase suggests the same idea a Siva Cūḍāmaṇi explained later as a title of Rājasiṁha Pallava.

The question then arises whether this Neṭumāṟaṉ or Arikēsari was a contemporary of Ārūrar. To justify the period, Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri had assigned to Arikēsari whom he admits ought to be identified with Kūṉ Pāṇṭiyaṉ the contemporary of Tiruñāna-campantar who in his turn was a contemporary of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the destroyer of Vātāpi in 642 A.D.; he states that "Ciṟuttoṇṭar was older and Māṟavarmaṉ (Neṭumāṟaṉ) was perhaps younger than Jñānasambandar."[125] If according to Prof. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstri, Arikéśari ruled up to 710, Ārūrar could have been a younger contemporary of this Pāṇṭiyaṉ king.

Other scholars make Kōccaṭaiyaṉ Raṇadhīraṉ and Rājasiṁha I, the contemporaries of Rājasiṁha suggesting for them the period between 680-765 A.D. The Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha is according to Dubreuil, a grandson of the Pallava Rājasiṁha through his daughter married to Kōccaṭaiyaṉ Raṇadhīraṉ.[126] If this were true, ordinarily there might not have been conflict between the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas after the said marriage unless the marriage alliance failed to bring about a political alliance. If there was any conflict, it must have been before the marriage. But there is room for suggesting that Rājasiṁha claimed some kind of suzerainty as suggested over the Pāṇḍyas.

Further evidence is furnished by his coins which bear the legend Srībhara or Srīnidhi which are the specific birudas of

125. Note: P. 54, Pāṇḍyan kingdom.

126. Pallavas: pages 68-69.

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Rājasiṁha. Some of these coins bearing 'this legend on the obverse side, have a fish or double-fish on the reverse which is usually considered to be the Pāṇḍyaṉ emblem.[127] As Dr. Mīnāksih points out, even as the coins of Rājarāja the great, contain fish and the bow the undoubted Pāṇḍyan and Cēra emblems, suggesting thereby the supremacy claimed by the Cōḷas over the Cēras and Pāṇḍyas, the coins of Rājasiṁha contain in addition the Pāṇḍyan emblem as such suggesting the recognition of the Pallava's supremacy by the Pāṇḍyas. This suggestion is still further strengthened by a reference in the Chinese Annals where it is said that the ambassador coming from Rājasiṁha was presented by the Chinese Emperor amongst other things with a purse bearing an emblem in the form of a fish.[128]

The Pāṇḍyas must have consolidated their kingdom during the troubled days of Pulikēsin's and Vikramaditya's invasions. If they had taken part in stemming the tide of his foreign invasion probably at the battle of Nelvēli praised by Ārūrar and if there ensued a matrimonial alliance between the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas, there might have been no conflict between these two royal families even with reference to the territories recently consolidated by the Pāṇḍyas. To start with in the beginning part of Ārūrar's life, Neṭumāṟāṉ's fame must have become widespread all through the Tamil Kingdom and his name must have become a legend to be celebrated in the Pāṇṭikkōvai of Iṟaiaṉār Akapporuḷ commentary. Later on Rājasiṁha overcoming the enemies must have become the Emperor and the ruler of the seas at the time of Ārūrar singing his Tiruttoṇṭattokai.

Apart from the Pāṇḍya, there must have been other subordinates. The Gaṅgas who might have been the subordinates of Pallavas, might have tried to escape from the supremacy of the Pallavas when Rājasiṁha came to the throne even as they did in the reign of the previous Pallava kings. Śivamāṟa I ruled between 679-726 A.D. This makes him a contemporary of Rājasiṁha.[129]

"Śivamāṟa's reign witnessed a Pallava invasion carried with a view to redeem the defeat sustained at the hands of Bhū

127. Coins of South India, Eliot, p. 132.

128. Toung Pao Series II, Vol. 5, pp. 44-45; Pallava Administration of Dr. Mīnākshi: p. 90.

129. E. Carnatica, Vol. III, M.D., 112.

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Vikrama (Śivamāṟa's brother and previous ruler). Śivamāṟa is said not only to have confirmed his elder-brother's conquest but also energetically maintained his control over the Pallavas and received hostages from them. While he was extending his sway in the South and East, his country was invaded by the great Chāḷukya sovereign Vinayāditya, who ruled between 680-696 A.D. Chāḷukya records describe Vinayāditya as arresting at the command of his father, the excessively exalted powers of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Kēraḷa, and Pallava kings and gratifying his father's mind by bringing all these provinces into a state of peace and quiet, and reducing Kaḷabhras, the Haihayas and the Maḷavas into a similar state of servitude and his hereditary servants, the Alupas and the Gaṅgas.[130] But all this is however an empty boast. The Gaṅgas were often considered to be feudatories by the Pallavas and the Chāḷukyas and the Chāḷukya Vinayāditya must have been defeated by Rājasiṁha as soon as the latter came to power, and all this vain boast, probably refers to their first success obtained before Rājasiṁha put them down. The other people who might have been subordinates paying tributes might be the petty chieftains like Kaḷabhras, Maḷavas and Haihayas enumerated above.

After all, all the subordinates could have been defeated by the Pallava at the time of his succession itself, if they had attempted to make common cause with the northern enemy the Chāḷukya. If that was so, one can easily understand the reference to Kōṭpuli by Ārūrar, 'Kūṭā maṉṉarāi-k kūṭṭattu veṉṟa Kōṭpuli.'[131] Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉar is described by Ārūrar as living in the Cōḷa country. From this Cēkkiḻār assumes that he (Kōṭpuli) was a commander of the Cōḷas. But even then, it may be assumed that the Cōḷa might have sent the commander to help the Pallava king. Cēkkiḻār refers to Kōṭpuli going to the cruel frontier which may probably refer to the northern frontier of the Tamil land. But in the absence of specific references, all these have to remain as guesses. The question was also discussed whether Kōṭpuli of Tiruttoṇṭattokai and Periyapurāṇam could have been the contemporary of Ārūrar as the father of Vaṉappakai and Ciṅkaṭi.

130. I.A., VI, p. 87, 88; *ibid.*, VII, p. 303; Ep. Ind. Vol. IX, p. 200.

131. 15: 10.

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Ārūrar had further known personally some feudatory kings who might have been the subordinates of Rājasiṁha. Ēyarkōṉ was probably the Haihaya referred to in the inscription of Chāḷukya. It is said that he was hostile to Ārūrar to start with, though he came to be reconciled ultimately with our Saint. Though the reason given is that Ēyarkōṉ hated Ārūrar for making God run on his errants, one may suspect that there might have been something more than this — perhaps political hostility against Ārūrar, the supporter of the Pallava cause. Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpar as the name itself suggests should be a chief of the Kuṟumpar clan; he was a follower of Ārūrar. Naraciṁkamuṉaiyaraiyar, another feudatory chief was bringing up Ārūrar when the latter was young; Muṉai Nāṭu or Muṉaippāṭi Nāṭu is as pointed out by Gopinatha Rao, the Cēti country and Muṉaiyaraiyar was therefore the king of the Cēti and his name Naraciṁka itself proves that it was probably assumed by him as a recognition of the suzerainty of Nārasiṁha II another name of Rājasiṁha.

VI

We have to point out that Ārūrar does not speak of any rebellion by the subordinates of Pallava paying the tribute. He seems to be referring to God Himself creating confusion possibly in the countries of those subordinates who think of not paying the tribute thus seeing something divine in the Pallava rule. Naturally this shows the public opinion of the age looking upon the troubles falling on the heads of those who failed to pay the tribute as so many divine punishments. This feeling must have been created in the minds of the people and more so in the minds of subordinates themselves. If this is all that is intended by Ārūrar, one need not be looking for a rebellion in the south.

The full significance of Ārūrar's reference to Pallavas in the Tillai hymn may be brought out in this connection. The Pallava is referred to as possessing the right to rule or protect this country, "Maṇṇulakam kāvaḻ pūṇṭa urimaiyāṟ Pallavar.[132] The poet of the Lord confusing the kings who do not pay tribute to Pallavas and this the poet speaks of as the greatness of Lord of Citamparam. He speaks of the joy of our good fortune in having Śiva

132. 90: 4.

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as our Lord — Śiva who helps to escape from the fetters of yama or Death — Śiva who blesses us with His Heavens. The Lord has become thus our possession, thanks to this greatness, the greatness of confusing the kings — that is the import of this verse. There is clear reference to the Pallava, as an Emperor. This imperial title seems to have seem connection with Citamparam, if we may believe the story given in Periyapurāṇam that Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār was very anxious to be crowned at Citamparam. The poet seems to feel that the peace and prosperity which the Pallava king Rājasiṁha brought were a divine gift. If however this Tillai hymn is taken as referring to revolts against the Pallava, it need not be wrong. Our study suggests that this hymn belongs to the last part of Ārūrar's life, probably after the death of Rājasiṁha.

VII

Mr. Nārayaṇa Aiyar was in search of a period when the Cēra and the Pāṇḍya could have met as friends and he had pointed out that there was no hostile relation between the Pāṇḍya and the Cēra in the regin of Raṇadhīra and his son Rājasiṁha. We had also suggested that Raṇadhīra who was the grand-father of Varaguṇa might have been himself known as Varaguṇa — the Varaguṇa who was the patron of Pāṇapattira, a musician, who went to Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ. One may assume that Ārūrar went to the Pāṇḍya court when one of these Pāṇḍyas entertained the Cōḷa, the Cēra and our saint. As it was suggested, that at least a generation should have elapsed after Campantar and before the age of Ārūrar, that we may assume Ārūrar began to compose his hymns during the last part of Rājasiṁha's reign. In that case he might have survived Rājasiṁha to witness the troubles in the country which arose after Rājasiṁha as well as the dynastic revolutions. He might have sided Citramaya as against Nandi and this may explain why he restricted himself to the worship of the temples in the Pāṇḍya, Cēra and Koṅku countries in the latter part of his life. Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya's inscription speaks of his worshipping at Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi, a place worshipped by Ārūrar where he sang the famous Pañcākṣara hymn beginning with 'Marrup parreṉakku.'[133]

133. H. 48; Madras Museum Plate.

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If we take this view of the life of Ārūrar, it must be admitted that it goes against the verse which gives 18 years as the life period of Ārūrar. No such statement is made by Cēkkiḻar and it is not possible that our saint could have performed such pilgrimages as described by Cēkkiḻār within the short space of one or two years. Though Ārūrar might not have become as old as Appar, his poems show he must have lived sufficiently long to undergo all the experiences referred to by him; in any case, he could not have been below 30 at the time of his demise.

In seven places Ārūrar describes himself as 'Ciṟuvan'. In three places, this word ciṟuvaṉ comes after the word Caṭaiyan;[134] in one place it comes after the name of his mother Icaiñāṉi;[135] in another place, after the names of both Caṭaiyaṉ and Icaiñāni.[136] In these five places, it means no more than a son. In these references themselves, he refers to himself in addition, as the father of Vaṉappakai is one instance[137] and as the father of Ciṅkaṭi in another.[138] The father of a daughter could not have been a mere boy. In two other places he uses the word ciṟuvaṉ to describe himself without reference to his father or mother; both the hymns are those sung after he deserted Caṅkili. Perhaps it shows his modesty though there may also be a reference to his repentance for the sinful act of desertion. In these two references this word is compounded with his greatness; that he was famous for capturing the minds of Siddhas;[139] that he was great as a hero of good conduct[140] where this word ciṟuvaṉ seems to suggest a pathetic fall in his own eyes. The usage of the word 'Bāla' in Sanskrit may be compared with this usage of ciṟuvaṉ. In any case, if he was as old as Appar, he would not have used this term to describe him, though this word ciṟuvaṉ cannot mean 'a boy' in any of the places wherein Ārūrar uses it. One who describes himself as the

134. 7: 11: 34: 11; 47: 10.

135. 38: 10.

136. 16: 10.

137. 34: 11.

138. 47: 10.

139. 52: 10.

140. 54: 10.

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father of the grown up girls of Vaṉappakai and Ciṅkaṭi could not have been less than 30 years of age.

If Rājasiṁha ruled till 720 A.D., we may fix the period of Ārūrar's life between 700-730 A.D.; if Rajasimha's rule is pushed back, this period of Ārūrar's life also will have to be pushed back. In general, one may conclude that he was born during the closing years of the 7th century to live through the first quarter of the 8th century.

VIII

Dr. Rājamāṇikkam assumes that the interval between the demise of Appar and Campantar and the birth of Ārūrar should be more than 30 years for he feels that a revolution had been effected by Appar and Campantar in the religious world so that the world has passed from an age of religious controversy to a world of Śaivite peace. He takes Appar to have been a contemporary of Mahēndravarmaṉ (615 to 630 was accepted by the Dr.), the Guṇabhara, whom he had converted and of Ciṟuttoṇṭar, the conqueror of Vātāpi in 642 A D., and of Neṭumāṟaṉ (640 to 680—this period is accepted by Dr. Rājamāṇikkam) whose fever, Campantar cured. As appar spent the early part of his life as a Jain before converting Mahēndravarmaṉ, Dr. Rājamāṇikkam takes Appar to have lived from 580 to 660 A.D., on the basis of the verse which assigns 81 years of life to Appar. If Rājasiṁha is assumed to have ruled between 685-720 A.D., there are only 25 years between the demise of Appar and the age of Ārūrar according to Dr. Rājamāṇikkam.

If we assume shat the poet lived during the latter part of the period of Rājasiṁha, there may be an interval of half a century enough to justify any change in the state of affairs in the country. The description of the country by Hiuen Tsiang shows that Buddhism was already on the decline. During the life of Appar himself, if we were to believe the story as given in Periyapurāṇam, the Jains had lost their importance. Therefore, by the time of the demise of Appar, Śaivism would have assumed the first place among the religions requiring no further period to elapse for the peaceful religious atmosphere said to portrayed by Ārūrar's verses.

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But it may be stated that Ārūrar's verses do not portray any such absence of religious controversy. The following verses refer to the Jains and the Buddhists:

"Kuṇṭā ṭiccamaṇ cākkiyap pēykaḷ koṇṭā rākilum koḷḷa-k
Kaṇṭā lumkaru tēṉ."[141]

"Veṟṟarai-k kaṟṟamaṇum viraiyātuviṇ ṭālamuṇṇum
Tuṟṟarai-t tuṟṟaṟuppāṉ tuṉṉavāṭai-t toḷiluṭaiyīr."[142]

"Kuṇṭāṭum camaṇarum cākkiyarum puṟaṅkūṟum."[143]

"Namaṇananantiyum karumavīraṇum tarumacēṉaṇum eṉṟivar
Kumaṇamāmalai-k kuṉṟupōlniṉṟu taṅkaḷkūṟaiyoṉ ṟiṉṟiyē
Ñamaṇañāñaṇa ñāṇañōṇameṉ ṟōtiyāraiyum nāṇilā
Amaṇar."[144]

"Kariya maṉaccamaṇ kāṭi yāṭu kaḷukkaḷāl.
Eriya vacavuṇum taṉmaiyō ... empirāṉukkē."[145]

"Poyaccamaṇ poruḷāki īṇṭu nampi."[146]

"Naṉmai oṉrilā-t tērarpuṉ camaṇām
Camaya mākiya tavattiṉār avattattaṉmai viṭṭoḷi
naṉmaiyai vēṇṭil."[147]

"Kuṇṭāṭiyum camaṇāṭiyum kuṟṟuṭukkaiyar tāmum
Kaṇṭārkaṇṭa kāraṇammavai karutātukai toḷumiṉ."[148]

"Miṇṭarkku miṇṭalāṟ pēcēṉ."[149]

"Kuṇṭāṭiya camaṇātarkaḷ kuṭaiccākkiya raṟiyā

"Miṇṭāṭiya vatuceytatu vāṉālvaru vitiyē."[150]

"Mōṭuṭaiya camaṇarkku muṭaiyuṭaiya cākkiyarkku mūṭam vaitta
Pīṭuṭaiya puliyūrcciṟ ṟampalattem perumāṉaip peṟṟā maṉṟe."[151]

141. 15: 9.
142. 22; 9.
143. 30: 10.
144. 33: 9.
145. 44: 9.
146. 63: 9.
147. 64: 9.
148. 71: 9.
149. 73: 8.
150. 82: 9.
151. 90; 9.

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"Kuṇṭarai-k kūṟaiyiṉṟi-t tiriyuñcamaṇ cākkiyappēy
Miṇṭarai-k kaṇṭataṉmai viravākiya teṉṉaikolō."[152]

We have already assumed that the stories of religious persecutions are not warranted by history. Even during the life of Mahēndra and Narasiṁha and Rājasiṁha, Jains and Buddhists must have been living in the country peacefully. The Cittaṉṉavāsal[153] paintings and the Jain Chandraprabha temple of Tirupparuttikkuṉṟam known as Jina Kañcī and the Jain remains at Tēnī malai, Nārttā malai, Vēḍal etc., show the continued existence of the Jain greatness. Rājasiṁha built a Buddhist temple at Nākappaṭṭiṉam as revealed by the Chinese sources. Nor could we assume that there were not religious controversy in the age of Rājasiṁha. Śaṅkarācharya is claimed to have visited Kāñci during the reign of one Rājasēna mentioned in the life of Śaṅkara called 'Śaṅkara Vijaya Vilasa' by Cidvilasa, and this Rājasēna is identified by Dr. Chintāmaṇi[154] with Rājasiṁha Pallava, and Śaṅkara in his Soundarya Lahari refers to Jñānasambandar as the 'Draviḍa śiśu'. If this age for Śaṅkara, the founder of the Kāñci Kāmakōṭipīṭa Mutt of Kañcipuram is correct, we must conclude the religious and philosophical controversies which he carried on with the Buddhists and other philosophical schools would naturally belong to the age of Ārūrar. These considerations minimise the importance of Dr. Rājamāṇikkam's arguments.

IX

Rajāsiṁha I or Narasiṁha II further satisfies the tests laid by Dr. Mīnākṣi that any king to be identified with Kaḷarciṅka should be a conqueror. Rājasiṁha's inscriptions describe him as a warlike king comparing him to the war God Subrahmaṇya. He is spoken of as the illustrious Atyantakāmah, the chief of the Pallavas who crushed the multitude of his foes by his power or spear.[155] He is described as Raṇajayah,[156] the conqueror in battle;

152. 99: 10.
153. Aṇṇalvāyil—Perunkotai 1019; also see Centamiḻ, Vol. 6, pp. 12-17.
154. J.O.R., V. III.
155. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 1, No. 24, Verse 5.
156. V. 8.

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Chitrakārmukhah, the wonderful archer;[157] Ēkavīrah,[158] the unrivalled hero. He is spoken of as having humbled those princes, who were puffed up with pride of abundant prosperity which they had acquired, by polity and prowess, depriving them of their intelligence in the mere space of knitting his brows; as having enjoyed the whole world which he had conquered by valour combined with polity and in which he had killed rebels and humbled kings; as having made all quarters obedient to his orders and proved himself a *royal lion* (*Rājasiṁha*) to the dunce troops of the elephants of his daring foes.[159] Here the composer of the prasasti is punning on the name Rājasiṁha, and this brings to our mind an old poem quoted in 'Yāpparuṅkala virutti' which makes use of the same punning:

"Nilamiku keḷvaṉum nērkaḷali ṉāṉum
Nalamiku kacciyār kōveṉpavē
Nalamiku kacciyār kōvayi ṉāṉum
Cilaimiku tōḷciṅkaṉ avaṉeṉpavē
Ceruviṭai yāṉai avaṉeṉpavē."[160]

"It is said that the Royal consort of this damsel of our earth and the Lord of the heroic and upright anklet is the Lord of Kacci (Conjeevaram) of growing beauty. It is said that he who had become the Lord of Kāñci of growing beauty is he, the Ciṅkaṉ (the lion) (the Rājasiṁha) of the shoulders of the bow. It is said in the battle, he is an elephant". This punning on the word Siṁha and the emphasis of the fact that he is an elephant are found in some of his birudas Puruṣn Siṁhah, Pārthiva Siṁhah, Vikramakēsari and Rājakuñjarah.

The birudas or titles he assumed clearly prove that he is entitled to be called Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ, a first rate warrior and a hero of many battles:

"Raṇajayah (Conqueror in battle); Aparajitah (the unconquered); Amitramallah (the wrestler with his foes); Akutōbhayah

157. This is repeated in Paṉamalai inscription—ibid., No. 31.
158. V. 12; Ins. 24.
159. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 24, p. 12ff.
160. Page 300.

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(the fearless); Ūrjjitah (the mighty); Jayaparah (one who is eager for conquest); Atiraṇacandah (the excessively fierce in battle); Arimarddanah (the destroyer of his enemies); Ugravīryyah (he who possesses terrible prowess); Ugrapratāpah (he who is endowed with terrible bravery); Āhavakēsarih (the lion in battle); Kharavikramah (he who possesses harsh valour); *Cakravarttīh* (Emperor); Cāpadvitīyah (he whose companion is the bow); Amitrāśanih (thunderbolt to the foes); Apratimallah (the unrivalled wrestler); Ibhavidyādharah (he who possesses the knowledge of elephants); Paracakramarddanah (the destroyer of hostile armies); Narēndracūḷāmaṇih (the crest jewel of princes); Rājarājah (king of kings); Vīrakēsarih (the lion among heroes); Kṣatracūḷāmaṇih (crest jewel of warriors); Yuddhārjjunah (Arjuna in battle); Saṅgrāmarāmah (Rāma in wars); Śārvvabhaumah (the ruler of the whole earth: Compare this with Ārūrar's description 'Ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ'.[160a] Kṣatravidrāvaṇah (the dispeller of warriors); Āhavabhīmah (he who is fearful in battle); Trailōkyanāthah (the lord of three worlds); Dīptapaurushah (he who is endowed with brilliant courage); Dānaśūrah (he who goes to war only in order to procure the means for gifts — this expresses the idea popular in the Tamil country as 'Koḷḷār tēem kuṟitta koṟṟam;[161] Samara dhanañjayah (the conqueror of wealth in battle); Bhīshaṇachāpah (he whose bow excites terror); Ajayyah (the invincible); Āhavadhīṟah (he who is firm in battle); Duṣṭadamanah (the subduer of the wicked); Kālakōpah (this is translated as 'he who resembles death in anger' but Ārūrar has used a corresponding term Kāmakōpaṉ[162] in the sense of the enemy of Kāma; interpreted in that way, this phrase will mean enemy of death); Purushasiṁhah (the lion among men); Pārthavikramah (he who resembles Arjuna in valour); Bhīmakāntah (the terrible and lovely); Bhayarahitah (the fearless); Mahāmallah (great wrestler); Bhuvanabhājanah (the possessor of the world); Mahēndraparākramah (he who resembles Mahēndra in heroism); Mahāprabhāvah (the powerful); Raṇavīrah (the hero in battle); Yugāntādityah (the sun at the end of the world); Raṇadhīrah

160a. 39: 9.

161. Tol. 1012.

162. 68: 6

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(he who is firm in battle); Raṇacaṇḍah (the fierce in battle); Raṇavikramah (he who shows valour in battle); Atulabalah (he whose strength is unequalled); Ahitāntakah (the destroyer of the enemies); Apāravikramah (he whose valour is unbounded); Aśvapriyah (he who is fond of horses); Akhaṇḍaśāsanah (he whose commands are unbroken); Akāṇḍāśanih (the sudden thunderbolt); Amōghavikramah (he whose valour never fails); Ānatamaṇḍalah (he to whom the provinces bow); Adbhutaśakttih (he whose power is wonderful; Āścharyyavīryyah (the wonderfully brave); Āpātadurddharah (the irresistible in attacking); Āśāvijayih (the conqueror of all quarters); Āhavōddhurah (he who is unrestrained in battle); Ibhavatsarājah (he who resembles the king of Vatsa in the knowledge of elephants); Iddaśāsanah (he whose commands are blazing); Iḷāparamēśvarah (the supreme Lord of the earth), Ugradandah (he whose punishments are terrible); Ucchritavīryyah (the highly brave); Ugraśāsanah (he whose commands are terrible); Upēndravikramah (he who resembles Viṣṇu in valour); Utkhātakaṇṭhakah (the destroyer of rebels); Ēkadhanurdharah (the unrivalled archer); Atisāhasah (the daring); Anavagrahah (the unimpeded); Udvṛttadamanah (the subduer of rebels); Ēkarājah (the Unrivalled king); Kālavikramah (he who resembles Death in valour); Jayanidhih (the receptacle of victory); Kālavasanah (the black robed); Garvvitadamanah (the subduer of the haughty); Damitavyālah (the subduer of villins); Durvvāravēgah (he whose speed is unrestrainable); Tuṅgavikramah (the highly brave); Tīvrakōpah (he whose anger is fierce); Dharmmavijayī (he who is making conquest only for the sake of justice); Dāvāgnih (the wood-fire); Dṛptaśāsannah (he whose commands are proud); Atanupratāpah (he who possesses no small prowess); Arināśah (the destroyer of the enemies); Avanibhājanah (the possesser of the earth); Aprativāryyah (the irresistible); Avandhyakōpah (he whose anger is not fruitless); Amitrāntakah (the destroyer of his foes); Avihataśakth (he whose power is unresisted; Arātikālaḥ (Death of the enemies); Anavagrahah (the unimpeded); Atisāhasah (the daring); Gandhahastī (the scent elephant); Kāraṇakōpah (he who goes to anger with good reason); Caṇḍhadaṇḍhah (he whose punishments are fierce); Asahyakōpah (he whose anger is unbearable); Varuṇapāśah (the noose of Varuṇa); Dhairyyasāgarah (the ocean of firmness); Pravṛtta cakrah (the emperor); Nāgapriyah (he who is found of elephants); Niramitrah (he who has no enemies left); Niraggaḷah (the un-

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barred); Parantapah (he who distresses his enemies); Lōkaśikhāmaṇih (the crest jewel of the world); Pārtthivasiṁhah (the lion among princes); Balapramathanah (the destroyer of armies); Pratibhayah (the formidable); Bhīmavikramah (he whose valour is terrible); Rājakuñjarah (the elephant among kings); Vāraṇabhagadattah (he who reembles Bhagadattah in the knowledge of elephants); Vikramakēsari (the lion in valour); Śūrāgragaṇyah (the foremost among heroes).[163]

Amōghabāṇah (he whose arrows never fail); Asahyamārggaṇah (he whose arrows are unbearable); Bhīmakārmmukah (he whose bow is terrible); Uddhataviśikhah (he whose arrows are ever raised; Avismitah (the never perplexed; Amitramarddanah (the destroyer of his enemies); Ājimarddanah (the destroyer in battle); Durutsahah (the irresistible).[164]

The Tirupporur piilars containing his incriptions describe him in terms of the birudas already mentioned and add a few more like Arikari kēsari (the lion against the elephant enemies).[165]

An inscription found in the shrine of Mahēndravarmēśvara built by the son of Rājasiṁha describee him as Ūrjitah, whose bravery frightened the elephants of rival kings. He is described again as Lōkāditya, the sun of the world, whose valour dried up the army Raṇarasikah just as the heat of the sun does the mud. The description, is, as we have seen, confirmed by the Historical sculptures of Vaikuṇṭaperumāḷ temple. In another inscription of Raṅgapatāka, the wife of Rājasiṁha, Rājasiṁha is described as Kālakāla, whose bow had become manifest at the destruction of cities, who has split the parts of his foes.[166]

It is very doubtful whether any other king bore as many birudas as Rājasiṁha so much suggesting his greatness in war.

163. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 1, No. 25, p. 14 ff.
164. *Ibid.*, No. 26, p. 21 ff.
165. *S·I.I.*, Vol. XII, No. 27, p. 12.
166. *Ibid*, No. 29, p. 23.

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PART IV

AGE OF ĀRŪRAR—CONCLUSIONS

I

The argument that terms like Kāṭavarkōṉ Toṇṭaimāṉ are used as titles of greatness only from the reign of Nandivarma Pallavamalla and that therefore Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḷarciṅkaṉ cannot be earlier than the age of Pallavamalla may be next considered.

The usage of the word 'Kāṭavarkōṉ' is considered by some historians to be comparatively of later date. Dr. Mīnākṣi has brought together all the references to this word and its equivalent forms: Kāṭavarkōṉ is used in Ārūrar's hymn[167] and Periyapuraṇam.[168] Kāṭuveṭṭippēraraiyaṉ is the title assumed by feudatories of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅga.[169] Kāḍava Mādēviyār is the title of Nṛpatuṅga's queen[170] and Kāḍuveṭṭi is the name by which the Gaṅga king Srī Purusha refers to the Pallava king.[171] The earliest reference in the inscriptions shown by her, belongs to the age of Nandivarma Pallavamalla of the 8th century. Pallavamalla's father Hiraṇyavarma is referred to as Kāṭavēśakula Hiraṇyavarma Mahārājah[172] and Pallavamalla himself is called in his own inscriptions as 'Kāṭava kulam ciṟakkattōṉṟiya satyāṉvita suputraṉ.[173] Taking these facts along with the absence of these names in the inscriptions of the early Pallava kings of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line Dr. Mīnākshi concluded that these titles were not assumed by the Pallava as the titles of greatness but were bestowed on them by the Tamil feudatories and their Tamil subjects.[174]

But the description Kāṭavarkōn, the ruler of the forest territories, is appropriate to the early rulers as is clearly proved by the 'Talaguṇḍa pillar inscription of Kakutstavarmaṉ[175] which refers to Māyūrasarmaṉ defeating the frontier guards of the Pallavas

167. 39: 9.
168. Pūcalār., 9.
169. *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, page 93; Ep. Ind. Vol. XVIII, i, p. 11
170. 400/1905.
171. M.A.R., 1920; 51-52; M.A.R., 1918, para 76.
172. *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 135, l. 2.
173. *Ibid.*, section d. l. 1.
174. Pallava Administration, p. 18.
175. Ep. Car., Vol. 8, p. 24 ff.

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and occupying the inaccessible forests streching to the gates of Srī Parvata. There is a poem quoted by the commentators on Tolkāppiyam[176] which speaks of an invasion against the Vaḍuga frontier tribes by the soldiers of Toṇṭaippallavaṉ:

"Mulaipōḷi tīmpāl maṇcēṟu paṭuppa
Malartalai ulakam ōmpum eṉpa
Paricilait toṇṭaip pallavaṉ āṇaiyiṉ
Veṭcit tāyattu villēr uḷavar
Poruntā vaṭukar muṉaiccuram
Kaṭantu koṇṭa pallā ṉiraiyē."[177]

Toṇṭaimāṉ, Tiraiyaṉ etc., are all names assumed by rulers of the northern part of Tamil land now represented by Chingleput, Madras, Chittoor, North Arcot and South Arcot.

Next we may refer to the reference to terms like Kāḍava in the earlier inscriptions. The earliest reference to Kāṭuveṭṭi is to be found in the 'Sirakuṇḍas' stone record of about 480 A.D.[178] One wonders whether there may not be an implied suggestion to the title 'Kāṭuveṭṭi' in the birudas of Rājasiṁha' 'Dāvāgnih' (the woodfire).[179] The Daḷavāṉur cave inscription of Mahēndravarma I calls him Toōṭaiyantārvēntaṉ.[180]

"Toṇṭaiyantār vēntaṉ curēntirap pōttaraiyaṉ
Veṇkōṭṭiṉ teṉpāl mikamakiḷntu-Kaṇṭāṉ
Caramikka Veñcilaiyāṉ cattumallē cammeṉ
ṟaraṉuk kiṭamāka vaṉṟu[1]"[181]

The Vakkalēri plates refer probably to Rājasiṁha or his father as 'Tiraiyarāja Pallavaṉ.' Dr. Mīnākṣi herself in a note refers to the gold coins in the Madras Museum where the legend 'Kaṭachitra' is found in archaic characters. She writes: "If, 'Kāṭha' is an abridged from of 'Kāṭaka', synonymous with Kāḍava and if 'Citra' again is a shortened form of the names Citrakārapuli and Citramēgha—surnames of Mahēndravarmaṉ I,—then we may suggest that these six gold coins belong to the Pallava king

176. Akattinai Iyal., 54.
177. Peruntokai, 970.
178. Ep. Car., Vol VI, Cm. 50.
179. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
180. Ep. Ind. Vol. XII, p. 255.
181. Peruntokai 972.

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Mahēndravarmaṉ.[182] But we may suggest the meaning of tiger for the word 'citra' in which sense it is used in Tamil literature possibly as a corrupt form of the word 'citraka'. Some of the birudas of Mahēndravarmaṉ praise him as 'puli' in such titles as 'Citrakārappuli.' Whatever that may be, the important point is that on Palaeographical ground the archaic characters of this legend could be placed in the age of Mahēndravarmaṉ and this shows the term Kāṭava was claimed as a title of greatness by the early Pallava kings themselves. These monarchs have become the rulers of the Tamil land and even if they were not the descendents of the old 'Tiraiyas' and Tōṇṭaiyar', the ancient Tamil chieftains of this part of the country known to the Caṅkam poets, they would have tried to show themselves as Tamilians to please the Tamil subjects. That is how we find the ancient titles of Tiraiyaṉ,[183] and Toṇṭaimāṉ[184] being assumed by the Pallava kings even of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line.

The vēḷirs of Caṅkam age claimed to have descended from a great man who was born out of a pot reminding one of the both of Drōṇa claimed as one of the ancestors of the Pallavas in their grants and inscriptions.[185] The story of the Pallavas having been born to a Nāgī and connected with the sprouts is often referred to in their inscriptions and a connected story is referred to in Maṇimēkalai.[186] There is a story suggested by the very name Pulikāṭimāl referred to in Puṟanāṉūṟu.[187] The story is told that whilst he was going on a hunting expedition he was asked by a ṛṣi to kill a tiger which was coming unawares.

Dr. Mīnākṣi describes panel III on the wall No. 2 upper row of the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ Temple thus:—

"This is a picture of a hunt. A man is represented in the act of blowing a trumpet as he is running. He is chasing two deer while a ferocious tiger is hiding himself in his den. To the extreme right are seen two men standing, while three others are also depicted witnessing the scene from their perches on a branch of a tree."[188]

182. Administration and Social life under Pallavas: p, 89, Note 47,
183. Vakkalēri plates.
184. Daḷavāṉur inscription.
185. Puṟam., 201.
186. 25: 178; 24: 50 etc.
187. V. 201.
188. PI. V, C.

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The Pulikaṭimāl's story seems to explain this panel better than any other explanation offered till now.

All these go to prove that attempts were being made to connect the ancient chieftains of Tamil country with the ancestors of the Pallava kings even if they were not really so related. As we had already found reference to the titles like Kāṭavarkōṉ, Toṇṭaimāṉ even in the age of Mahēndravarmaṉ, one cannot say that they could not have been so assumed by Rājasiṁha or by his father or grand-father as titles of greatness. Ārūrar uses the words Kāṭavarkōṉ,[189] Pallavar,[190] Toṇṭaimāṉ.[191]

It has been assumed that reference to the Pallava and Kāṭavarkōṉ should be a reference to a contemporary king of Ārūrar. But the reference to Tōṇṭaimāṉ could not be definitely said to be a contemporary king of Ārūrar because the poet uses the past tense 'veḷippaṭṭaruḷiya'. The name Mullaivāyil like Kuṇavāyil and Kuṭavāyil suggests that the place was in the outskirts of a city or fort. In the period of Ārūrar, it was on the northern banks of Pālāṟu, which unfortunately had moved far south since then. Probably there was an old city there, which disappeared for some reason or other, to become overgrown with jungle. The tradition says that when the king passed that side on an elephant, the jasmine creepers into which the king's elephant was caught, would not allow the animal to take even a single step out, that therefore the creepers had to be removed and when they were so removed an ancient liṅga became visible and that the king was overcome by a feeling of reverence and he is said to have built a temple there. It is not clear who this Pallava king was. He might be Paramēśvaraṉ the father of Rājasiṁha who might have on his march to Vātāpi passed through this Tirumullaivāyil. Or, it may be even Rājasiṁha who is himself praised for his love of elephants and for his control of elephants: Ibhavidyādharah (He who possesses the knowledge of elephants); Ibhavatsarājah (He who resembles the king of Vatsa in the knowledge of elephants); Nāgapriyah (He who is fond of elephants).[192] The panels which according to Dr. Mīnākṣi describe the history of Rājasiṁha, do show elephants.

189. 39: 9.
190. 90: 4.
191. 69: 10,
192. *S I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.

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Therefore, one need not assume that the elephants referred to by Ārūrar is the Paṭṭavardhana Pallavamalla. There is nothing in that epigraphic reference to Paṭṭavardhana to justify any reference to 'Vaṭatirumullaivāyil' and one cannot jump to the conclusion that wherever in literature an elephant is referred to it ought to be the paṭṭavardhana of Pallavamalla.

One may next turn to the first test proposed by Dr. Mīnākṣi for identifying any king with Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ. She thought Nandivarman III satisfied this test because traders of his land had gone to distant Siam to dig a tank in his name. This can prove only an economic relationship; even though to safeguard the economic trade there might have been a navy of Nandivarmaṉ III, whose existence is proved by Nandikkalampakam. It may be worth while to point out that all are not agreed that Nandivarman III was a star of the first magnitude in the Pallava heavens. Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Sastry writes:[193]

"Dubreuil seems to exaggerate the significance of Teḷḷāṟu, when he writes that 'this glorious campaign enabled him to reign peacefully notonly at Kā ñci but also on the banks of the Kāvēri'. 'The poetry of the Nandikkalampakam should not be mistaken for history". "We may conclude", he writes on p. 75, "that if Nandi of Teḷḷāṟu began his reign with a victory against Srīmāṟa, he lived long enough to sustain a defeat in his turn at Kuḍamūkku inspite of the facṭ that on this occasion he seems to have been supported by several of his allies".

It may be replied that Ārūrar lived to see the victory at Teḷḷāṟu and not the defeat at Kuḍamūkku, and that it is not fair to judge a description of the victory like that of Teḷḷāṟu which must have appeared as a great feat to the contemporaries in the light of other events of history like the glories of Rājasiṁha and others. One must accept the force of this reply but still it is open to point out that Rājasiṁha better fulfils the test than Nandivarmaṉ III especially when the argument proceeds on finding out a Pallava, fulfilling their own tests.

II

The naval power of Rājasiṁha is now proved to be of such great importance as to be recognised even by distant China of

193. Note on Page 73 of the Pāndyan Kingdom.

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those days. Professor Nīlakaṇṭa Sastry has given a translation of the extracts from *Ts'* o *Fou Yuan Kouei*, a great Chinese Cyclopaedia compiled about 1013 A.D. under the heading "692-720 A.D. Embassies from South India to China":[194]

"I. In the eighth year of K'ai-yuen (720), the king of the kingdom of South India, Che-li-Na-lo-seng-kia (Śrī Narasiṁha) proposed to employ his war elephants and his cavalry to chastise the Tache (Arabs) as well as the Tou-po (Tibetans)[195] and others. Moreover, he asked that a name be given to his army; the emperor praised it greatly and named his army; 'the army which cherished virtue'.

"II. In the 8th year K'ai-yuen (720), the 8th month, the day ting-tch'eou, a decree was addressed to tchong-chow-men-hia to inform him that the king of South India having sent from afar (an ambassador) to render homage and pay tribute, and this ambassador being due to return, he must look after him with the greatest care till his departure and act in such a way that his desires might be fulfilled. The ambassador was therefore given a robe of flowered silk, a golden girdle, a purse with an *emblem in the form of a fish and the seven objects*; then he was sent away.

"III. In the 11th month, an ambassador was sent to confer by brevet the title of king of the kingdom of South India on Cheli-Na-lo-seng-k'ia pai-to-pa-mo (Śrī Narasiṁha Pōtavarmaṉ).

"The texts marked I and II under year 720 are found again in Kieou T'ang Chou which adds the following: "the 9th month, the king of South India Che-li-Na-lo-seng-k'ia-to-pa (Śrī Narasiṁha Pōtavarmaṉ) constructed a temple on account of the empire (i.e., of china); he addressed to the emperor a request asking from him an inscription giving a name to this temple; by decree, it was decided that the name should be 'which causes return to virtue (Koei-hoa) and it was presented to him (i.e., the emperor sent Narasiṁha a tablet with the inscription Koei-hoa se, so that it may be placed on the front of the temple erected in India by Narasiṁha for the benefit of China).

194. Foreign Notices of South India. p. 116 ff.

195. In this period 'the supremacy of Tibet was so firmly established in Bengal that, for 200 years, the Bay of Bengal was known as the sea of Tibet, (BG., I. I. 501).

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"The Narasiṁha, king of Kāñci, is known to us from the Mahavamsa and from the inscriptions of India; and relying on these last pieces of evidence, inscriptions Sylvain-Lévi has proposed to carry back the reign of this prince to about 700 A.D. (J. A. 1900 May-June); we see that his conclusion is borne out by the Chinese texts which speak at such length of Śrī Narasiṁha Pōtavarmaṉ in 720" (Chavannes, p. 44n.).

"The data given in these extracts from Ts's fou yuan Kouei, a great Chinese cyclopaedia compiled about 1013 A.D., are confirmed by the following extract from Ma Twan-lln:

"In the third of the years keen-fung (A.D. 667), the Five Indias (or five kingdoms of India) sent ambassadors to the court of the emperor. In the years kae-yuen (A.D. 713 to 742), an ambassador from Central India proceeded three times as far as the extremity of southern India, and came only once to offer birds of five colours that could talk. He applied for aid against the Ta-she (or Arabs) and the Too-fan (or Tibetans), offering to take command of the auxiliary troops. The Emperor Heuen-tsung (who reigned from A.D. 713 to 756) conferred upon him the rank of general-in-chief. The Indian ambassadors said to him: 'the Fan (or Tibetan) barbarians are captivated only by clothes and equipments. Emperor! I must have a long, silk embroidered robe and a leathern belt decorated with gold, and a bag in the shape of a fiish.' All these articles were ordered by the emperor" "—Chavannes: Notes additionnelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs.) Occidentaux. Toung Pa II 5: pp. 1-110; and JASB vi, p. 71, for Ma-Twan-lin"[196]

This extract establishes the greatness of Rājasiṁha's navy and extends his reign to 720 A.D. Professor Sastri comments on these in his learned introduction:[197]

"These embassies have not received the attention they deserve at the hands of Indian historians. ...But the most surprising fact we learn from these records is that in 720 A. D. Narasimhavarman II, the Pallava ruler Kāñci, well-known under his surname Rājasiṁha, sent an embassy to China to inform the Chinese Emperor of his intention to go to war with the Arabs and Tibetans and asked the Emperor to give a name to his army;

196. Pages 116-117, Foreign Notices of South India by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.

197. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

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he also sent word that he had constructed a temple on account of the Emperor and wanted him to give it too a name. The ambassador that brought these requests was highly honoured and a Chinese embassy was sent in return to visit South India and gratify the wishes of Narasiṁhavarman. These precise references to Narasiṁhavarman go to show that the usual chronology of the Pallava monarchs at the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth is not as well founded as it is generally taken to be; it is possible that the reign of Narasiṁhavarman lasted longer and that of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla began later than is generally believed."[198]

The reference in their extracts to Tibet and the Arabs is difficult to understand. Professor Sastri next explains this riddle: "The mention of Arabs and Tibetans as the enemies of the Pallava kingdom in this period should also be noted. Separately or allied together, the Arabs and the Tibetans were more the enemies of China in this period than of any Indian state, and one may reasonably surmise that it was the Chinese court which, being impressed by the political power of Narasimhavarman in India, was anxious to enlist his support in its plans against the Tibetans."[199] It is this we spoke of as a recognition of the supremacy of the navy of Rājasiṁha. Professor Sastri next quotes:[200]

"It is certain, according to the evidence of certain Chinese authors", says Reinaud, "that the Tibetans, called Thufan by those writers, played in the seventh and eigth centuries A.D. a great part in Central Asia. Masters for a time of regions situated in the north-east and south-east, they made the emperors of China tremble even in their capital. A Chinese author says that, at an epoch which corresponds to the year 787, the emperor of China found himself constrained for his own security, to make an alliance with the king of Yunnan, the Khalif of Bagdad,, and certain Indian princes. The Tibetan arms seemed to extend to the remotest parts of the Bay of Bengal; it is only in some such way that we can explain the name Tibetan Sea applied to the Bay by Ishtakri and Ibn Hawkal.[201]

198. Pages 16 and 17, Introduction to Foreign Notices of South India.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 17, Introduction.

200. Reinaud-Aboulfeda, i. pp. ccclvii-viii, Also Smith—Early History of India,[4] p. 377

201. *Ibid.*, page 17.

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If the Bay of Bengal was known as Tibetan sea and if Rājasiṁha was the Lord of the Bay as well as the Arabian sea there is no wonder in the Chinese assuming that he was the best person to help China to conquer the Tibetans and the Arabians, on the mistaken notion that the Tibetans could be attacked from the Bay of Bengal.

III

Nor is this all. The Pallavas came to inherit the naval powers and trade of the Tamils in the eastern and western seas. The Andhra navy was inherited by the Pallavas who were, to start with, the governors of the Andhra kingdom as may be seen by their coins. The Andhras issued lead coins with a two masted ship. In the collection of Eliot's coins, there are coins which bear the Pallava emblem of a bull along with the two masted ship and these have to be assigned to the Pallavas. During the times of Narasiṁhavarma Mamalla, Māṉavamma of Ceylon was helped by the Pallava navy, first unsuccessfully but at the second attempt successfully to become the king of Ceylon. Gopalan writes about this Ceylon invasion as follows:

"The circumstances that led to the intervention of Narasiṁhavarma I in the affairs of Ceylon are gathered chiefly from the Mahāvaṁśa, (The Mahāvaṁśa, ch. 47—Turnour's translation). It appears from this account that Mānavamma, a Ceylon prince, having become an exile, fled to India, and, arriving at the city of Kāñcīpuram, managed to enter service under Narasiṁhavarman I with a view to secure his aid and ultimately to gain the Ceylon throne. Here he is described as having constantly engaged himself in the service of the king and proved his trustworthiness by many an act of bravery and loyalty. The Mahāvaṁśa mentions in great detail the various acts of Mānavamma, particularly his services to Narasiṁhavarman I in his wars against the Vallabha, the Chāḷukya king: how once king Vallabha came to make war against Narasiṁha and how the Pallava king with a view to test Mānavamma left him at his capital city and proceeded to the battle-field alone, and how Mānavamma's affection caused him to leave the safety of the fortified capital and join his king in the field of battle in victory, defeat, or death. Such action was bound to increase Narasiṁha's esteem for him, and it is therefore not surprising that when the Ceylon prince prepared to go back to his country, Narasiṁhavarman I gave him a strong escort and an army with which he was able to secure the Ceylon

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throne. But this success did not last long. Soon after, his army deserted him and the Prince of Ceylon came back once more to seek the help of Narasimhavarman I. Again Narasimhavarman I gave him an army much bigger than before and this time the Pallava king himself accompanied his troops as far as the harbour where his men went on board on their voyage to the shores of Ceylon. It is noteworthy that this naval expedition of Narasimhavarman I set sail from the ancient Pallava port, Mahābalipuram, which, according to contemporary account was a harbour at this time. It is worthy of note that Hieun Tsang (Beal, Records, Vol. II, p. 228) who stayed in the city for a considerable time (circa 642) recorded the fact that ships go to Ceylon from Kāñchi, and that it extended by twenty miles to the coast. Tirumangai Āḻvār also records that Mahābalipuram was a busy port in his hymns on this place and particularly notes that in its harbour ride at anchor 'vessels bent to the point of breaking laden as they are with wealth, big trunked elephants and nine gems in heaps":

"Pulaṅkoḷnitik kuvaiyōṭu puḷaikkaimma kaḷiṟṟiṉamum
Nalaṅkoḷnava maṇikkuvaiyum cumanteṅkum nāṉṟocintu
Kalaṅkaḷiyaṅ kummallaik kaṭaṉmallait talacayaṉam
Valaṅkoḷmaṉat tāravarai valaṅkoḷeṉ maṭaneñcē."

(Peria Tirumoḷi, Kaṭaṉmallai Hymn, V. 6).

"This second naval expedition was a complete success and must have made a profound impression on the contemporary powers of south India. The Kāsākkuḍi plates which confirm the conquest of Ceylon justly compare this achievement of Narasimhavarman I with that of Rama's conquest of Lanka. Prince Māṉavamma was firmly placed on the throne, and not until 'Narasimhavarman I's death did trouble overtake him again."[202]

This is quoted in full to give us a graphic picture of the naval power of the Pallavas which Rājasiṁha inherited.

Dr. E. Hultsch (in his article on Contributions to Singhalese Chronology, J. R. A. S., 1913—p. 517) whilst pointing out that Narasiṁha is spoken of as a Kāḍuveṭṭi (Kaṇḍuveṭṭi being a mistake for this word) uses the word Rājasīha twice to refer to this king[203] probably because the original uses that name as well. The name of the enemy of the Kāḍuveṭṭi is given in the Mahavamsa,

202. Pp. 98-100, History of the Pallavas of Kāñci by R, Gopalan.
203. P. 527, 529,

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as Vallabha and Vallabharāja.[204] Vikramāditya, the son of Pulikēsiṉ II speaks of himself as Sri Vallabha in his Gadval Plates.[205] This combination of Rājasīha. which is the Pāli form of Rājasiṁha, and Vallabha would suggest that the war was between Rājasiṁha and Vikramāditya. As Rājasiṁha was also called Narasiṁha, the Mahavamsa perhaps uses both the names. Probably it is the use of these two names that misled Wijasinha into translating the verse 7 of Ch. 47 of Mahavamsa so as to suggest that Kāḍuveṭṭi was a different person from the Pallava king first mentioned in that chapter. To support this reference to Rājasiṁha's attack on Vātāpi, we can refer to Raṅgapatāka, Rājasiṁha's wife whose inscription comparer her husband's valour before a city to Siva standing before rhe Tripura. Māṉavamma is given the year 720 for his accession by Turnour[206] but of course certain deductions have to be made in these years. These considerations, however, require further elucidation and examination.

IV

We had already referred to the coins of Rājasiṁha and these also are signs of his naval power. The Vayalur pillar inscription of Rājasiṁha throws further light on the naval power of this king: The word 'Dvīpalakṣam' occurs in this inscription. "May he exercise the royal prerogative and take up the vow of administering (his) subjects up to the extremities of his kingdom, as even to include the thousand islands, he, who is known by the name 'the great wrestler' (Mahamalla) on account of his (skill in) hand-to-hand fight, who is excessively devoted (Atyantakāma) ever to serve at the pair of the lotus feet of Sambhu (Śiva), who is the blessed cloud (Sri Mēgha) that makes the mass of crops, the Brahmins prosperous, who is the Moon to the ocean of (his) race, "the victorious in battle" (Raṇajaya) and "the storehouse of Prosperity" (Śrīnidhi).

"Jiyatmahēśvaraśikhāmaṇi dīptamauliryyodharjjani sakala lōkanarēndrasiṁha (1) Sambhōh pādāravindaddvaya paricaraṇēnityamatyantakāmah srimēdhō viprasasyakravibhakarē vyōmaratnōghachandrah/Rājyāntaravāgahavidotamhāmalla sabdah/ prajanai rakṣadikshadhikaram vahatu raṇajayah/ srīnidhidvipalaksham (2) (Text—Ep. Indi., XVIII, P. 145)". Mr. Krishna Sastri

204. Ch. 47, verses 15, 18, 24.
205. Ep. Ind., No. X, No. 22.
206. Mahawanso, P. LXIII.

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whose translation we had given brings out the significance of this term in the following note:

"This is a doubtful translation of the word 'Dvīpalakṣam' (the translation given in the text 'thousand islands'). I propose to take it as an avyayibhāva deriving it 'dvīpa lakṣyantē yasmin karmaṇiiti'. (Dvīpah lakṣam yasmin' etc., is another suggestion — H. 8)". If this interpretation is correct, it shows that the Pallava rule must have extended in the time of Rājasiṁha even to the distant island in the ocean. The word 'dvīpa lakṣat' and with 'a' repeated we may translate 'up to the thousand islands'.

Could there be a reference by dhvani in the word dvīpalakṣam to the Laccadive Islands called lakṣadīvpa in Sanskrit? The exact relation that might have then existed between the Pallavo king Rājasiṁha and the Laccadive islands has nowhere been found. In this connection it may not be out of place to point out that Dr. Vogel in his learned contribution on the Yupa inscriptions of the king Mūlavarman from Koetei (East Borneo) (Nederlandsh Indie, 1918, p. 192) asks : "Suppose the powerful Pallava princes of Kāñcīpura had equipped armadas and carried their arms to the remote shores of Champa and Java, may we not assume that their conquest on the far side of the ocean would have been extolled in their prasastis with no less effusion than we find lavished on their victories over the Chāḷukyas?" Here we have though not a prasasti, at least a significant hint that the Pallava dominion was ambitious enough to extend to the distant islands.

This suggestion receives further support from the references to Rājasiṁha in the Chinese annals already mentioned.

V

One more suggestion may be made. The subordinates in the Tamil land are found to assume the titles of their paramount king.[207] Perhaps in the Eastern Archipelago also such a practice obtained. The Jāva king Jayanagara of the 14th century when Sundara Pāṇḍya ruled in South India assumed the Pāṇḍya title Sundarapāṇḍya and the Pāṇḍyan emblem of double fish. One king assumed the name of his suzerain overlord, Sundara Pāṇḍya.[208] With these facts in mind where one reads an inscription

207. C.f., Viḍēl viḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ i.e., Viḍēlviḍugu Vikramāditya — S.I.I., Vol. III, p. 93, Pudukkotta Inscription, p. 11.

208. Bk. I, VII, 2, 1904, pp, 311-14 — Nilakanta Sastri.

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of the king Jayavarman II of Cambodia, who ruled at about the time Rājasiṁha was ruling in South India, describing Jayavarman as Rājasiṁha, one wonders whether it implies any acceptance of the suzerainty of this Pallava king. The Pallava kingdom was not unknown to them; for, we find an inscription of Jayavarma referring to Kāñci, the capital city of the Pallavas (P N. Bose).

The following remarks of Prof. Nilakanta Sastri help us to make the above suggestion:

"There are some inscriptions of Citrasēna, all bearing very close resemblance to the South Indian Pallava inscriptions of the early seventh century. One of them from Thma-kre, meaning stone-bed, from a large level rock in the bed of the Mekong between Sambok and Kratie, is a single anustubh verse recording the erection of a liṅga by Citrasēna after obtaining the permission of his parents (BEFEO, iii, pp. 212-213). The other record is found in two places, Phou Lakhon in Laos (ibid., pp. 442-6) and Khan Thevada in the province of Ubon (BEFEO, xxii, p. 58). It comprises three verses in the same anustubh metre. It opens with the statement that the grandson of Sārvabhauma, the younger son of Vīravarmaṉ, was not inferior in prowess to to his elder brother, Bhavavarman; then it says that this younger son was Citrasēna who took the name Mahēndravarmaṉ at his consecration, and after having conquered the entire country set up a liṅga of Girīśa (Śiva) on the mountain as a symbol of his victory.

"Jitvēmam-dēsam akhilaṅ Girīśasyeha bhūbṛti
Liṅgannivēsayāmāsa Jayacihnamivātamanah".

"These events, the liberation of Kambhuja and the erection of the liṅga, must have taken place a little before A.D., 616; in fact, the nearly contemporary Souei annals cited above place them between A.D., 589 and 618, and this is in perfect accord with the date unmistakably revealed by the palaeography of the inscriptions of Citrasēna. It is clear that at the time of the first record he had not yet become king."

"It will be recalled that about the same time another Mahēndravarmaṉ, the first of that name and the most talented among the Pallava rulers of South India, erected a shrine to a liṅga on the rock of Tiruchirāpaḷḷi overlooking the Kāvēri river. *Considering the very close resemblance in the lettering of the inscriptions of the two Mahēndravarmaṉs, one is tempted to ask whether this is not*

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more than a mere coincidence. Separated by several hundreds of miles of land sea, the records of these rulers are evidence of exactly the same type of culture, same in almost every detail that can be thought of."[209]

VI

We have not so far considered the reference in the Chinese annals to the building of a Buddhist temple by Rājasiṁha. It is taken to be a reference to the Buddhist Vihāra at Nākappaṭṭiṉam known as the China vihāra for which Rājarāja the great made an endowment. Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār who is said to have enriched the Raṅganātha temple at Śrī Raṅgam with the booty obtained by looting this Buddhist sanctuary[210] is assigned the age of Pallavamalla and therefore the vihāra must have been in existence before his time, i.e., in the reign of Rājasiṁha itself. This proves his international outlook for encouraging the trade of his country.

The cumulative value of all these considerations can suggest only one conclusion that Rājasiṁha is entitled to be called 'Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ' rather than any other Pallava king.

VII

The third test laid down by Dr. Mīnākṣi is that any king to be identified with Kaḻaṟciṁkaṉ must be a great devotee of Śiva in order to receive such an encomium from Ārūrar. Rājasiṁha is famous for introducing a new type of temple architecture, different from the cave temples of Mahēndra and the Rathas of Narasiṁha Māmalla. "Narasiṁhah II (Rājasiṁha) builds craft constructed temples of hewn and hand placed stones",[211] though these look like the Dharmaraja ratha of Māmalla in the back wall of the garbagṛha behind Rājasiṁha's peculiar prismatic liṅgas, a form of Somāskanda is invariable found in all the temples of Rājasiṁha. Nor can any one mistake the rearing lions supporting the pilasters in Rājasiṁha's temples. And he has started building prākāras consisting of a series of Śivaliṅgas. Therefore, he and his Kailāsanātha temple occupy an important place, perhaps the most important place in the History of Śaivism of the Pallava

209. South Indian Influences in the Far East — pp. 36-37.
210. Guruparamparai; S.I.I., Vol. XII, Introduction iv.
211. Heras — "The Builders of Mahabalipuram.

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period. Vikramāditya II, the Chāḷukya, even though he came and captured Kāñci as the inveterate enemy of Nandivarma Pallava and the Tamils, was so very much impressed with the architecture of the Kailāsanātha Temple that he not only enriched and beautified it but also took the Tamilian architects, the Sūtradhāri Chittra Rēvadi Ovajji of the Sarvasiddhi Ācārya knowing the secrets of Srī silāmudras[212] thus introducing this style of Kailas temple in his Chāḷukyan country. The reference to the temple built by Kāṭavarkōṉ in the Pukaḻccōḻa Nāyaṉār purāṇam of Cēkkiḻār, is therefore considered to be a reference to the Kailasanātha temple of Rājasiṁha. He is considered to be the builder of the shore temple at Mahābalipuram, the temple at Paṉamalai, the Airāvatēśvara temple at Kāñcipuram in addition to the Kailasanāthar temple. The story of Rājasiṁha hearing a disembodied voice shows how important he and his temple were considered by the Śaivite inscription writers of his reign.

His birudas only go to emphasise his greatness as a Śaivite:

"He whose refuge is Īśāna or Śiva (Īśāna saraṇah); the religious (Ācāraparah); he whose authority is the Śaiva doctrine (Āgamapramānah); one who is fond of the itihāsas (Itihāsapriyah); the follower of the Śaiva doctrine (Āgamānusārih); he whose goad is knowledge (Jñānāṅkuśah); devotee of Śiva (Dēvadēvabhaktah); the sinless (Dūraduritah); devotee of Śaṅkarah (Śaṅkarabhaktah); he who knows the truth (Tatvavēdīh); devotee of Śiva, i.e., Īśvarah (Īśvarabhaktah;[213] the ocean of wisdom (Jñānasāgarah); one who takes refugue in Īsāna or Śiva (Īśāna saraṇah).[214] Atiraṇa caṇḍēśvara Temple at Śāḷuvankuppam describes him as follows: "One who assiduously worships Śiva (Hara ārādhana saṅginah); one who bears Bhāva in his mind which is filled with devotion; one who bears deep devotion to 'Īśānah."

VIII

The following version, but in verse form, is often repeated in his inscriptions: "Just as in a large lake filled with water which is fit for bathing and covered with various lotus flowers, handsome Śaṅkara (Śiva) abides on the large head—sprinkled

212. Vakkalēri plate 1. A p. 23; Kendur Plates-Ep. Ind. p. 208.
213. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 1, No. 25, Rājasiṁhēśvara Temple, Kāñcipuram.
214. Tiruppōrūr inscription, S.I.I., Vol. XII, No. 27.

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with the water of coronation and covered with bright jewels—of the illustrious Atyantakāmah."[215] As this verse form is found in the inscription at the Ganeṣa temple[216] and Dharmarāja maṇṭapa[217] at Mahābalipuram, they may be taken to refer to Rājasiṁha. The former inscription describes the king in these terms: "Śrinidhih *bears on his head the unborn* (Śiva) by the weight of whose great toe, Kailasa together with the ten faced (Rāvaṇa) sank down into Pātāla". The Kailāsanātha temple inscription[218] describes Rājasiṁha as, "one who had got rid of all impurities by walking on the path of Śaiva doctrine (Śaiva Siddhānta mārga)". He is called "Śaivachūḍāmaṇih" (he who has Śiva for his crest jewel).[219]

The Kāsākuḍi plates describe him in the following terms: "From Paramēśvara Pōtavarmaṉ was born, a complete incarnation of the blessed Paramēśvara who equalled Narasiṁha both by the strength of his body and by his name (Narasiṁhavarma) that spread over the world.[220]

The Vayalūr Pillar Inscription describes him as one whose diadem shines with the head-jewel namely Mahēśvara (Mahēśvarasikhā maṇidīptamauli) and Mr. Krishna Sastry writes in his introduction thereto as follows:[221] "The adjunct 'Mahēśvarasikhā maṇidvīpamaulih' which occurs in these verses (i.e. the two verses recorded in lines 9 to 14 of the inscription) and which, literally rendered means 'one whose diadem shines with the head jewel, viz., Mahēśvara (Śiva)' is rather perplexing. Comparing this with titles like Śivachūḍāmaṇi, etc., and the verse 'yasyāṇguṣṭabharākrāntah', etc., which occurs in the South Indian Inscriptions, Volume I, Nos. 18 and 19[222] and 'Abhiṣēkajalāpūrṇa', etc., in *ibid.*, Nos. 21 and 22[223]—all with reference to king Rājasiṁha—it looks as if the king did actually wear a figure of Śiva or rather his symbol, the liṅga, on his head. This fact is evidently also hinted in the verse 'Guṇabhara nāmāni rājanyanēna liṅgēnaliṅgini jñā-

215. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 18.
216. No. 18.
217. No. 19.
218. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 24.
219. *S.I.I.*, Volume I, No. 24.
220. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, Part III, No. 73, p. 357.
221. Ep. Ind., No. 18.
222. V. 3.
223. V. 2.

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nam',[224] etc., which refers to the conversion of the Pallava king Mahēndravarmaṉ I Guṇabhara from Jainism to Śaivism. Again V. 4 of No. 34 in the same volume speaks of 'Śiva fixed in the mind, being worn on the head'. All these references clearly point to the existence of a liṅga cult long before the revival of the Vīra-Śaiva faith under the auspices of the famous Kalachūri minister Basava (Chenna Basava) in which the wearing of the Liṅga plays a prominent part. Again, the sense of the two verses, particularly that of the second, is such that it suggests the occasion for the engraving of this record to be the accession of king Rājasiṁha to the throne. This, if it were so meant, would indeed have been a fitting opportunity to eulogise his many acts of heroism, charity and piety, and to proclaim to all subjects his assumption of power over his hereditary dominions".

The description given above in Atiraṇachaṇḍēśvara Temple, Śāluvaṅkuppam[225] referring to the coronation water — a verse repeated very often assumes a similar significance.

IX

This king is proud of his musical talents and his inscriptions call him, Ātōdyatumburuh,[226] Vādyavidyādharah[227] and Vīṇānaradah.[228] The Atiraṇachandēśvara Temple inscription poetically raises the question, "Who will be able to understand the music of Kālakāla (Rājasiṁha) if it were not Brahma, Bharata, Hari, Narada or Skanda?[229] This will suggest that the music had a religious significance. Ārūrar's hymns have many references to this kind of religious music. Rājasiṁha is also called Kalāsamudrah;[230] Kāvyaprabodhah (the river of poetry).[231] He is considered to be a discipline of Dandin. All these admirable qualifications must have made him endearing to the heart of Ārūrar that great art connoisseur and poet and musician. The Kailāsanātha Temple justifies his biruda Itihāsapriyah[232] and our study

224. *Ibid.*, No. 33, V. 2.
225. Nos. 21 to 23, S.I.I.: Vol. I.
226. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
227. *Ibid.*,
228. *Ibid.*
229. *S,I I.*, Vol. I, No. 21.
230. *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, No. 25.
231. *Ibid.*
232. *Ibid.*, 25.

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of Ārūrar's poems has proved that our saint was equally an Itihāsapriyah and a lover of music, and dance, apart from himself being a poet and a composer of music. These descriptions of Rājasiṁha have greater force than the descriptions of Teḷḷāṟeṟinta Nampi in Nandikkalampakam as 'Sivanai muḻutum maṟavāta cintaiyāṉ;[233] 'Paintamiḻai āykiṉṟa kōṉ Nandi;[234] 'Nūl narampu muḻutum kaṇṭāṉ';[235] 'Nūṟpulavaṉ'[236] and the description in the Vēḷurpāḷayam grant 'he who bears the symbol of Śiva in his forehead'. Nandivarman III is known to have built no temples though he had endowed many temples.

X

Dr. Rājamāṇikkam refers to Periyapurāṇam where Cēkkiḻār speaks of Kaḻarciṅkam as going to temples and performing 'toṇṭu' or service and concludes that this could not be true of Rājasiṁha. He admits that Rājasiṁha had built temples. One wonders why this is not considered as 'toṇṭu' or Śaivite service to God, for Pūcalār is included in the list of Toṇṭars on she basis of the building of a mental temple and Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ is also found included in that list because of the temples he built. There could not be a higher service than this according to the Āgamas. Probably the learned Dr. feels that making endowments alone could count as such service or 'toṇṭu' for he makes the following references to Nandi's toṇṭu: "According to the Vēḷūrpāḷayam grant, Nandi had endowed a village as 'dēvadānam' to the temple at Tirukkāṭṭuppaḷḷi near Poṉṉēri.[237] Nandi made a gift of 100 kaḻañcu of gold for the lamp to be lighted at Tiruvatikai.[238] He presented a lamp to be called after him as Kumāramārttāṇṭa for being lighted in the temple at Tiruviṭaimarutūr.[239] He gave away gold for a similar purpose to the temple at Tiruvoṟṟiyūr[240] and Tiruttavaturai of Lālgudi.[241] He provided for the recitation of Tiruppatiyam at Tiruvallam.[242] He gave away lands to the Lord Tirukkaṭai-

233. V. 97.
234. V. 25.
235. V. 3.
236. V; 26.
237. *S.I.I*, Vol. II, 98.
238. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, 309.
239. 197/1907.
240. 162/1938.
241. 17/1931.
242. *S.I.I.*, Vol, III, page 93.

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muṭi."[243] These are considered by our Dr. to be of greater importance than the building of temples by Rājasiṁha, temples representing a new school of architecture, considered by the Chāḷukyas to be worthy of being copied by them.

Nor could it be said that Rājasiṁha had not made any endowments to the temples. Vikramāditya II speaks of the great wealth of Rājasiṁhēśvaram of Kailāsanātha temple: "Vikramāditya, who led an excursion into the Tuṇḍaka country defeated his natural foe, the Pallava king Nandipōtavarmaṉ and entered the Pallava capital Kāñci but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasiṁhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasiṁhapōtavarmaṉ, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them."[244] His successor Kīrtivarmaṉ II in his Vakkalēri grant[245] praises the Vikramāditya II for having left alone the great wealth of Kailāsanātha temple without confiscating it when he captured Kañcipuram. Cēkkiḻār himself refers to this endowment of this great wealth by Kāṭavarkōṉ, the contemporary of Pūcalār Nāyaṉār, almost in terms Cāḷukya inscriptions, "Kāṭavarkōmāṉ Kaccikkaṟṟaḷi eṭuttu muṟṟa māṭelam Śivaṇukkākap peruñcelvam vakuttal ceyvaṉ."[246] If Rājasiṁha had endowed like this on a scale much grander than the endowments of Nandivarmaṉ III, one cannot understand the conclusions of the learned Dr. that the description of Kaḷarciṅkan by Cēkkiḻār as the one who performed 'toṇṭu' at temples could not be true of Rājasiṁha as it is of Nandivarman III. An examination of the references in the inscriptions should have convinced any impartial student that the description can be true only of Rājasiṁha.

243. 11/1899.
244. Ep. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 202 ff.; see also Ep. Ind., Vol. III, p. 360.
245. Ep. Ind., Vol. V, p. 200;
246. Pūcalār Nāyaṉār Purāṇam, V. 9.

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VOLUME II

NAMPI ĀRŪRAR AND MYTHOLOGY[1]

INTRODUCTION

I

The important part which *Tēvāram* plays in Temple worship has been sufficiently explained in our Introduction to Vol. I. The Temples are the holy places where God is worshipped in His images. Ārūrar's poems deal to a large extent with the description and significance of the image forms of the Lord. The various *Purāṇas* are even now green in the minds of the Hindus, and the image forms are in a sense representations of these popular *purāṇic* stories. Ārūrar's age is, in more sense than one, the age of the *Purāṇas* and that explains why he is speaking, in the language of the *Purāṇas*, in most of the verses. Therefore, it is necessary for us to turn our attention first to Ārūrar's language of *Mythology*, which is also his language of mysticism and religion.

The *Purāṇic* stories are many and varied and an attempt has to be made to group them under some system of classification. There are stories which may be taken as interpreting the philosophy of Śiva's essence. They are the stories which assert His superiority over all others in this Universe. The Liṅga is Śiva's pre-eminent form. God is significant to us only when He is all love and this truth is brought out by the form of Śiva in the company of the Mother Goddess, who is no other than His love or Grace. The representation of the Lord as riding on the bull, brings out the truth that He is the Lord of all, the Lord *Dharma*. These stories will, therefore, from the First Part of our inquiry

1. By the words '*myths*' and '*mythology*', it is not to be understood that they refer to what is fanciful or merely imaginary or to something grotesque and meaningless judged by rational standards. '*Myths*' constitute the concretized wisdom of the ancients, the portrayal of eternal truths which have been intuited by the sages. They are not ever to be confused with allegories in the sense that a story has been woven round a truth, for its better comprehension. The Indian tradition invests the '*myths*' with a historical character and expounds them with the piety and devotion associated with a religious verity.

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into Ārūrar's language of Mythology. But, before plunging into the subject, it is necessary to explain this language of Mythology in general terms by way of introduction and that is done at the very beginning of this Volume, as Chapter I.

II

The great message of Ārūrar is Lord's Grace. This takes us on to the stories which are acts of pure Grace and Love which are called the *Anugraha Mūrtis*, which according to *Śilpaśāstra* assume *sāttvic* forms. *Viṣāpaharaṇa mūrti*, *Gaṅgādhara mūrti* or *Bhāgīratha anugraha mūrti*, *Pārthānugrah mūrti*, *Candrānugraha mūrti* and *Rāvaṇānugraha mūrti* are all *Anugraha mūrtis* discussed under this head of *Anugraha* in Part II of our study.

III

The phrase '*Aṭṭavīraṭṭāṉam*'' occurs in Appar's poems and this conception, therefore, must have been popular in the age of *Tēvāram*. The phrase '*Vīraṭṭam*' occurs in the verse of Ārūrar also.[2] Śiva is said to have performed eight great heroic feats in eight different places[3] within the Tamil country, which suggests an attempt at looking upon the feats as the feats of Tamil Land. We have thus eight different forms of Śiva: *Tripurāntaka*, *Dakṣāri*, *Kāmāntaka*, *Gajāha*, *Jalandharāri*, *Kālasaṁhāra*, *Andhakāri* and *Brahma śiraschēdana*. In one sense, all the *Purāṇic* stories relating to Śiva can be brought under these eight heads. The story of the company of the Mother Goddess, discussed in our first part is a sequence to the stories of *Dakṣāri* and *Kāmāri* forms. The wearing of the crescent moon on the crown is related to the story of *Dakṣa*. Śiva's unique ornaments, weapons and clothes are related to the events connected with the *Kāpāli* form of *Brahmaśiraschēdana mūrti*. The forms we are going to discuss in the subsequent part, viz., the story of *Bhikṣāṭana* and *Naṭarāja* are also connected with this story of the *Kāpāli* form and the *ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is what precedes the *Kāmāri* form. Looked at from this point of view, the *Aṣṭavīraṭṭāna* conception explains all the mythological stories relating to Śiva. These stories explain the Absolute as the greatest power. But by the time of Ārūrar, these heroic feats have come to be looked upon as the acts of

2. 7 : 28: 1-10: 7: 38: 1-10.

3. *Atikai*, *Paṟiyal*, *Kuṟukkai*, *Vaḻuvūr*, *Viṟkuṭi*, *Kaṭavūr*, *Kōval*, and *Kaṇṭi*.

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God's Grace and therefore Ārūrar equates power with Grace of Love.

So, in the next part, we discuss certain forms which have become very popular in South India almost becoming Tamilian forms, thanks to *Tēvāram* writers who have made the forms of *Bhikṣāṭana*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Naṭarāja*, the very forms of Love.

IV

In the concluding part which is more or less the miscellaneous part, the weapons, ornaments and clothes of Śiva, other *purāṇic* personalities and the cosmogony are all discussed as described by Ārūrar.

V

In all these parts, the *purāṇic* stories and descriptions are first summarised. The *Āgamic* references to these descriptions in relation to their worship in the temple are also noted. For a better understanding of these descriptions and for arriving at a judgment about the popularity of these forms in the age of Ārūrar, the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha temple are next studied. In the view of the present writer, the Kailāsanātha temple belongs to the age of Ārūrar. Even if Ārūrar is assumed to have come later, we do not have a temple of that eminence for studying the idea of the age as that of Kailāsanātha temple. In the light of the sculptures there, the references in Ārūrar to the various forms, assume a great significance and, therefore, these references are studied last. As already stated, the poet is speaking the language of *mythology* for expressing his own message of Lord's Grace in a popular form. The mystic significance of these forms are also emphasised with the help of Tirumūlar and others whose poems help us to better understand the verses of Ārūrar.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

ĀRŪRAR'S LANGUAGE OF MYTHOLOGY

I

The Absolute Brahman, the Impersonal Godhead, is beyond words and thoughts. The Divine experience of the Saints, especially of the poetic Saints cannot lie hidden within the soul. It tries to find expression in words of their poems. The Absolute thus takes an incarnation in words. It becomes personal and concrete. Man from the earliest times must have felt the inexpressible Divine presence, and *Mythology* which is sometimes called the singing of the unconscious state, has developed all over the world. "*Myth-form*, according to modern criticism, is a complex of Images or a story whether factual or fanciful taken to represent the deepest truths of life or simply regarded as specially significant for no clearly realised reason"[1] and represents a unanimous common and perennial philosophy of man's nature and destiny.[2] The language of mythology, well known to the common man and exciting in him sublime emotions and great thoughts, lies before the Saints and Poets as the very raw material to be given a shape and form and significance by them. How else could they express the inexpressible? Impersonal and personal are not, therefore, kept separate in their poems and these poets of God, pass from one state to the other, to the great consternation of the modern critics.

One of the inscriptions of *Champa* says, "He is possessed of the powers of *Aṇimā* etc., yet He is devoted to austerities. He has burnt *Madana* and yet He is married. He is the unique Lord, yet He rides on the bull. His nature is beyond the domain of thought and speech; yet His image identical with the Universe is manifested by His form." Even the distant islands have understood the true inwardness of the Indian conception of God and His worship.

1. *Myth and Ritual in Christianity*, by Alan W. Watts.
2. Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy.

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II

The study of the *Purāṇic* stories, as referred to in Ārūrar's *Tēvāram*, cannot be a study of their origins. Historically, this may show what *mythological* stories appealed to that age in general and the poet in particular. To go beyond this, in search of their origin and growth, will be futile, for, there are no materials available in Ārūrar's poems for such a general study. It is however possible to refer to the particular version of the story he mentions, as compared to others, so as to point out the particular stage the story had reached in its historical march. The *Tēvāram* poems are mainly lyrical outpourings of the heart of the poet, and the stories are referred to express the subjective experience. They have, therefore, to be related to the subjective experience of these stories by the poet. They have a significance to the author and it is this that has to be studied.

An incident or a scene, like a drunken bout, the solitary reaper, a mountain top suddenly raising up its hoary head whilst one rows the boat, the cock on a dung hill or the moon rising from the sea, is well impressed in the mind of a poet. They become symbols of the message of the subjective experience of the poet, without ceasing to be concrete and alive, poetic and graphic. So do the stories, the poets read or hear, become such symbols. It is from this point of view these stories have to be studied in Ārūrar.

How the great minds of the age looked upon these stories should also be known. The forms of Śiva described are many. The images are not fetishes. They are not idols but representations of ideals. What Dr. Coomaraswamy says of the Indian Art applies to Iconography as well: "Indian art at its best is never realistic but is based on abstractions or ideal forms—a tendency to naturalism is but rarely followed and is rather an expression of a mental conception than a realistic picture that is aimed at." If hands and legs and wives of Śiva are spoken of, they ought not to be taken in the gross physical sense. Śiva is, according to these seers, beyond matter; therefore, there arises no question of flesh and blood and all their incidents. Nor, is there any question of sex, which, after all, is a physical phenomenon. Therefore, the Śaivites say, these are the forms of His Grace. Even as light and heat are found indivisible in fire, His bliss of Grace and His Spiritual essence of *Jñāna* are indivisible from Him. Therefore,

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the Form is spiritual in its essence. The image is an imperfect realisation of the attempt at concrete visualisation. The matter is but the Grace of Śiva because the ancients found no other way of expressing it to be understood by the man in the street. This science of spiritual semantics has given rise to the Hindu Iconography. As an expression of art, these image forms have a universal appeal but the full significance cannot stand revealed completely to the amateur audience. Iconography and painting are related to *Bharata Nāṭya*. The significance of the language of dance arises out of the tradition and convention of that art. It has to be learnt. In addition, in *Iconography*, one has to learn what the organs and weapons stand for.

Therefore, ours becomes a study of value or ideal rather than of origins. What Dr. Coomaraswamy says with reference to Śiva's Dance may be generalised with reference to all forms or images of the Hindu God: "I do not mean to say that the most profound interpretation of Śiva's dance was present in the minds of those who first danced in frantic and perhaps intoxicated energy in honour of the pre-Aryan hill-god afterwards merged in Śiva. A great motif in religion or art, any great symbol, becomes all things to all men; age after age, it yields to men such treasure as they find in their own hearts. Whatever be the origins of Śiva's dance, it became in time the noblest image of activity of God which any art or religion can boast of."

It is not as though there is any dead rigidity about this symbolic language of *Ātmavidyā*. It allowed sufficient fluidity for indixidual artist or poet to give expression to his transcendental vision. In our study of Ārūrar's poems and the sculptures of this age, this truth is being very forcibly impressed on our minds.

III

But anyway, the letters of the alphabet have to be learnt for spelling out the words of this language. No attempt is made here to study exhaustively this variety of alphabet. That much which is necessary to substantiate the thesis here put forward alone is attempted. Tirumūlar, before Ārūrar, is the first bold spirit who interpret the stories literally,[3] "*Muppuram cerṟaṉaṉ eṉparkaḷ mūṭarkaḷ*" and he gives his mystic significance of *Tripura* as the

3. *Tirumantiram*: 343.

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resultant of the three '*malas*'. His interpretation of the dance and other forms are mentioned under their respective heads. Paṭṭiṉattār, perhaps coming after Ārūrar, explains the mystic significance of the forms. Therefore, it is the Tamilian tradition of the Age of Ārūrar we are referring to, as our thesis. Nor is it opposed to the spiritual and social science and art of Temple worship which developed in the Tamil land of that age. The *Āgamas* are the embodiments of this science. They have not become finalised in their present form, as is made clear by our study at every stage. But they may be taken to represent the growing tradition of the age of Ārūrar. *Kāmika Āgama* is the most important one, from this point of view and it gives the significance of the weapons and other representations of the image of Śaiva.

IV

The *Kāmikāgama* in its first part, IV *Paṭalam*, describes the form of *Sadāśiva* to be contemplated on by the worshipper. There is fluidity enough to suggest two different forms. The Āgama proceeds to give meaning of the various organs and weapons described in these forms. As the form of Śiva is well known and is going to be described in the following pages with reference to various forms, the descriptions need not be repeated here. The *crescent moon* of pure white colour is the symbol of Śiva's Omniscience. His *ten hands* are the ten points of the compass. The *trident*, with its three heads, represents the three *guṇas*, *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* of *Prakṛti* under His control. The *hatchet* represents His energy or *Śakti*. The *sword* is the symbol of His valour or omnipotence. Adamantine *Vajra* or the weapon of diamond represents His invincibility or the unbreakability of gohead. The *fire* in His hand represents the power of destruction, the power of illuminating the objects above *Mahāmāyā*, and the power of burning to ashes the fetters of *Pāśa*. The *serpent* in His hand symbolises His law that rules everything. The *noose* in three stands represent the three fetters or *pāśas*—*Māyā*, *Karma* and *Āṇava*. The *bell* He holds in His hand, through its sound, represents the Mantra form. The *abhaya hasta* represents His power of protecting all the Universe. The *goad* symbolises what is fit for enjoyment and what are so attained. It is these subtle aspects which are

4. *Kām., ibid.*, 335-340.

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represented by these visible forms.[4] Even as the potential heat, all pervasive in a log becomes potent in one concentrated point of friction, Śiva becomes potent in the image form.[5]

V

From the point of view of Tamil tradition the poems of Paṭṭiṉattār may be usefully studied :

This problem of the *Purāṇas* seems to have been agitating the mind of Paṭṭiṉattār. He gives expression in his '*Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Orupā Orupatu*' to the mystic vision he had after such cogitation.

"The great world is a damsel wearing according to her nature the struggling sea as her garment over which shines the girdle of gems. The citty of *Oṟṟi* is the clasping face of the girdle. Oh! Thou the Lord of this city! The flash of the lightning is the matlock of yours. The ever present firmament is the form of your crown. The lord of fire, the sun, and the cool moon—these three fires, form your eyes, on and around your forehead. The necklace of cool rays is the milk-way. The *Ākās*, where reside the *Dēvas*, forms your beautiful body. The eight points of the compass are your sturdy shoulders. The black sea is your garment. The beautiful hip of yours is the earthly sphere. The serpents with the gems on their hoods of the nether world represent but the movement of your pair of feet. The wind running without any pause is your breath. All the unfailing sounds are the words from your lips. The totality of the faultless *jñāna* of all the wide spread eternal lives from that of *Dēvas* downwards is but your consciousness. In this crowded world, its nature, its sustenance, its involution and evolution are but the appearance of your activity. Its creation, its destruction and movement are but the natural opening and closing of your eyes, with many other characteristic forms like these. You the one became two in form and enjoyment, and three *jñānas* resulting in four kinds of birth, the five sense organs, the six religions or philosophies, the seven worlds, the eight forms and you grow beyond innumerable aeons and mix in every form becoming every one of those things. In this context, who has realised in one sweep, your form?"[6]

"O! Lord of *Oṟṟi* City! Saying, that along with the lady residing on the left you have two bodies, that you performed the

5. *Ibid.*, 355-56.
6. *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr Orupā Orupatu* : 1.

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dance in the midnight, that you adorned yourself with the tiger's skin along with bones, that you have practised the life of wandering beggary, that you have become formless and formful, that you are the four-faced (*Brahma*), and the Great (*Tirumāl*), the beloved of the lady of Beauty and Riches, that you are one that exists, that you are one that does not exist, that you are one that does not grow tired, that you are tired, old and vanguished, that you are the beginning, that you are the Lord of *Aśōka* (the Jain), that you are the ancient shining under the *Bōdhi* (Buddha) and so on and so forth in a similar vein, according to the measure of their knowledge confused by the plurality of established books—men are thus at variance with each other. Seeing the characteristics of theirs, unto those who suffer like this, you become as they think and your form is like the colour of the crystal assuming the hue of whatever thing is placed underneath it."[7]

"O! Great One, that is the unique One of the world of form! There is nothing else amongst these varied shapes. Whatever it be, if it exists here, that is but a part of yourself. Therefore, conspiring for destroying the suffering of the world of ancient waters by setting fire—the cracking and resounding fire—to the onrushing three fortreses, cutting and letting away the head of the Lord of sacrifice, crushing down tne shoulders of the Ruler of the huge skies, depriving the eminent lord of the *Vēdās* of one face, looking at Cupid (*Manmatha*) of the floral arrows to reduce him to ashes, pressing down powerless, the *Rākṣasa* (*Rāvaṇa*) with the beautiful toe, attacking with an ideal the Lord of Death to bring about his infancy—all these feats of valour beginning from these are but acts of yours, all crowding about you in the very place where you stand. These, therefore, who had seen that there is nothing besides yourself speak of this truth. Will these who have realised this significant truth, instead of taking it as an ordinary routine, include it amongst your praises?"[8]

"The eternal lives or souls—from the Lord of flower (*Brahman*) downwards—that Lord of flower grown eminent because of his knowledge of the principle—the eternal lives who move in the bodies with the help of dark ignorance are differentiated in various ways, by form, by knowledge, by eminence, by humility, by riches,

7. *Ibid.*, 2.
8. *Ibid.*, 3.

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by power and by the variety of activities. They are never separated from their karmas. In this multiplicity of their disagreement, their behaviour, like the white waves from the well established ocean, rising from yourself and becoming one with you, evolving and involving, appearing and disappearing, lying in union with you and standing separated from you, but explains you. O! Thou Lord of ceaseless ancient fame! The chief of the form that never grows old! If at all, those who have received your Grace may know this, can others understand this bewildering puzzle, there in you?"[9]

"The words of no confusion are but yourself. Yet, what conspiracy they confounded, know not your varied form; The mind is your abode and yet what stealth it is, that you disappear from there leaving that blotted. You are the doer of all the acts performed in this world and yet what wonderful nearness or magic of pour atomicity that the results of these acts never come near you. There they worship you for the sake of the happiness of society or the whole humanity and yet what a wonderful beauty that there you become the sea of bliss in their minds! You are the nearest of the near unto those who approach you out of love unto you. This conspiracy, this stealth, this magic, this beauty of nearness are the daily bone-melting characteristic features of yours. Therefore, O, that Lord of *Oṟṟi*, of the pure moon of the ruddy thick matlock, of great tapas and well established extnsive fame! We have realised that this body of flesh does melt and disappear away unto those who had seen you."[10]

"Your adorning yourself, with the pure moon on the top of your matlack for establishing the fact, 'I am the knowledge of the pure path'; your riding on the bull which is but the form of '*Aṟam*' or *Dharma* or Virtue, proclaims the truth, 'I am the all pervasive Lord'. You stand as He, She, It and this explains the principle, 'I am the common basis of all'. That you are the three eyed is a symbol for the truth, 'The three fires lie within me in sacrifice'. Your carrying the young one of the deer of the *Vēdas* proclaims the truth, 'I am Lord of sound'. Your holding the trident of one handle and three blades states there the fact, 'The great ones are but myself'. The fact of the eight forms signifies, 'I am clearly the only truth in this world'. Your standing clearly, as the earth, water, fire, wind and the high *ākās*, and as the Lord

9. *Ibid.*, 4.
10. *Ibid.*, 5.

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of the ancient but undying fame and as the Lord of the army of good *Bhūtas*, is for making the world realise the truth. All your nature and forms from these downwards, clearly express your evergrowing greatness. The suicidal men (*tarkolimāntar*) realise this not, and whirl, caught within the power of the word and meaning, born out of themselves. Their chiefs, the lords of the six activities, never cease to recite in you *Orṟi*' O, Lord *of Orṟi*'. You consider all this as the activities of children and sit smiling till they turn towards you!"[11]

These poems of Paṭṭiṉattār clearly explain the philosophy of the *Purāṇas* as understood by the great men of the Pallava Age, for Paṭṭiṉattar also belongs to the Pallava period though coming much later than Ārūrar.

VI

In the age of the Pallavas, the Tamil Land became the seat of Sanskrit learning. The inscriptions came to be written in Prākrit first and later on in Sanskrit. The great scholars from the Tamil land went to the North, like Diṅ Nāga and Dhamma Pāla and even to distant China, like the founder of *Zen Buddhism*. Sanskrit was the lingua franca of India, and Pallava kings, like Mahēndra Varman, were great scholars of Sanskrit. Inscriptions began with philosophical truths and king Rājasiṁha prided himself on knowledge of *Śaiva Siddhānta* — a knowledge which went to the Easterns islands as well. It is but natural that the *Purāṇas* should become popular among the ordinary men. In addition to these stories, folk tales and traditions relating to the various places of worship also grew up. These tales became stories circulating among the masses.

The literature of this age as distinguished from the literature of the *Caṇkam* age is characterised by its wealth of references to the *Purāṇic* and other mythological stories, In making their popular appeal, the *Tēvāram* hymns cannot but take cognizance of this common new heritage of the times. They have perforce to speak this language and it will be surprising to note that if this references are left out, there may not be much remaining. They cannot escape the climate of the times, nor is this a calamity. The *Caṅkam* werks were for the few. *Tēvāram* is for the

11. *Ipid.*, 6.

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many. Every age offers the material, the raw material for the arts. The poet shapes out of it his beautiful poetry. It is the art form that is important — not the material which after all concerns the scientific technique of manipulating the material. Even if the stories are discredited all the glory to the poet who has created out of it, the representation of the Absolute, delivering the message of his inner vision.

VII

It is for this purpose that an attempt has been made to explain the mystic language of the *Purāṇas* as understood by Ārūrar and his age. The elaborate quotations from Paṭṭiṉattār must convince all doubting '*Thāmasis*'. This question of their significance has been a live problem in the minds of great thinkers of that age and their conclusions and explanations are indeed illuminating. Without these, a sympathetic study of the poems and the sculptures of the age is not easily possible for the modern mind stuck up into the mire of expressionism, cubism and realism.

For understanding the significance of these poems we have to go to the *Purāṇas*. As it happens all the world over, here also we have various versions. The poems of Ārūrar will tell us which version or versions had appealed to his mind.

There are also the sculptures of the Pallava Age representing the various forms. The *Āgamas* give what are now considered to be rules for making these image forms. Though these rules are now considered obligatory, our study shows that to start with they were only recommendatory. Here also we have varied rules. A comparison of the sculptures and the rules of the *Āgamas* leads us to this conclusion.

A word should be said about these *Āgamic* rules and the representations of the image forms in the Temples.

VIII

It is clear that the forms mentioned, from one point of view, represent various episodes of one and the same story starting with *Brahma's* haughty dispute, if we leave out of account the variant forms of the stories. These episodes were either painted on the wall or done in stucco. Later on, they came to be represented as bas-relief work on the panels of walls. Lastly came the images of these forms in stone and in metal. But, this is from the point of view of history of Śaivism in South India; in North India the

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images were older forms of worship. Patañjali in his *Mhaābhāṣya Pratīkṛta* and not *Liṅga*. Varāhamihira refers to the installation of *Śambhuvigraha*. It is true, certain forms are by the *Āgamas* of the South, prescribed possibly referring to the conditions prevailing in a later age, for particular kinds of worship: for instance *Pāśupata mūrti* for daily worship or *nityōtsava*; *Aghōra* form for attaining success against enemy kings; but, there are also rules prohibiting worship of certain forms in images, for instance the *Raudra Pāśupata mūrti*

IX

In the period of Ārūrar, the images had not come into existence. Therefore, in addition to the panels described, there must have been paintings. Traces of painting are found at Māmallapuram and Kailāsanātha temple.[12] The panels themselves suggest that they succeeded the paintings and stucco work on brick and mortar of the previous. The descriptions given in the *Śilpaśāstras* and the *Āgamas* themselves show that they are intended for paintings, and colouring of the stucco. In the *Liṅgōdbhava* form, according to *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*, *Siva* is to be red, *Viṣṇu* black, and *Brahma* golden yellow. *Candraśēkhara*, according to *Śilparatna*, is white or red like the Sun, or yellow like gold; his throat is blue. According to *Kāraṇāgama*, *Nṛtta mūrti*, *Kaṅkāḷa mūrti* and *Dakṣiṇā mūrti* are white, whilst other forms are coral red. According to *Rūpamaṇḍana* in the *Umāmahēśvara* form, *Śiva* is coral red. The *Āgamas* decorate *Kāma* in the *Kāmāri* form with golden ornaments and He is golden yellow. In the *Gajāha* form, He is deep red; in the *Kālāri* form He is coral red according to *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*. According to *Kāmikāgama*, *Yama* is clothed red garments with red eyes, red hair, moustaches and brows. *Amśumadbhēdāgama* makes *Tripurāntaka* red. *Kāmikāgāma* makes *Śarabhēśa* a golden bird with red eyes. *Bhairavas* are, according to the various forms, described by *Viṣṇudharmōttara*, rain-cloud coloured, yellow, white, blue, smoke-coloured or red. *Aghōra mūrti* is according to *Kāraṇāgama* dark, draped in red clothes, and adorned with red flowers and red jewels. *Lalitōpākhyāna* makes *Mahākāla* and *Mahākālī* black, with red eyes and black coat. *Candēśa*, according to *Aṁśumadbhēdagama* is goldcn yellow. According to *Śrītattva nidhi*, in the *Cakrādāna* form *Viṣṇu* is black with

12. *Pallava Architecture* by Alexander Rea, Pl., 29.

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yellow garments. In the *Vignēśvara anugraha mūrti* form, *Śiva* is black. *Kirātārjuna mūrti* is red. In the *Naṭarāja* form the *jaṭās* are brownish red, according to *Uttara Kāmikāgama*, whilst *Naṭarāja* is milky white. In the *Kaṅkāla mūrti* form, Śiva is white, with red upper garment and pearl white teeth. In the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, the left half is either black or parrot green, whilst the right half is red. In the *Harihara form*, *Śiva*-half is snow white and the *Viṣṇu*-half green or blue. In the *Kalyāṇasundara* form *Śiva* is red and *Pārvatī* dark, *Viṣṇu* black and *Brahma* red. In the *Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti*, *Śiva* is red, clothed in red garments.

These references clearly apply to paintings and painted in stucco works. Gōpinātha Rao quotes from a work whose name is not known but found at the end of the manuscript copy of *Śilparatna*. The quotation begins with the words, *Mahādēvam pravakṣyāmi yathā lēkhyasya bhittiṣu*" — 'I shall describe the form of *Mahādēva* as painted on walls'. This leaves no doubt that these contemplate, paintings on the walls or on stucco works. The panel-sculpture, therefore, reminds us of these paintings. As the images have not come into existence till very late in the history of temples, the references in the Āgamas, some of which at least, must be as old as *Tēvāram* and *Tirumantiram*. could not be to the images. But this does not deny that, as the names of the *Paṭalams* in the *Uttara Kāmikāgama* show, the *Āgamic* rules as they stand are for the establishment and consecration (*Pratiṣṭhā*). The suggestion is that though the *Āgamas* may be very ancient, these terms like *Pratiṣṭhā* and other details are of a later date.

X

If this line of argument has any force, the rules given about these forms are as descriptives as the references in *Tēvāram*. It is true in some cases the measurements and proportions of the figures in relation to each other are given. But, if our arguments have any weight, these so called rules describe, rather than prescribe any one standard form. The varieties of description in some cases going up to eight — e.g. *Tripurāntaka* form — only proves this point.

XI

In an introduction to a book on the *Aṣṭāṣṭa Vigrahamālā or Śiva Parākkiramam* in Tamil, by Īkkāṭu Rathinavēlu Mudaliar,

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one editor of the *Āgamas*, K. Shunmukhasundara Mudaliar writes as follows: "These forms are referred to in the *Vēdas* as forms of meditation; in the *Āgamas* as forms of worship for the salvation of Bhakta and in the *Purāṇās* and stories describing those who were thus saved."

This represents the orthodox view. But those who have followed the growth of the Śaivite temples from the times of Mahēndra Varma I, will easily see that this cannot be correct. The *Liṅga* alone was found in the temples, to start with; it alone received the worship. The paintings and panel-sculptures might have been there; but they could not have assumed such importance as to receive any worship; even now the paintings in the temples receive no worship except in the *Citra Sabhā* in Tirukkuṟṟālam. The next land-mark occurs in the reign of Rājasiṁha, when he introduced the panel containing the *Sōmāskanda mūrta*, behind the *Liṅga* form of worship, inside the *Garbāgṛha* or *Sanctum Sanctorum* which till then contained no personal form. After this introduction, the worship performed to the *Liṅga* became also a worship performed to this personal form. Probably Rājasiṁha thought that in addition to the *Liṅga*, a mere symbol, some more visulisation was necessary. It must be noted in passing that the form of *Tyāgarāja* of the sacred temple of Tiruvārūr, is only the form of *Sōmāskanda* form. The question is, which was earlier, in places like Tiruvārūr and Chidambaram, the *Liṅga* or the metal image. The term *Mūlaṭṭāna* used with reference to the place of the *Liṅga* both at Chidambaram and Tiruvārūr is significant. By the time of Rājarāja the Great, the inscriptions give detailed descriptions of the image of various forms, which once started as literary descriptions, paintings on the walls and panel sculptures and whichever on their way to be conventionalized.

XII

Even before the temples in stone started on their development, the paintings of these forms should have been there in the old temples built of bricks. Representation of *Purāṇic* episodes in painting is as old as *Paripāṭal*. Nappaṇṇaṉār sings of the devotees going up the steps of Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam Temple of *Muruka*, pointing out and explaining them in the hall of painting. "This cat is *Indra*; this lady is (*Akalikai* (*Ahalyā*); this man is *Kavutamaṉ*

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(*Gautama*) who returned; this is the stone form she assumed, thanks to his anger."

"*Intiraṉ pūcai ivaḷaka likaiyivaṉ*
Ceṉṟa Kavutamaṉ ciṉaṉuṟa-k kalluru
Oṉṟiya paṭiyiteṉ ṟuraicei vōrum
Iṉṉa palpala eḻuttunilai maṇṭapam
Tuṉṉunar cuṭṭavum cuṭṭaṟi vuṟuttavum
Nērvaṟai viriyaṟai viyaliṭa-t tiḻaikka-c
Cōpaṉa nilaiyatu tuṇiparaṇ kuṉṟattu
Māaṉ marukaṉ māṭa maruṅku."[13]

Some of the temples must have become famous because of the particular representation of Śiva's form they contained. As hinted already *Aṭṭa Vīrattāṉams* must have become famous that way. It was also found that more than one place became famous in connection with one and the same feat Śiva like the flaying of the elephant, probably because of the painting of that feat in more than one place. When Ārūrar sings, "*Kallāl niḻaṟ kīl oru naḷ kaṇṭatum Kaṭampūr-k karakkōyiliṉ muṉ kaṇṭatum allāl virakoṉṟilam*"[14]—'We have no tact or way except that we saw you under the shadow of '*Kallal*' tree (perhaps of *Kaccūr*) we saw you in front of the apsidal temple of *Kaṭampūr*)'—this reference is probably to paintings.

XIII

The heroic feats of Śiva or *Śiva Parākramas* were thus enumerated as eight. *Śilpaśāstra* enumerates sixteen forms of Śiva: *Sukhāsana, Vaivahika, Umāsahita, Vṛṣārūdha, Tripurāntaka Naṭarāja, Candrasēkhara, Ardhanāri, Harihara, Candēśvara, Kāmāri, Kaninēsa, Dakṣṇāmūrti, Bhikṣāṭana, Sadāśiva and Liṅgōdbhava. Mayamata* speaks of *Umāskanda* instead of *Umashita*, of *Caṇdeśānugraha* instead of *Candēśa* and of *Mukhaliṅga* instead of *Sādāśiva*—possibly because of the greater prominence given to *Sōmāskanda mūrta* in the age and place of birth of *Mayamata.*

13. *Paripātal*, 19: 50-57.
14. 7: 2: 5.

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Kāraṇāgama enumerates twenty-five sportive incarnations (*līlā mūrtis*) of Śiva. There are as follows:

1. *Naṭarāja*, 2. *Candrasēkahara*, 3. *Umāmahēśa*, 4. *Ṛsabhārū.ḍha*, 5. *Kalyāṇasundara*, 6. *Bhikṣāṭaṇa*, 7. *Kāmāri*, 8. *Kālāri*, 9. *Tripurāri*, 10. *Jalandharāri* 11. *Mataṅkāri*, 12. *Vīrabhadra*, 13. *Hariyardha*, 14. *Ardhanāri*, 15. *Kirāta*, 16. *Kaṅkāla*, 17. *Candēśānugraha*, 18. *Nīlakaṇṭha*, 19. *Cakraprada*, 20. *Gajumukhānugraha*, 21. *Sōmāskanda*, 22. *Ēkapāda*, 23. *Sukhāsana*, 24. *Dakṣināmūrti and* 25. *Liṅgōdhbhava.*

In *Skanda Puṛāṇa*, Kēśi muni enumerates sixty-four forms- Later Mr. Īkkāṭu Ratṉavēlu Mudaliār has collected the stories and pictorial representations of these forms, from the references to works in Sanskrit and Tamil in his valuable contribution of a book "*Śiva Parākkiramam*" in Tamil. Thus it is clear the number seems to have been growing.

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CHAPTER II

LIṄGŌDBHAVA MŪRTI

I

Every ninth verse in Campantar's hymns refers, as though such a reference were a religious ceremony, to the story of Viṣṇu and Brahma among the *Trimūrtis* searching for the head and toe of Śiva, This form of Śiva is known in the *Āgamas* as *Lingōdbhava mūrti*.[1] The story as given in *Kūrma, Vāyu, Śiva, Liṅga* and *Vāmana Purāṇas* is summarised in *Ṣiva Parākkiramam*.[2] Rāja Rāja's Inscriptions of Tanjore describe this form as *Liṅga Purāṇa Dēva*— the Lord of Liṅga Purāṇa.[3] This usage can be traced to Tirunāvukkaracar, who refers to this story in every one of the verses of his hymn known as '*Iliṅkapurānat tirukkuṟuntokai*'.[4] The *Liṅga Purāṇa* gives this as the coming into form of the *Liṅgāyat's* manifestation ; hence the name *Liṅgōdbhava* mentioned in the *Āgamas*.

II

The story as told in *Liṅgapurāṇas*[5] is shortly as follows:

There was a deluge after destruction and before creation. Viṣṇu was sleeping on the ocean and thereafter Brahma appeared. Both of them claimed to be the creators of the Universe. A pillar of fire — a luminous Liṅga rose in their presence. They agreed, that one, who found out the crown or the root of the pillar first, should be hailed the creator. Viṣṇu, in the form of a boar, burrowed down to reach the foot of this pillar. Brahma, in the form of a swan flew up to reach its crown. They returned crest fallen, to pray to the Lord of Lords. *Ṣivānanda Lahari* refers to this more than once.

1. *Uttarakāmikāgama* — 50th *Paṭalam* — 147.
2. P. 29
3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No, 44.
4. 5: 209.
5. *Muir*, Vol. IV, p. 385.

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In a few versions, it is stated that Brahma, learning from a '*tāḻai* flower'[6] which he met on the way that it was falling from Śiva's crown, entreated it to bear a false witness to Brahma reaching the crown of the pillar. At this, Brahma was cursed by Śiva that the former should have no separate temple or worship.[7] According to one version, it was because of this falsehood Brahma-lost one of his five heads; and this will connect the *Brahma-śiraschēdana Mūrti* with the *Liṅgōdbhava Mūrti.*

The story of the Brahma appearing like a pillar of flre before the *Dēvas* to whom *Umā* comes and explains, occurs in the *Upaniṣads* but there it appears in the form of a *Yakṣa.* The *Shambha* hymns of the *Atharva Vēda*[8] which speak of the supporter, the supreme soul, and which ask, "How far did *Skambha* penetrate into that highest, lowest and middle Universe" and answering, "*Skambha* is all" seem to be adumbrating this story of the pillar.[9]

III

Coming to the description of the image as given in the *Āgamas*, we find the *Liṅga* in the midst of which appears the *Candraśēkhara.* According to *Kāraṇāgama* one fifth at the top and bottom of this *liṅgam* should be left uncarved. Śiva's form appears up to the kness. At the top, on the right of the *liṅga*, is Brahma in the form of a swan, whilst Viṣṇu appears on the left at the bottom in the form of a boar. Brahma and Viṣṇu are also there, facing the *Liṅgam* with hands held in *añjali* pose. *Kāmikāgama* interprets the boar's posture as burrowing down. Viṣṇu and Brahma stand submissive, shorn of their egotism. Their forms are, sometimes, omitted but not the boar and the swan. *Kāraṇāgama* makes Śiva's four hands hold the axe, the deer, the *abhaya* and *varada* poses. *Ṣilaparatna*, however, inserts the trident in one of His hands.

IV

Turning to the sculptures of the age of Ārūrar, we find representation in the Kailāsanātha temple itself.

6. Fragrant screw-pine.

7. It is said that at Puṣkara in Rajaputana, Brahma receives separate worship,

8. *A.V.*, X, 7 &8.

9. *Muir*, IV, p. 18.

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In the subsequent age of the *Cōḷas*, on the western wall of the *Garbhagṛha* on the outer side, this image is always seen, as required by the *Āgamas*. But its earliest appearance is only in the regin of Rājasiṁha; the plate No. XII (*Rea*) gives a photograph of this image. A sketch of it is given in plate LX. The idea of a pillar is made clear by the portion of a pillar up above the crown of Śiva. Perhaps fig. 2 in Plate XLIV represents Śiva appearing before the submissive Brahma and Viṣṇu. There is no description of these[10] — but Mr. Gopinātha Rao gives another photographic plate[11] and a critical description.

"This piece of sculpture is very much at variance with the textual descriptions. The figure of *Śiva Candraśēkhara* has eight arms (not 4) of which some are seen carrying the *paraśu*, the *śūla*, an *akṣamālā* and some other objects[12] while one is held in the *abhaya* pose and another is resting upon the hip (*Kaṭyavalambita*). Then again the one fifth part of the *liṅga* on the top is not left unsculptured nor is the part of the *liṅga* lower than the kness of the figure of Śiva, equal to a fifth of the total length of the *liṅga*. But the sculpture agrees with the Sanskrit texts in that the legs of Śiva below the knees are left out unsculptured; the digit of the moon is shown on the crown of Śiva; the boar *avatāra* of Viṣṇu with four hands out of which two are shown as digging the earth and the other two as carrying the *śaṇkha* and the *cakra* and not an ordinary boar as stated in the *Āgamas* is carved out at the bottom space of the panel; Brahma is seen flying in the air in his own form instead of as a swan; one of his legs as also that of the other deities on the left of the *liṅga* is horizontal while the figures of Brahma and Viṣṇu each having four arms are sculptured on the right and left of the *liṅga*; they have each one arm lifted up in the pose of praising, while the other rests upon the hip and remaining ones carry their respective weapons."[13]

V

According to the tradition of the Tamil land the mountain of fire was the original form of the present Tiruvaaṇṇāmalai hill. This feat also according to this, took place in the Tamil country.

10. Plate LX, Rea's volume on Pallava Architecture.
11. No. XIII.
12. Akṣamālā, etc., are not mentioned in the *Āgamas*.
13. P, 109, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.

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Liṅgapurāṇadēva described in *S.I.I., Vol. II*, No. 44 is worthy of notice as we very often find a representation of the scene in Śiva temples. The Tanjor temple itself bears a sculpture on the west wall of the central shrine. The group is now known as *Liṅgōdbhava*. The following is the note of the Epigraphists. The *Kāraṇāgama* states:

> *"Liṅgākārasya madhyē tu Candraśēkharavat sthitam*
> *Nālikādhasthitam pādam lingōdbhavasamanvitam;*
> *Viriñcirhaṁsarūpēṇa cōrdhvargō vāmapārśvakē*
> *Dakṣē varāharūpasya rūpēṇādhōgatō harih;*
> *Vāmadakṣiṇapārśvasthau kṛtāṁjalisamanvitau*
> *Svarūpēṇa dvipādasthāvajaviṣṇū vibhōh parē."*

The story is that Brahma and Viṣṇu once had a dispute about their relative superiority. Both of them appeared before Śiva who had assumed the shape of a huge *liṅga*. Viṣṇu had to find out the bottom and Brahma the top of she *liṅga*. The former became a boar and went on burrowing into the earth and the latter soared into the air in the shape of a swan to trace the top. Neither of them could achieve his object and accordingly it became evident that Śiva was superior to both of them. In the group set up by queen *Abhimānavalli*, the gods Brahma and Viṣṇu figure, The latter is said to have the face of a boar. The swan form of Brahma is not mentioned. The group must have closely followed the representation in stone of the same scene on the west wall of the central shrine.

Tradition asserts that the hill at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* in the South Arcot district represents the *liṅga* of the *Liṅga purāṇa*- Accordingly pilgrims who visit the temple at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* have to circumambulate the hill itself. It is worthy of note that the *liṅga* at *Tiruvaṇṇāmalai* is believed to be one of the five *liṅgas* which are supposed to consist of the elements (*pañchabhūta*). The *Ēkāmbranātha* temple at Conjeeveram has the *pṛthvīliṅga* (made of earth) and the *Jambukēśvara* temple on the island of *Śrīraṅgam* the *apliṅg* (made of water). The *vāyu-liṅga* (made of air) is at Kālahasti in the north Arcot district; the *ākāśa-liṅga* (made of space) at *Chidambaram* and the *tējō-liṅga* (made of light) at *Tiruvaṇṇamalai* in the south Arcot district. The ancient names of these five shrines offer no justification for this supposition. Apparently the idea of tracing them to the five elements is a comparatively recent one.

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VI

There are 37 references to this story in Ārūarar. In the light of these references to the scupltures, *Āgamas* and *Purāṇas*, Ārurar's verses describing or suggesting this story may be studied. He says, "There is one ancient authority" "*Paṇṭutāṉ piramāṇam oṉṟuṇṭē*":[14] thus begins the poet in one place. It happened, the poet says, in former times "*Muṉ*"[15] as told in the *Liṅga purāṇa*. 'Viṣṇu and Brahma were then the ancient ones' — "*Paṇṭai Māl Piramaṉ*".[16] 'The two did not know' "*Iruvarāl ariyoṇṇā*".[17] There were the two are by your (God's) sides' — *Iruvartām uḷaiyā niṉṟavar*,"[18] in this the form represented as *Ēkapāda* or *Tripāda Trimūrti*. The very names of Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa and Hari used in the *Liṅgapurāṇa*[19] are referred to by Ārūrar in the Tamil forms, *Nāraṇaṉ*',[20] '*Ari*',[21] "*Aṭal Ari*" — 'the conquering *Ari* or the powerful '*Ari*',[22] "*Oḷḷari*" — 'the resplendent *Ari*',[23] suggestive of the phrases in the *Purāṇa* (*Bhāsadhyastō Bhagavān Harith*).

VII

Brahma is mentioned as '*Piraman*'.[24] He is '*aja*' — the unborn; this word appears as '*Ayaṉ*' in Tamil.[25] This seems to be the favourite word with Ārūrar; the poet says that even this unborn principle of this Universe could not fathom the divinity of Śiva. Or, the poet may be ironical. 'Brahma is the Lord of the Vēdas', *Vēda mutalvaṉ*".[26] His function is then glorified. He is the creator of aeons: i.e., the very time giving place to spatial expansions and formations, '*Ūḻi paṭaittavaṉ*".[27] Brahma is "*Naṉ mukaṉ*" — 'the Lord of four faces'.[28] We would expect Brahma to be with five heads. Has he lost the other head prior to this event?

14. 7: 46: 5.
15. 7: 51: 9.
16. 7; 20: 9.
17. 7: 76: 7.
18. 7; 86: 9.
19. *Muir*, Vol. IV, p. 386.
20. 7: 45: 6
21. 7: 28: 9; 7: 44: 8
22. 7: 82: 8.
23. 7: 84: 8.
24. 7; 20: 9; 7: 63: 7; 7: 67; 4.
25. 7: 6: 9; 7: 7: 10; 7: 8: 8; 7: 16: 8; 7: 24: 9; 7: 28: 9; 7: 33: 8; 7: 56: 6; 7: 68: 1; 7: 69: 11; 7: 97: 1.
26. 7: 40: 6.
27. 7: 84. 8.
28. 7: 18; 9; 7: 22: 8; 7: 32: 9; 7: 45: 6.

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Perhaps our poet does not think of cutting away the fifth head in connection with the lie uttered here. The other description of Brahma which has captivated the mind of the poet is his abode of the lotus. The flower is '*Pū*', (the flower), emphasising its beauty, appearance and colour. 'He is on it' — "*Pū micaiyāṉ*".[29] It is 'Malar' — 'the fully blossomed flower'; 'he is on it' — "*Malar micaiyāṉ*".[30] 'He rises up on the flower and resides there' — "*Ōṅki malar uṟaivāṉ*".[31] 'The fiower is not only full of fragrance but also wafts the sweet smell — it makes a gift of it' — "*Virai taru malar*".[32] What is this flower? 'It is the lotus and he is on it' — "*Tāmarayiṉ mēlāṉ*".[33] 'It is a very big flower — a throne of flower' "*Pūvēntiya pīṭattavaṉ*".[34] 'It is a flower of purity and he appears glorious and resplendent, the prince of the pure flower' — "*Tū malar-t tōṉṟal*".[35] 'He is red in colour' — '*Ceyyāṉ*'.[36]

VIII

The poet enjoys the colour contrast — the red colour of Brahma and the blue or black colour of Viṣṇu, whom he describes in the same verse as "*Kariya niṟattāṉ*."[37] He calls Viṣṇu in another place as "*Kariya māl*".[38] He enamoured of this beautifully black one or the good black one — "*Nalla kariyavaṉ*".[39] The colour of the eye of the '*Kapyāsam Puṇḍarīkam*' fame. Ārūrar speaks of him as one with eyes like the beautiful red powder specially prepared by women "*Cinturak kaṇṇaṉ*".[40] The term, the poet is more often using is '*Māl*'[41] — the wonderful, the big, the black, the magician, etc. It is used often in referring to this story with '*Ayaṉ*' except in 7: 20: 9. The poet speaks of him as '*Neṭu māl*'[42] — the

29. 7: 44: 8.
30. 7: 13: 10.
31. 7: 18: 8.
32. 7: 69: 11.
33. 7: 33: 9.
34. 7: 82: 8.
35. 7: 87: 7.
36. 7: 23: 9.
37. 7: 23: 9.
38. 7: 8: 8.
39. 7: 22: 8.
40. 7: 18: 9.
41. 7: 6: 9; 7: 16: 8; 7: 20: 9: 56: 6: 7: 68: 1; 7: 97; 1.
42. 7: 24: 9; 7: 63: 7.

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Lord who grew so tall as to reach the heavens for measuring out the universe by three steps. This is again emphasised by the term '*Neṭiyōn*'[43] reminding us of the *Pnrāṇa's* superlative description of Viṣṇu.[44] 'He is the *Māl* of the flood', the *mahāghōra ekārṇava* of the *Purāṇa*, "*Veḷḷattu mālavaṉ*".[45] The conch is also mentioned. His symbol is *Cakra* — '*Āḻiyaṉ*',[46] in this connection, he connects all the greatness of Viṣṇu — '*Umparāṉ*', '*Ūḻiyāṉ*', '*Āḻiyāṉ*'. But after the *Gīta* and the *Mahābhārata*, his conch has become more dear to his devotees. Is not *Āṇṭāḷ* addressing her love-sick hymn of *Kāruppūram nāṟumō*' to this very conch? He holds the conch in his hand — "*Caṅkēṉtu kaiyāṉ*".[47] There is the *Anantaśayana* form of Viṣṇu, another sign of his greatness. The poet refers to this along with Brahma's greatness. Brahma is residing on the big flower; Viṣṇu on the couch of the serpent with its big or open mouth — "*Pēḻ vāy araviṉ aṇaiyāṉum periya malar mēl uraivāṉum*".[48] The suggestive force of these lines refuses any translation. All this glorification is only to show that *Śiva* is beyond this beyond — "*Neṭiya mālukkum neṭiyar*".[49] Has not Brahma been described for a similar purpose, the Lord of *Vēdas* and the creator of aeons?

IX

The poet is referring to the *līlās* of Viṣṇu, which have become popular before his age. The orthodox will see no anachronism here, for, according to them these feats occur in every aeon — in the aeon, say, previous to the springing up of the pillar of fire. The grammarians may explain that these are to be taken as mere proper names denoting Viṣṇu without connoting any of their meaning. From a historical point of view, these terms only show the great popularity of these stories. It is significant that these relate to the playful activities of *Kaṇṇaṉ* or Kṛṣṇa.

Viṣṇu is the great god of protection. His protection is patent when the world is manifest during all its evolutionary stages.

43. 7: 32: 9.
44. *Muir*, Vol. IV, p. 386
45. 7: 40: 6.
46. 7: 18: 8.
47. 7: 30: 9.
48. 7: 52: 8.
49. 7: 33: 8.

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When there comes the destruction, Viṣṇu swallows it all, to keep it safe within himself He spits it out, as it were, at the time of creation. Indeed he is verily the great enchanter and magician—'*Māyaṉ*'.[50] This will suggest he is performing all the three activities of creation, protection and destruction. But his is a dependent activity, a *Kārya*' according to *Lākulīśa*, the ultimate basis and foundation of all these, being Śiva, as is shown by this very story. '*Maṇṇiṉai uṇṭumiḻnta māyaṉ*''[51] sings the poet. There is a pun on the word '*Maṇ*'; it means not only the world but also the earth or mud. It is a freak of some children to eat mud. Kṛṣṇa had this freak and when his mother made him open his mouth, the seven worlds were seen. Thus the line does not only refer to Viṣṇu in general but also to *Kṛṣṇa Avatāra* in particular.

In Kṛṣṇa's childhood, the demons lay in ambush assuming various forms to take Kṛṣṇa unawares and to make an end of him. Two demons stood in the form of two '*marutu*' trees to crush him in between them when he would pass for grazing the kine. Kṛṣṇa, in a playful way tore away the plants as a child would a bush, and passed in between them — "*Marutu kīṟi ūṭu pōṉa māl*".[52] Another demon '*Kēśi*' came in the form of a horse and Kṛṣṇa tore away its mouth—"*Mā vāyp piḷantāṉ*,"[53] "*Turaṅkam vāypiḷantāṉ*"[54] Kamsa, the uncle and sworn enemy of Kṛṣṇa, had a powerful elephant of the forest and Kṛṣṇa — as the deceitful child — tore away playfully its tusk —"*Kāṉa āṉaiyiṉ kompiṉaī-p piḷanta kaḷḷa-p piḷḷai.*"[55]

The seven demons came in the form of bulls when it was declared by the father of the shepherd princess *Nappiṉṉai*, that she would be given in marriage to anyone controlling these proud bulls. Kṛṣṇa, as a humble shepherd jumped into the arena and controlled the seven bulls all at the same time. Kṛṣṇa's shoulders are the beloved of *Piṉṉai*, the princess — "*Piṉṉai nampum puyattāṉ.*"[56]

50. 7: 85: 9.
51. 7: 83: 9.
52. 7: 7: 10.
53. 7. 13: 10
54. 7: 87: 7.
55. 7: 57: 8.
56. 7: 63: 7.

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X

In the presence of these two gods rose the pillar of fire. The poet in one hymn makes Viṣṇu and Brahma search in all the three fires of the world, i.e. the Sun, the Moon or the Lightning and the Fire : "*Cuṭar mūṉrilum oṉri-t turuvi*"[57] perhaps because it encompassed the whole universe. In the *Vēdas*, Viṣṇu is said to have taken three steps. Possibly our poet is suggesting that this *Vēdic* feat was done in this search for the Lord by both Brahma and Viṣṇu having in mind the comment of *Śākapūṇi*. Here is the comment of Durgachary as quoted in the Nirukta of Yaska, wherein appears the comment of *Śakapūṇi*. "Viṣṇu is the Sun; How so? Because the hymn says 'in three places he planted his step, i.e.. plants his step, makes a planting with his steps. Where then is this done? On the earth, in the firmament and in the sky' according to *Śākapūṇi*. Becoming terrestrial fire he strides over, abides in wherever this is on earth; in the shape of lightning in the firmament and in the form of the Sun in the sky. As it is said, "They made him to become threefold."[58]

In one hymn the poet exclaims, "He rose high; he rose high'— "*Nīṇṭavaṉ; nīṇṭavaṉ*"[59] beyond the search of Brahma and Viṣṇu', "*Nāruṇaṉ Nāṉmukhaṉ nēṭavē*". 'He stretched Himself up as a magic, as the huge fire whose nature was impossible to be discovered' — "*Kāṇpariya māl eriyāy nimirntōṉ.*"[60] He is taller than the tall Viṣṇu' — "*Neṭiya mālukku neṭiyar.*"[61] The poet addresses the Lord "Those who have seen you could not realise your truth; you grew up as a fire' — "*Nummai-k kaṇṭārkkum kāṇparitāyk kaṉalāki nimirntīr*".[62] 'He is the principle of the principles that stood there as a fire' — "*Taḻalāy niṉṟa tattuvaṉ.*"[63] The poet is moved by this wonder of these very gods always with Him failing to see Him in His true colours — "*Iruvartām uḻaiyā niṉṟavar uḷka uyav vāṉa-t tuyarvāṉ*"[64] — His form rises into the high heavens so that the Two always by His side may pause and consider'. He

57. 7: 67: 4.
58. *Muir*, Vol. IV. p 65.
59. 7: 45: 6.
60. 7: 16: 8
61. 7: 33: 8.
62. 7: 46: 5.
63. 7: 52: 8.
64. 7: 86: 9.

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expresses this idea again and again: "There is the Lord of the Heaven, who could not be realised even by that Divine child of the deceit' — "*Kaḷḷap piḷḷaikkum kāṇparitāya Vāṉanāṭaṉ.*"[65] 'If we had known He is the person who is one with Brahma and Viṣṇu and who, all alone away from them, stretches into the unknown heights, we would not have come to serve Him' — "*Uṭaṉāy-t taṉiyē antaram celvatu aṟintōmēl nām ivarkku āṭpaṭōme.*"[66] 'Even by the masters of the *Vēdas*, He cannot be described, He that is unknown to Viṣṇu and Brahma, He is a great illumination, — "*Aṟiyā-c curutīyārkkum coḷḷavoṇṇā-c cōti.*"[67] He is the illumination impossible to be grasped by intellect' — "*Aṟitaṟku ariya cōtiyaṉ.*"[68] What can be more wonderful than this magic of sudden apperance and uprising of this flame of fire beyond the reach of all? The poet asks, 'Why do you so roam about showing the magic from unapproachable even unto Brahma and Viṣṇu?" — "*Naṇukā vaṇṇam aṉalum āya vēṭam kāṭṭi-t tirivatu eṉṉē.*"[69] This according to the poet occurred in the primeval forest — "*Nāṭum kāṭṭil.*"[70] Or, this may simply mean, 'When they searched'.

XI

'Viṣṇu and Brahma were frightened, thus stretched He, my Lord, the Father', — "*Ayaṉōṭu Mālum, veruviṭo nīṇṭa emmāṉ,*"[71] They proceeded to find out. The poet uses the roots, '*Tēṭu*', '*Ṉāṭu*', '*Ṉēṭu*', and '*Turuvu*'. '*Tēṭu*' implies a physical search; '*Ṉāṭu*' implies a purpose, a mental longing; '*nēṭu*' perhaps connected with '*nāṭu*', implies the length of attempt; '*turuvu*' implies searching through and through — '*Ṉātum kaṭṭil*';[72] '*Ṉāṭi*';[73] '*Tēṭi*';[74] '*Ṉēṭa*';[75] '*Turuvi*'.[76] The fire Pillar was a physical presence, but it came as a magic; they did not understand. The poet speaks of their seeing Him and yet not seeing Him. The first seeing is the sight of the physical presence. What is not seen

65. 7: 57: 8.
66. 7: 18: 9.
67. 7: 7: 10.
68. 7: 97: 1,
69. 7: 6: 9.
70. 7: 6: 9.
71. 7: 69: 11.
72. 7: 6: 9.
73. 7: 63: 7; 7: 68: 5,
74. 7: 8: 8; 7. 13: 10; 7: 56: 6.
75. 7: 45: 6.
76. 7: 67: 4.

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is two fold; non-perception and non-realization. Even as a physical presence, it is never seen as a whole; they see but its parts; it is inflnite. Man does not perceive anything unless he can put it under its genus and species as known previously by him. Unless it is related to his knowledge so as to become meaningful, what he sees is a mere sensation. There are various stages of this perception according to the knowledge of the seer. He refers to the physical presence as well — "*Naṇṇariya Āti*"[77] — 'The beginning of all, who could not be approached'. The poet refers to all the stages, perception and realization. God is not an object to be seen in the physical sense. He is one to be experienced and realized. "*Kaḻalaṭi Kāṇa māṭṭā ariyaṉāy nīṉra*"[78] — 'He who stood as one whose feet adorned with the heroic anklets were impossible for the visual powers of the two (Brahma and Viṣṇu) to grasp'. "*Kaṇṭilarā yavarkaḷ kaḻal kāṇparitāya pirāṉ*"[79] — 'He is the Lord whom they did not look in; *kaḻal*' or foot became difficult or impossible to be seen'. "*Aṭiyum muṭiyum kāṇpariya pariyavaṉ*"[80] — He is the huge one — the all pervasive — whose crown or foot could not be seen'. "*Kāṇpariya*",[81] "*Kāṇavaritāya*",[82] or "*Kāṇā*".[83] is very often used, What they could not see is also explained, thereby enriching this conception of looking. 'He is light of lights — the supreme light' — "*Param cuṭar*'.,[84] — 'the goal of our efforts — the ultimate value' — "*payaṉ*" — 'the final experience or bliss, this they could' — "*Kāṇpariya payaṉē.*"[85] He could not be seen by them as that great principle conferring bliss — "*Kāṇa aritāya Caṅkaraṉ*",[86] 'they have not known Him as conferring Happiness'. "*Kāṇā-c campu*"[87] — 'They have seen the thing in itself' — "*Kāṇa aritāya ..... tattuvaṉ*",[88] they have not seen his characteristic fcature — "*Tāṉmaikāṇā.*"[89]

77. 7: 83: 9.
78. 7: 8: 8.
79. 7: 20: 9.
80. 7: 22: 8.
81. 7: 28: 9; 7: 57: 8; 7: 68: 5.
82. 7: 40: 6.
83. 7: 30: 9; 7: 63: 7; 68: 1.
84. 7: 24: 5.
85. 7: 28: 9.
86. 7: 40: 6.
87. 7: 68: 7.
88. 7: 40: 6; 7. 52: 8.
89. 7: 30: 9.

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The poet also uses the word "*Aṟivoṇṇā*" and other connected terms denoting intellectual knowledge — "*Aṟivoṇṇāppaṭiyāṉ*"[90] — 'He is the form of nature which cannot be known'. 'They do not know His beginning' — "*Aṭiyum aṟikalār*"[91] "*Aṟiyoṇṇā irāivaṉ*"[92] 'He is the all pervasive Lord and Sovereign who could not be known.' "*Turuvi.....aṟiyāta māttāṉ*"[93] 'He is the Mahat, the great all pervasive matrix, for, the Universe is His form perhaps because He is all pervasive'. 'Or, He is the Lord of the Mahat which could not be known even by any thorough search'. The idea of clarification also comes. 'He is difficult of clear understanding'. — "*Terivariyāṉ.*"[94] He is an illumination impossible to be known by intellectual cogitation — "*Aṟitaṟkariya cōtiyaṉ.*"[95] The poet also refers to the conception of realization and experience by using the suggestive word, '*uṇar*' connected with '*uṇ*' (to eat) and therefore to experience. 'He is the Lord of the Universe beyond the experience or realization of the Two' — "*Uṇarā Aṇṭaṉ.*"[96] The poet perhaps refers to all the human faculties when he says, 'the Lord was not within their power — within their reach' — "*Tam param allavar.*"[97]

XII

The efforts of these two in their search is described by the poet. "They searched everywhere' — "*Eṅkum nāṭiyum.*"[98] Viṣṇu went as the boar and Brahma as the swan.[99] This does not attract the attention of the poet very much; for it is only once that he refers to this metamorphosis and even there he does not minimise the greatness of these gods by mentioning these forms as theirs. He simply states that the swan and the boar could not see Him though they searched everywhere — "*Ēṉamōṭu aṉṉam eṅkum nāṭiyum kāṇpaṟiyāṉ.*"[100] 'Brahma went in search of His crown; Viṣṇu in

90. 7: 32; 9.
91. 7: 44: 8.
92. 7: 76: 7.
93. 7: 67: 4.
94. 7: 23: 9.
95. 7: 97: 1.
96. 7: 84: 8.
97. 7: 18: 8.
98. 7: 68: 5.
99. 7: 68: 5.
100. 7: 68: 5.

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quest of His foot' — *Aṭiyum muṭiyum.*"[101] "*Aṭi iṇaiyum tiru muṭiyum.*"[102] 'The one flew up and the other went burrowing down' — "*Parantum iṭantum.*"[103]

At every step the poet emphasises their defeat. He pathetically exclaims, 'Alas!, they searched everywhere; they wandered far and wide; they were perplexed and confused' — "*Āvā avar tēṭit tirintu alamantār.*"[104] In the first stage it is their egotism that predominates. Tirunāvukkaracar in his, '*Iliṅka purāṇa-t tiru-k kuṟuntokai*' emphasises this fact of their non-submission and their non-worship. Ārūrar walks but in His illustrious foot-steps and therefore he speaks of their not coming near Him and taking refuge in Him with humility, inspite of their overpowering sovereignty — "*Ko ēntiya viṇayattōṭu kuruka-p pukal aṟiyār.*"[105] They had not worshipped at His feet praising Him with the eight flowers— "*Aṭṭa puṭpam avai koṇṭaṭi pōṟṟi.....kāṇpariya periyavaṉ.*"[106] The worship may be physical or mental. If it is physical, the eight flowers are *puṉṉai*, the white *erukku*, *ceṇpakam*, *nantiyāvaṭṭam*, *nīlam*, *pātiri*, *alari* and the red lotus. If it is mental, the flowers are human excellences — ahiṁsa, control of the sense organs, forbearance, grace or universal love, true knowledge, truth, tapas and kindness. They did not see God because they were devoid of these.

XIII

In the end they were tired — "*ayarntum*".[107] confused — "*alamantār.*"[108] The truth at last dawned on them. They wasted no further time. Without any further delay they fell at His feet, the refuge of all — "*Tāḻātu uṟṟaṉ caraṇ paṇiya.*"[109] 'They concentrated on Him; praised Him sincerely; that was how what was not known and non-existent to them became known all-existent; this is the greatness of the Lord' — "*Niṉaintu iṉitu ētta-p peṟṟulaṉām perumaiyaṉ.*"[110] They worshipped Him; in that fire-pillar as the

101 7: 22: 8.
102. 7: 40: 6.
103. 7: 20: 9.
104. 7: 13: 10.
105. 7: 82: 8.
106. 7: 22: 8.
107. 7: 20: 9.
108. 7: 13: 10.
109. 7: 52: 8.
110. 7: 51: 9.

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great Liṅga or symbol of the great *Liṅgam* — the Great unknowable symbolized (as Brahma states in the very beginning of the *Liṅga Purāṇa* story, — "*Nēṭumālayaṉ pōṟṟi ceyyum kuṟiyē*"[111] — 'The great symbol worshipped by the Great *Māl* and the Unborn'. In passing, it is clear that the poet interprets the Liṅga as a sign and a symbol — one way of translating that Sanskrit word.

It has already been pointed out that every one of the feats of Śiva ends in a dance. Our poet therefore sings of the Lord dancing in that Hall of dance when He thus was unknowable to the conqueror of the horse and the prince of the flower of purity — "*Turaṅkaṉ vāy piḷantāṉum tū malar-t tōṉṟalum aṟiyāmal tōṉṟi niṉṟu araṅkil āṭavallār.*"[112] Is not this beautiful phrase, "*Āṭavallāṉ*" that has captured the imagination of Rāja Rāja, the Great, who endearingly calls his *Naṭarāja* of this Great temple "*Āṭavallāṉ*" and christens the measures after this beautiful phrase? This makes very clear the influence of Ārūrar.

Thus may be summarised the spiritual pilgrim's progress of the Two as suggested by our poet.

111. 7: 24: 9.
112. 7: 87: 7.

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CHAPTER III

UMĀBHĀGA MŪRTI

I

The Mother Goddess is mentioned 133 times by Ārūrar in his hymns. The descriptions, given here and there, may be pieced together to form a beautiful conception of the divine Mother of beauty. In the traditional way, we may start from the feet, the refuge of the worshippers, and proceed to her crown. 'Her feet are soft and tender like the tender shoots of leaves' — "*Taḷir pōl mellaṭi.*"[1] 'They are beautiful like the soft cotton' — "*Pañcēr mellaṭi.*"[2] Her soft feet are coloured red with the dyed cotton' — "*Pañcērum mellaṭi.*"[3]

II

The garment of cotton in which minute threads enter to form beautiful patterns flow from her waist. '*Alkul*' is the word used. In later times, it is used in the sense of '*bhaga*' or the *pudendum muliebre*; but in more ancient times, it was used in the sense of the part of the larger curve below the waist as looked at from behind — the posterior of a woman. The reference to the garments by Ārūrar makes it clear that he is using the word in the older sense. The cobra's hood, the convex side of its curve with its dint in the middle, probably suggests the form of the convex curve of the flesh padded on the pelvis on the back to form the posterior. Ārūrar seems to have been very much impressed with this characteristic shape; for he mentions the simile at least four times. 'She of the beautiful posterior, like the form of the serpent (its hood) — "*Aravēr alkulāḷ.*"[4] That is, the hood that is referred to, is made clear by another statement, 'that lady of the posterior like the young serpent with its hood' — "*Pai iḷa aravalkul pāvai.*"[5] In the other descriptions, the same simile is repeated, but out of the love of the beautiful shape of the serpent, the serpent is also

1. 7: 26: 9.
2. 7: 15: 3.
3. 7: 96: 5.
4. 7: 32: 6.
5. 7: 85: 2.

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described — as inseparable from its hole of a residence — "*Aḷaippiriyā aravu*"[6] and as creeping on the ground — "*Pārūrum*".[7]

If the cobra hangs down with its hood expanded, the hood will be the posterior of the woman and the neck above, her waist. In this sense, the waist also represented as the hood of the cobra — "*Paṭa aravu nuṇ ēr iṭar*".[8]

It is the usual conceit of the poets of India to speak of woman's waist as invisible, *sūkṣma*, subtle and the *Caṅkam* poets speak of the portion above the waist and the portion below the waist as being broad along with the bosom whilst the waist is small.[9] This is very well brought out by the comparison with "*Tuṭi* — the drum of the shape of the hour glass — *Tuṭi iṭai naṉ maṭavāḷ*".[10] Our poet speaks also of the subtle, but beautiful form of the waist of the Mother — "*Nuṇ iṭai*" and "*Nuṇ ēr iṭai*" and in not less than three places,[11] It is lovely like a creeper; this simile expresses the beautiful twist of the tender waist. She is the lady of the creeper waist — "*koṭi iṭaiyavaḷ*".[12] The poet improves the beauty by hinting at the creeper in full bloom — "*Koṭi koḷ pūnuṇ iṭai*",[13] probably suggesting the girdles and other jewels adorning the waist. Just like the creeper, any twig may be tender; the waist, which is in Tamil called the middle of the body (*iṭai*) is compared to the twig by our poet also — "*Kompaṉa nuṇ iṭaiyāḷ*".[14] The sudden beautiful and artistic bend of the waist reminds us of the lightning flash with its creeper or twig-like formation and our poet calls the waist of the Mother, the waist flashing like a lightning — "*Miṉ tayaṅkiya iṭai*"[15] and "*Miṉ ilaṅku nuṇ iṭai*".[16]

III

The swell of the bosom — the bosom of the Mother — the Mother of the divine child, is also described. It is like a bud in shape — "*Mukiḻ*".[17] It is in shape like the conic piece with a bell

6. 7: 43: 4.
7. 7: 90: 10.
8. 7: 49: 8.
9. *Kali.*, 180: 2-3.
10. 7: 11: 5.
11. 7: 30: 7; 7: 49: 8; 7: 89: 5.
12. 7: 85: 10.
13. 7: 30: 7.
14. 7: 83: 7.
15. 7: 62: 7.
16. 7: 89: 5.

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like crown used in the game of '*cokkaṭṭāṉ*' (dice), but soft and tender therewithal — "*Cūtaṉa meṉ mulaiyāḷ*".[18] But, after all, it is small; the immature cocoanut is therefore suggested by the poet as a better comparison for the true proportions — "*Kurumpai mulai*".[19] Another ideal that the glands should be so juxtaposed in their swell that there is no intermediate space. Māṇikka Vācakar speaks of "*Īrkkiṭai pōkā iḷa mulai*" and "*koḷḷēr piḷavakaḷā-t taṭaṅkoṅkai*".[20] Our poet speaks of them as being in close touch as it were in embrace — "*Puṇar mulai*".[21] Why go on describing? They are unique for which there is no comparsion — "*Oppilā mulai*",[22] A shining breast-band of ribbon (*vār*) as seen in fig. 128 and fig. 133 of Gods and Goddesses of South India, tightens them like a bodice — '*Vārār koṅkai*",[23] "*Vār koṇṭa vaṉa mulai*";[24] "*Vār ārum mulai*",[25] "*Vārt tayaṅkiya mulai*"[26] and "*Vāriṭaṅ koḷ vaṉa mulai*"[27] A necklace heaves up on the bosom — "*Vaṭam eṭutta koṅkai*".[28]

The shoulders attract our attention. They are always compared with a bamboo. The comparison is more appropriate to the Mother since her shoulders are not only well shaped and rounded like the bamboo with joints, but are also green like the the bamboo. Ārūrar speaks, therefore, only of "*Vēy*" or 'bamboo' as a comparison.[29] The word '*Paṇai*' is also used; it means the well grown and well rounded bamboo — "*Paṇai tōḷ*".[30] This word itself suggests a contrast with the subtle waist — "*Nuṇṇēri-tai-p paṇai-t tōḷ*".[31]

Bangles are the insignia of married or marriageable beauty. On the death of the husband, the bangles are broken.

17. 7: 52: 1.
18. 7: 84: 1.
19. 7: 16: 1.
20. *Tiruvācakam* — IV, 34: VI, 2.
21. 7: 76: 1.
22. 7: 64: 3; 7; 70: 3.
23. 7: 25: 10.
24. 7: 39: 6.
25. 7: 28: 4.
26. 7: 62: 4.
27. 7: 89: 8.
28. 7: 6: 5.
29. 7: 2: 9; 7: 44: 5.
30. 7: 49: 8.
31. 7: 49: 8.

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Ārūrar speaks of the Mother inseparable from Śiva as "*Nirai vaḷai maṭantai*"[32]—'the young lady of a row of bangles'. The bangles are on the wrist of the fore-arm—"*Vaḷai-k kai muṉ kai*".[33]

As part of the organ, the bangles adorning is not mentioned elsewhere; the '*vaḷai*' in these places may be shoulderlets, armlets and wristlets. "The lady of the bangle" is almost her name as may be seen from its repetition.[34] Here the '*vaḷai*' is described as "*Kōl vaḷai*"; it may mean 'beautiful bangle or the rounded gold of bangle or bangle with lines of all patterns'. Her hands and the palms cannot be forgotten. Her soft fingers suggest the womanly game of ball. 'On her fingers fall the ball she plays'—"*Pantaṇa-vum virlalāḷ*";[35] this describes the dynamic part of the game. The poet also refers to 'the static part when the ball is within her fingers'—"*Pantārum viralāḷ*".[36]

IV

The mouth lights up the whole form. Is it not literally expressive? Mother's mouth with the lips, is soft, tender and ripe like the fruit; it is beautifully coloured like the red coral. The beauty of ripe softness and the ruddy hue are both found in one and the same place in the red fruit of the '*Coccinia indica*' (*Kovvai, Toṇṭai*). Mother's mouth and lips are this very fruit—"*Toṇṭai vāy.*"[37] This comparison becomes of royal and imperial importance if once we remember, that the Pallavas, the rulers of Ārūrar's age, had their association with the creeper of '*Toṇṭai*' as this poet himself refers to '*Toṇṭaimāṉ*'.[38]

It is the smile that gives the beauty of the curve and the light of joy to the lip and the mouth. The smile flashes forth—the teeth are revealed as a new creation—'the teeth of jasmine or mullai'—"*Mullai paṭaitta nakai*".[39] Again he refers to the "*Mullai muṟuval*"[40] or 'the smile of jasmine or jasmine of teeth'. There is the white radiation of the smile, 'the radiation of the white teeth

32. 7: 64: 1.
33. 7: 57: 5.
34. 7: 30: 2; 7: 30. 4; 7: 30: 7; 7: 96: 8.
35. 7: 85: 4.
36. 7: 27: 5.
37. 7: 20: 4.
38. 7: 69: 10.
39. 7: 84: 5.
40. 7: 20: 5.

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shining like the pearls—"*Muttaṉṉa veṇ muṟuval*".[41] The teeth are not only like jasmine and pearls but also like the tender white of the quill or springing point of the peacock's father—"*Kuruntāya muḷ eyiṟu*".[42]

Words come forth; they are indeed very expressive and sweet, as mother's tender and loving speeches. There is no harshness; it is all tender and soft—"*Meṉ moḻiyāḷ*".[42a] It is sweet like the very milk she nurses with—"*Pālaṉa*".[43] It flows like a tune or *rāga* or '*paṇ*'; it is full of music—"*Paṇ ār moḻi*";[44] its beauty or subtlety or straightforwardness of import is one better than the '*paṇ*' or music—"*Paṇṇiṉ ēr moḻi*" or "*Paṇṇiṉ nēr moḻi.*"[45] Therefore, her words have vanquished the sweet musical flow of the flute—"*Kuḻalai veṉṟa*".[46] Her sweet words, therefore, put the *yāḻ* to shame—"*Yāḻai-p paḻitaṉṉa moḻi*".[47]

V

The look is much more expressive. The length and width of the eye are often exaggerated to suggest this expressiveness, that length of love and width of feeling. The very end of the eye—a mere glance—speaks of the Mother's pity and grace. It may be the tail end of the eye but the red and blue lines of the eye—the veins and capillaries—by their sudden changes reveal the rushing of feelings of love towards us. The eye is said to reach the ear—a mark of beauty and of sympathy. This represents the long look or the length of the eye. The widened look with all the eyes fully open represents a complete comprehension—a widening of joy with no shrinking or distortion of anger or sorrow. There is the calm coolness of the loving eye and tender look of the Mother. Her grace comes as far we are concerned unexpected; the loving look comes like the flash of the sword, quivering with sympathy like the quick rolling fish.

Ārūrar speaks of all these expressions of the eye. He speaks of the 'long eye'—*Neṭuṅkaṇ*",[48] 'the very long eye'—"*Nīḻ*

41. 7: 85: 6.
42. 7: 30: 4.
42a. 7: 85: 9.
43. 7: 85: 9.
44. 7: 2: 6.
45. 7: 75: 6.
46. 7: 12: 5.
47. 7: 71: 1.
48. 7: 5: 6.

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neṭuṅkan"[49] 'the long eyes with the lines. — "*Vari neṭuṅkaṇ.*'[50] He refers to 'the cool eyes like the rains or clouds'— "*Maḻai-k kaṇ*",[51] the eyes which brighten up and flash forth like swords'— "*Vāḷ neṭuṅkaṇ*"[52] "*Vāḷār kaṇ*".[53] He describes 'the eyes of the motherly anxiety, swiftly moving like the fish' — "*Keṇṭaiyan taṭaṅkaṇ.*"[54] Ārūrar having in view this motherly anxiety calls Her, 'the very fawn' — "Māṉ.[55] He speaks of Her eye also as fawnlike.[56] He speaks of the "*Viśālākṣī*" — of the wide eyes — the *lady of* "*taṭaṅkaṇ.*"[57]

The poet speaks of "*Māḻai oṇ kaṇ.*"[58] '*Māḻai*' may mean 'youthful, beautiful or innocent'. The shining eyes of the ever young mother are youthful, beautiful and innocent, The Tamil Lexicon interprets this to mean 'a tender mango' or '*mā vaṭu*'. The tender mango when cut in twain suggests the form of the eye. The fish[59] (*keṇṭai*) also suggests the stream-lined-form with its tapering ends. The youth and freshness of beauty and colour suggest the '*kāvi*' flower — the red or blue water-lily, and our poet speaks of the Mother as '*Kāvīyaṅkaṇṇi*'[60] — the Lady of the lily eyes. In relation to wide eyes the practice of feeding the eyes with collyrium which darken the eyelids making them of wider darkness, intensifies the effect and makes the eyes appear much wider than they are. Ārūrar refers to this practice — *Mōiyār kaṇṇi*"[61] and he speaks of the collyrium especially in connection with "*Taṭaṅ kaṇ*"— "*Maiyār taṭaṅkaṇ*"[62]

The forehead really gives shape and form to the eyes as well. People read their characters from the forehead. 'Mother's forehead beams up with light' —"*Oṇ nutal.*"[63] 'It is like the crescent

49. 7: 36: 5.
50. 7: 49: 8.
51. 7: 9: 9.
52. 7: 5: 6.
53. 7: 24: 2
54. 7: 61: 4.
55. 7: 62: 4.
56. 7: 33: 4.
57. 7: 32: 5; 7: 41: 7; 7: 61: 4.
58. 7: 67: 3.
59. 7: 61: 4.
60. 7: 68: 3.
61. 7: 23: 9.
62. 7: 32: 5; 7: 41: 7.
63. 7: 89: 6.

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moon' — "*Piṟai nutal*"[64] ,the eighth day crescent as others explain it'.[65] The eyes, the mouth, the forehead form the beauty of the face. Ārūrar, as all other poets of India, is struck with the sweet and strinking resemblance of the blooming lotus with the beaming face blossoming into a smile — "*Paṅkaya mā mukattāḷ.*"

As a crown of it all, come the tresses of hair. According to the Tamil tradition, which Kambar has beautifully expressed in his immortal epic — the tresses of hair are a sign of chaste married life. It ought not to be touched except by the husband. Rāvaṇa in Kamparāmāyaṇam, therefore, does not carry Śītā by her tresses of hair as in Vālmīki. With the death of the husband the tresses of hair go.

The special word Ārūrar uses for the tresses of hair is '*Kuḻal*'. In all cases where the poet refers to the tresses, he uses this word nearly a dozen times.[67] It comes from root, meaning 'curling'. This round tube-like formation of the tresses is not clear. In the sculptures of the Pallava age — Lakṣmī and Durgā at Māmallapuram and at Kailasanātha temple[68] have their tresses dressed a peculiar way. Here, there is a top hat-like arrangement; the '*karaṇḍa makuṭa*' looks like a smooth wall of a hat; there is the fillet-like arrangement, in the form of a tube going round at the bottom of the '*makuṭa*', all round. It reminds us of the '*vāsika bandha*'. The tube-like bottom reminds the name '*kuḻal*'. 'Mother's tresses are long and dark' — "*Vār iruṅkuḻal.*"[69] The long tress is taken out as a strand or twist (*puri*), curled or wound spirally (*curi*) and fastened (*vari*) — "*Puri curi vari kuḻal*";[70] "*Puri kuḻal*";[71] "*Curi kuḻal.*"[72] The tresses are well adorned with flowers' — "*Pūṅkuḻal*";[73] "*Malar-k kuḻal.*"[74] He mentions '*Kuravam*', 'the bottle flower'— "*Kuravamarum kuḻal.*"[75] He speaks of the honey

64. 7: 85: 8.
65. Puram., 118.
66. 7: 97: 7.
67. 7: 5: 6; 7: 15: 5; 7: 16: 1; 7: 20:.6; 7: 20; 7; 7: 26: 1; 7: 28: 4; 7: 48: 8; 7: 52: 7; 7: 72: 7; 7: 85: 1; 7: 85: 5.
68. Rea, Plate XXIX, XXX, XLV, fig. 1, XV1. LXXIV, figs. 4 and 5.
69. 7: 5: 6.
70. 7: 72: 7.
71. 7: 85: 1.
72. 7: 85: 5.
73. 7: 15: 5.
74. 7: 16: 1.
75. 7: 20: 6.

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bubbling new flowers of '*koṉṟai*', but in the particular context, it may be applicable to Śiva.[76] 'The flowers are full of honey'—"*Maṭṭār pūṅkuḻal*"[77] and therefore, 'the bees hum there'—"*Vaṇṭārum kuḻal*".[78] '*Kuravam*' is said to blossom like a doll and therefore much liked by women. But more than the form, it is the fragrance of the flowers, for which they are preferred. 'The tresses themselves become full of the fresh fragrance'—"*Vampamarum kuḻal*",[79] 'wafted all round'—"*Vampulām.*"[80]

In one place, he gives the total effect of this dazzling beauty on his mental vision. The '*tribhaṅgā*' and the resplendent beauty come as it were in a flash of light and he calls the mother, 'One, who is like the lightning'—"*Miṉṉaṉaiyāḷ.*"[81]

VI

The words used by the poet for denoting the Mother as a woman are equally interesting. "*Peṇ*" in contrast with "*Āṇ*" is often used.[82] One who nurses and takes care of the husband and children is a '*Peṇ*' coming as it does from the root '*Pēṇ*'[83]—'to rear with love'. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has described the high water-mark of this conception "*Taṟkāttu-t taṟkoṇṭār pēṇi-t takai cāṉṟa coṟkāttu-c cōrvilāḷ peṉ*"[84]—'*Peṇ* is one who protects herself, takes loving care of her husband, preserves the excellent reputation without any negligenee or fatigue'.

Another ordinary word is '*Makaḷ*'.[85] It comes from the root '*Maka*' signifying childhood—a tender youth—from which it has assumed the significance of a daughter though the meaning of a wife also is found in '*Maṇimēkalai*'.[86]

In this significance of a daughter, the word '*Makaḷ*' is often used by Ārūrar in combination with '*Malai*' the mountain of

76. 7: 41: 1.
77. 7: 15: 5.
78. 7: 26: 1.
79. 7: 20: 7.
80. 7: 48: 8.
81. 7: 11: 6.
82. 7: 20: 3; 7: 31: 2; 7: 38: 7; 7: 86: 3.
83. *Tol., col.*, 338.
84. *Kuṟaḷ*, 56.
85. 7: 73: 1; 7: 76: 5; 7: 82: 4.
86. XXI: 30.

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Himavān or the Himalayas as "*Malai makaḷ*"[87] "*Malaiyāṉ makaḷ*",[88] "*Imavāṉ makaḷ*"[89] and "*Varaiyāṉ maṭamakaḷ.*"[90]

'*Maṭam*' also means the conservatism, credulity and the firm hold of the feelings of women. '*Maṭavaral*' and '*Maṭavāḷ*' come from this root '*Maṭam*'; they are also used by our poet.[91] This root '*Maṭam*' is often compounded with '*Makaḷ*' as '*Maṭamakaḷ*'[92] and also with '*Māṭu*' as '*Maṭa māṭu*'.[96]

'*Maṭantai*' is a connected word.[94] This forms another group with words like '*Arivai*'[95] and '*Mańkai*'.[96] Ārūrar is a contemporary of Cēramāṉ perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, the author of the First *Ulā*, which describes the members of the fair sex of various age following in love with the Lord, a beautiful expression of the truth of the souls of various stages of development thirsting for God. Members of the fair sex from age 5 to 40 are divided into seven groups according to their age. According to this convention which has taken a very deep root in later day Tamil literature, the words mentioned above have a definite meaning. '*Mańkai*' is one between twelve and thirteen years of age—the age of marriage of those times. "*Maṭantai*" belongs to the next group between the ages of fourteen and nineteen. '*Arivai*' follows as being between twenty and twenty-five years. '*Pētai*' and '*petumpai*' are less than 12; '*Terivai*' and *Pēriḷampeṇ*' are above twenty-five and these words are not mentioned by Ārūrar probably because of their assuming such a restricted significance in his age as to suggest the usage in '*Ulā*' of Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ. But, since the Mother is ever said to be eternally young—never going beyond the age of marriage, the distinction made amidst the words '*arivai*', '*maṭantai*' and '*mańkai*' though growing to prominence as is evidenced by the *Āti Ulā*, could not have become crystallized. In this nebulous state of their usage, the poet must have thought, there is nothing im-

87. 7: 5: 6.
88. 7: 41: 1.
89. 7: 44: 2.
90. 7: 73: 1.
91. 7: 9: 9; 7: 12: 5; 7: 49: 8.
92. 7: 73: 1.
93. 7: 82: 4.
94. 7: 41: 7; 7: 57: 4; 7: 64: 1.
95. 7: 72: 7.
96. 7: 1: 9; 7: 6: 8; 7: 15: 3; 7: 19: 3; 7: 22: 5; 7: 33: 4; 7: 62: 7; 7: 74: 10; 7: 75: 6; 7: 84: 4; 7: 85: 3; 7: 88: 3.

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proper in using these words, even if there is the shadow of the new usage overhanging them, since they all refer to a young woman in the prime of her youth. This way we get an unexpected confirmation of the tradition of the contemporaneity of Cēramāṉ and Ārūrar. It must also be mentioned that Ārūrar's poems were composed long before the *Ulā*.

'*Maṇkaai*' has a family likeness to '*Eṅkai*', '*Taṅkai*', '*Naṅkai*' and '*Nuṅkai*' but the original meaning cannot be definitely traced. '*Maṅkai*' is used with '*naṅkai*' as "*Maṅkai naṅkai.*"[97]

'*Naṅkai*' means 'our sister', but the old prefix '*Na*' found in old terms like '*Nakkīrar*' has become '*Nam*', signifying as of old 'great as may be seen from such terms, '*Nampi*', '*Nammālvār*'. '*Naṅkai*' is then the woman, the great heroine, the princess here the Greatest of women, the divine Mother of all.[98] This is used not only with the '*maṅkai*', as already shown, but also with '*Umai* a usage which is very common in Ārūrar making it clear who the '*Naṅkai*' is. The phrase "*Umai naṅkai*" is of frequent use.[99] In the hymn[100] of Ēkāmparar of Conjīvaram, famous for the Mother's charity and domestic life, the word '*Naṅkai*' is significantly used. '*Kāmakkōṭṭam*' is the temple of the Mother. For the First time, a separate shrine was built in Conjīvaram, so much so, though *Kāmakkōṭṭam* is a common name of a shrine of *Dēvī*, Conjīvaram alone comes to the minds of Śaivities. It is because of this importance that *Dēvī* is described as *Naṅkai*.

'*Maṭantai*' is related to '*Maṭam*'.

'*Arivai*' connected with the root '*Ari*' meaning soft or tender, brings out the meaning of '*Melliyalāḷ*'', 'She of the softer or tender nature', of the weaker sex — a phrase also used by Ārūrar.[101]

VII

'*Ēḻai*' is another word used by Ārūrar.[102] It means 'the poor'. There is no question of poverty as far as the Mother is concerned,

97. 7: 10: 4; 7: 33: 4.
98. 7: 2: 9; 7: 10: 4; 7: 20: 2; 7: 20: 4.
99. 7: 2: 9; 7: 20: 2; 7: 20: 4; 7: 20: 6; 7: 49: 8; 7, 52: 7; 7: 67; 2; 7: 61: 4; 7: 61: 7; 7: 90: 10.
100. 7: 61.
101. 7: 84: 5; 7: 17: 3.
102. 7: 76: 9.

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either intellectual or material. Poor man is a helpless man and it is this secondary sense of innate helplessness that is suggested by women, always demanding or relying on some support. Ārūrar uses this term in the phrase "*Ēḻai pākaṉ*",[103] a phrase suggesting his being her prop of her side.

'*Mātu*'[104] and '*Mātar*'[105] are connected. The words ending in short '*U*'[106] at one stage of the development, had '*ar*' added; '*Paṇṭu*' becoming '*Paṇṭar*'; '*Curumpu*' becoming '*Curumpar*'. '*Mātu*-also accordingly becomes '*Mātar*'. An explanation may be offered. The pronunciation of the short '*u*' is difficult to be understood by foreigners and some pronouncing it more lifie a neutral '*a*' must have been responsible for these kinds of forms. Tolkāppiyar, however, speaks of '*Mātar*' as the basic form in his '*Uri iyal*'[107] and gives the meaning of love or '*Kātal*'. To trace '*Mātar*' to '*Mātru*' or to explain the '*ar*' as the epicene plural suffix used honorifically is not therefore necessary. '*Mātu*[3] means beauty and love, very well suited to describe the loving mother of all beauty. This word means also a daughter and as such it is used with '*malai*' as "*Malaiyiṉ mātu*",[108] 'the daughter of the mountain'.

The idea of beauty is suggested by the word '*Kārikai*', a sanskrit word used by Ārūrar,[109] but as old as *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in Tamil.[110] A variety of female angels are said to inflict human beings by their very beauty — '*Tākkaṇaṇku*'; the root '*aṇaṅku*' means to suffer. The bewitching beauty, with its shining effect, is expressed by this word '*Aṇaṅku*' used by Ārūrar.[111] In addition to this natural beauty, there is the grandeur of decoration of jewels and flowers and garments. This is referred to by the word '*Taiyal*'[112] and the connected form '*Taiyalāḷ*' with the feminine suffix[113] coming from root '*Tai*' 'to make up'. Jewels are re-

103. 7: 76: 9.
104. 7: 6: 5; 7: 58: 1; 7: 68: 8; 7: 70: 8.
105. 7: 69: 3.
106. *Kuṟṟiyal ukaram.*
107. *Cuttiram*, 810.
108. 7: 58: 1.
109. 7: 45: 1.
110. *Kuṟaḷ*, 571.
111. 7: 63: 8.
112. 7: 12: 9.
113. 7: 5: 6.

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ferred to in three compounds: '*Cēyiḻai*',[144] '*Āyiḻai*'[115] and '*Ēntiḻai*'.[116] '*Iḻai*' is jewel. '*Cēyiḻai*' are red jewels or jewels of excellent art. '*Āyiḻai*' are either the beautiful jewels or the chosen jewels. '*Ēntiḻai*' are the jewels which she bears or which are prominent.

The purpose of art is to represent the ideal. To Plato, Nature is but a rough copy of the ideal; the Tamilians believed in this doctrine.. '*Pāvai*' is a doll of perfect art and as such a young woman is spoken of as a doll. The Goddess of beauty, *Lakṣmī*, is '*Pāvai*' par excellence—See "*Pāvai āṭal.*"[117] Ārūrar also describes the Mother as '*Pāvai*".[118] The word as having significance of a child is used with '*Malai*' or '*Varai*'—the mountain—the father of *Dēvi*, "*Malaippāvai*,"[119] "*Varaiyiṉ pāvai.*"[120]

VIII

The two great names of the Mother as old as the *Vēdic* literature are '*Umā*' and '*Haimavatī*'. '*Umā*' means according to *Tāranātha Vācaspatīyam, the Lakṣmī* of Śiva. Kāḷidāsa states that the Mother got this name when she was entreated not to perform tapas. '*U*' '*Mā*—'You do not', i.e., 'Do not practise penance'. Ārūrar, true to this tradition as already mentioned, uses the term "*Umai naṅkai*" with reference to the Mother's form in Conjīvaram, where she is said to have performed tapas.

'*Haimavatī*' means the lady of the Mountain Himalayas; the daughter of Himavān. Curiously enough, Ārūrar uses only these two ancient names and their synonyms along with the word *Dēvi* made sacred in the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas*. It means the Divinity in the female form; the crowned queen, a respectful title applied to a lady of first rank.[121]

The expression "*Umai naṅkai*" is also of frequent use.[122] We have already explained the importance of the phrase "*Umai*

114. 7: 89: 4.
115. 7: 9: 1.
116. 7: 85: 7.
117. *Cilap,*, VI, 61.
118. 7: 33: 1; 7: 40: 10; 7: 67: 9; 7: 85: 2; 7: 91: 3.
119. 7: 33: 1.
120. 7: 67: 9.
121. '*Umai*'—7: 10: 2; 7: 11: 1; 7: 20: 5; 7: 26: 1; 7: 26: 2; 7: 53: 2; 7: 55: 10; 7: 59: 9; 7: 85: 5; 7: 97: 4.
122. 7: 2: 9; 7: 20: 2; 7: 20: 4: 7: 20: 6; 7: 49: 8: 7: 52: 7; 7: 61: 2; 7: 61: 4; 7: 61: 7; 7: 90: 10.

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naṅkai." *Dēvi* also implies the same idea of the greatest Goddess, the Queen of the Universe, the wife of the Lord.[123]

'*Haimavatī*' is "*Himavān makaḷ*", the daughter of Himavān;[124] "*Poṉ malai-k kōmāṉtaṉ pāvai*"[125] the daughter of the gold mountain, Himavān. The idea of the daughter of the mountain without mention of that proper name Himavān is variously expressed as '*Malaimakaḷ*",[126] "*Malaitaru malai makal*"[127] "*Malaimaṅkai*",[128] "*Mā malai maṅkai*",[129] "*Malaiyān makaḷ*",[130] "*Varaiyiṉ maṭamakaḷ*",[131] "*Malaippāvai*",[132] "*Varaiyiṉ pāvāi*",[133] "*Mā malaiyāḷ*",[134] "*Malaiyiṉ mātu*"[135] and "*Malaiyuṭaiyāḷ*".[136]

Pārvatī as meaning the daughter of Parvata, the mountain, appears in the form of '*Pārppati*' in Ārūrar.[137] The replacement of '*v*' by a double '*pp*' after an '*r*' is a usage of the Pallava and the early Cōḷa age as may be seen in the use of '*Paruppatam*' and '*Parppatam*' in *Tēvāram* and of '*Caruppatōpattiram*' by Amitacākaraṉār of the 10th century. Here we see a difference; the ban on the use of an '*r*' after the short syllable vowel as '*ar*' '*ir*'[138] seems to have been effective in the early Cōḷa age, which, therefore, inserts one '*u*' after the '*r*' (*Carva—Caruppa*) but it does not seem to have been effective in the *Tēvāram* age as is proved by the words '*Uḻitarvar*' in Appar, '*Parappatam*' in Ārūrar.[139] Therefore, the form '*Pārppati*' is helpful in describing a particular development of the Tamil language in *Tēvāram* age.

123. 7: 40: 10.
124. 7: 44: 2.
125. 7: 40: 10.
126. 7: 5: 6; 7: 15: 5; 7: 44: 5; 7: 58: 8; 7: 76: 5.
127. 7: 58: 8.
128. 7: 4: 5; 7: 10: 4; 7: 15: 3; 7: 33: 4; 7: 38: 5; 7: 54: 8; 7: 98: 2.
129. 7: 84: 4.
130 7: 41: 1; 7: 82: 4.
131. 7: 73 : 1.
132. 7: 33: 1.
133. 7: 67: 9.
134. 7: 88: 1.
135. 7: 58: 1.
136. 7: 19: 7.
137. 7: 45: 2.
138. *Tol., Cuttirams*, 49 and 50.
139. 7: 79: 1-10.

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IX

In describing Śiva in relation to the Mother, Ārūrar speaks of him as the Lord — '*Talaivā*.'[140] This does not signify any lordship over her. It is a term known to *Tolkāppiyam* and *Caṅkam* literature emphasising the fact that in the theme of love, the hero and the heroine of equal greatness are the topmost man and woman, in all respects — the chiefs. It is in this sense this term '*Talaivā*' in relation to '*Talaivi*' is used. '*Kōṉ*' means a king, and this term also is used by Ārūrar.[141] In describing a king — here the king of all creation — the Tamil tradition from the Caṅkam age is to refer to him as 'the husband of the chaste wife'. The queen thus seems to play an important role. Therefore, Ārūrar also speaks of Śiva as the king of '*Umā*'. '*Perumāṉār*' from the root '*Per*' or '*Peru*' (great) means the great Lord and is used in the same significance in the term "*Oṉṉutali Perumāṉār.*"[142]

'*Kaṇavaṉ*' from '*kaṇ*' (eye) connoting the eye of the heroine is the ordinary term for a husband. Ārūrar speaks of the Lord as "*Malaimakaḷ kaṇavan.*"[143] There is another term for the husband '*Maṇāḷaṉ*[144] from '*maṇam*' (marriage) connoting the bridegroom. The original meaning of '*maṇam*' is fragrance; and marriage seems to make the flower of the bride and bridegroom bloom into fragrance — they come from the time of their union to shed their light on the surrounding world.

Ārūrar's description of the Lord as 'the bridegroom of the doll of the mountain,' — "*Varaiyiṉ pāvai maṇaḷaṉ*"[145] — a fitting way to describe the coy bride, and as the bridegroom of the young lady of the mountain with armlets and wristlets — a suggestion of bridal decoration — reminds us of the *Kalyāṇa Sundara mūrti* described in *Uttarakāmika Āgama, Pūrva Kāraṇa Āgama* and *Aṁśumadbhēda Āgama.* Śiva and Pārvatī the principal figures in this form face the east. Viṣṇu performing the giving away of the bride to the bridegroom, stands between them in the background with a pot ready to pour out the water; his consorts stand behind the bride. Brahma, as the priest, is seated before the fire. In the

140. 7: 24: 9.
141. 7: 55: 10.
142. 7: 89: 6.
143. 7: 58: 8.
144. 7: 57: 5; 7: 67: 9.
145. 7: 67: 9.

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background are assembled the pleased and happy gods. Śiva stands firm on His left or right leg whilst He rests the other on the ground slightly bent. Of the front arms, the right arm is held out to receive the bride whilst the left is held in '*varada*' pose, the back arms holding the axe on the right and the deer on the left. He is in three bends with three eyes, *Jaṭāmakuṭa*, crescent moon, *paraśu*, *kēyūra*, *udarabandha* and girdle. He is young. To His left, or according to some to His right, stands Pārvatī with her head slightly bent and shy, but fully adorned, draped in silk, holding a blue water lily or '*nīla* flower' in her left hand, and stretching out the right arm to hold Śiva's. She is as high as Śiva's eyes or chin, shoulder or chest. She is a well developed young maiden with two eyes and two arms The forms and proportions of other figures in the scene are also described. Mēnakā and Himavān, according to some authority are substituted for Viṣṇu is present with the other Dēvas.

X

If there is not the background of the marriage scene, this is only Śiva and Pārvatī standing in the form called *Umāsahita Candraśēkhara mūrti*.

If Śiva is alone without Umā, we get the *Samabhaṅga kēvala Candraśēkhara mūrti* with four hands, according to *Aṁśumad-bhēdāgama*, holding the '*ṭaṅka*' and a deer in the back two arms and holding the front arms in '*varada*' and *abhaya*' poses, with three eyes, with a '*jaṭāmakuṭa*' adorned with the crescent moon, wearing '*pītāmbara*' with the ends coming down as far as the knees and bigger folds passing between the two legs. According to *Uttara Kamīkāgama*, Śiva stands adorned with all ornaments on a '*padma pīṭha*' with curls of hair hanging at the back as far as the ear and the *jaṭā* hanging on the right and left as far as the shouldes; on the right ear is '*ratna kuṇḍala*', '*śaṅkhapatra*' or *padma patra*', whilst on the left is '*makara kuṇḍala*[4], '*śiṁha-kuṇḍala*' or '*patra kuṇḍala*'. If this figure carries *śūla* (trident) and rosary or *kapāla* (skull) instead of '*ṭaṅka*' and '*mṛga*', it is *Pāśupata mūrti*, prescribed by the *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* for *nityōtsava* or daily worship. Śiva in the so-called Arjuna penance sculpture comes very near this description. *Dēvī* stands in this form by Śiva's side on the same '*piṭah*' or on a separate pedestal.

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If Śiva is found embracing Umā, that represents what the *Āgamas* call *Āliṅgana mūrti*'. Ārūrar speaks of Śiva as "*Puri nūlar, puṇar mulai Umaiyavaḷōṭu maruvaṇār*"[146]—'He is with the '*yajñōpavīta*'.[147] He is with *Umā* embracing her'.[148] This suggests the *Āliṅgana mūrti*. There is also a much more direct reference, '*Pulkī iṭattil vaittāy*"[149]—'You have embraced her and placed her on your left'. The *Āgamas* describe this form where Śiva's right arm rests on the left side below Pārvatī's breast and is placed upon her left arm. Umā keeps a lotus on a '*nīlōtpala*' flower in her right hand, or embraces Śiva with it, when the left hand holds the flower. Or, both Śiva and *Umā* are in mutual embrace, one embracing the other with the left and the other embracing with the right hand. These are all standing figures.

If Śiva is seated we have the *Sukhāsana mūrti* when alone, the *Umāsahita mūrti* when seated with *Uma*, the *Umamahēśvara mūrti* when Śiva and Uma are found embracing each other, and the *Sōmāskanda mūrti* when Skanda is between the seated *Śiva* and *Uma*.

In the *Sukhāsana* form, Śiva is seated on a '*bhadra pīṭah*' with His left leg, according to *Śilaparatna*, and right leg according to *Pūrva kāraṇāgama*, bent and resting upon the seat and the other leg hanging below it, and has *yajñōpavīta*, *jaṭāmakuṭa* with ornaments, three eyes, four arms, the back arms holding the axe and the deer, the front being kept in '*varada*' and '*abhaya*' or '*siṁhakaraṇa*' pose. In the right ear, there is '*makara kuṇḍala*' or '*siṁha kuṇḍala*' whilst in the left ear is '*patra kuṇḍala*' or '*vṛtta kuṇḍala*'.

In the *Umāsahita* from, Umā with two hands, the right hand holding a '*padma*' or '*utpala*', the left either in '*Siṁhakaraṇa*' or '*varada*' pose or resting straight on the seat, is seated on the same seat and within the same '*prabhāmaṇḍala*' by Śiva's side on His left, facing Him and with her left leg hanging down the seat and bent, whilst the right leg is resting on the seat.

In the *Somāśkanda mūrti*, one faced Śkanda, with no clothes but with '*karaṇḍa makuṭa*', '*nakra kuṇḍala*', '*channa vīra*', waist zone and bracelets, is in between Śiva and Umā, dancing, or standing

146. 7: 76: 1.
147. The significance of this is explained in the chapter on Dakṣa.
148. 7: 76: 1.
149. 7: 20: 4.

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or sitting on the seat or on the lap of his mother. When dancing, the child holds a fruit in the left hand or keeps it stretched out, whilst the right is in *sūci* pose; when standing, it holds in its right hand a lotus with the left hanging down or both hands hold lotus flower or it holds a book in the right hand, whilst the left is kept in '*varada*' or '*simhakaraṇa*' pose. According to *Kāraṇāgama*, Brahma and Viṣṇu stand on either sides with their consorts.

The embracing form is *Umāmahēśvara*. *Viṣṇudharmōttara* and *Rūpamaṇḍana* give a description of this form. According to *Rūpamaṇḍana*, Śiva has four hands, holding trident, a '*mātuḷa*' fruit[150] on the right, whilst on the left, He holds a snake with one hand and embraces Umā with the other. There are the bull, Gaṇapati, Skanda and the dancing *Bhṛṇgin*. In *Viṣṇudharmōttara*, Śiva has two arms, the left embracing Uma's left shoulder, the right holding a '*nīlōtpala*'. Umā embraces Śiva's right shoulder and holds a mirror in her left hand.

XI

Coming to the age of Ārūrar's sculpture, we have adopted from Rea, the following description of the panels in which the Mother figures. In this the '*Mahiṣāsura mardanī*' forms have been omitted to be mentioned.

"In the interior of the small (East) court in the North-east corner is a stone with a well carved figure of Śiva seated on a bull; He holds a trident and a *nāga* on the right hands. On the right of the panel containing Pārvatī and the lion, is the small shrine with seated figures of Śiva and Pārvatī".

In describing the Sculptures on the series of cells on the four sides of the large court beginning with those immediately to the South of the Mahēndravarma shrine on the East side of the court and numbering in succession round the South, West, and North, and North half of the East side, Rea describes:

"No. 1 cell has panelled seated figures of Śiva, Pārvatī and child.

Space between Nos. and 2—Śiva and Pārvatī.
No. 2—Same as No. 1.
Space between Nos. 2 and 3—Same as No. 1.

150. *Pomegranate.*

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No. 3. Same.

Space between No. 3 and South-east corner recess, same. Space between the South-east corner recess and No. 4 cell has Pārvatī seated under a banyan tree; one large and two small elephants are on the left side. A *yōgi* gits; with his kness bound, on the back of the large animal. A female attendant is on the right.

No. 4 cell has Pārvatī and the lion. In this panel, an additional *gandharva* figure stands on the left.[151]

The space between Nos. 4 and 5 has the usual panal of Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 5 and 6 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 6 — Pārvatī under a tree with a female chaurie bearer on each upper side of the panel; two figures and a kneeling worshipper are on each lower side.[152]

Between Nos. 6 and 7 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 7 and 8 — Pārvatī seated under a tree; a deer is on her left, and two are underneath; a bird, probably a peacock, is on a branch of the tree; a female attendant is on her right.

Between Nos. 8 and 9 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Botween Nos. 9 and 10 — Pārvatī under a tree; a female attendant is on her right and a *yōgi* on her left; beneath the last are three bulls with long curved horns.

Between Nos. 10 and 11 — Pārvatī under a tree, attendant, bird and two elephants.

Between 11 and 12 — Śiva and Pārvatī.[153]

Between 12 and 13 — Pārvatī and attendants, birds and two elephants.

Between 13 and 14 — Same as between 12 and 13.

Between 14 and 15 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 15 and 16 — Pārvatī with an attendant on her left; two elephants and a bird on her right.

Between 16 and 17 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

151. See Plate No. XXXII, fig. 1.
152. Pl. No. XXXIII, fig. 5.
153. Pl. No. XXXIII, fig. 31.

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Between 17 and 18 — Śiva armed with a large club — and his wife Pārvatī.

Between 18 and 19 — Pārvatī stands, with two figures on each side. On the west side of this space are two representations of Brahma — one kneeling, and the other standing; over are two *gandharvas*.

No. 23 — Śiva — with Pārvatī standing by his side, supports and places in his hair Gaṅgā.[154]

Between No, 23 and South-west corner cell-Śiva and Pārvatī with five attendants.

Returning along the inner west side of the Court and continuing from the south-west corner, the first space between the corner cell and No. 24 has — on the back — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 24 — Siva, Pārvati and child.

Between Nos. 24 and 25 — Śiva and Pārvatī, with attendants.

No. 25 — Śiva and Pārvatī, with attendants, one of whom seems to be Brahma.

Between Nos. 25 and 26 — Śiva and Pārvatī

No. 26 — Śiva and Pārvatī with attendants.

Between Nos. 26 and 27 — Śiva and Pārvatī with attendants.

Between Nos. 28 and 29 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 29 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 29 and 30 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 30 — Śiva and Pārvatī, with child and umbrella over.

Between Nos. 30 and 31 — Śiva and Pārvatī, with umbrella over.

No. 31 — Śiva and Pārvatī and child and umbrella.

Between Nos. 31 and 32 — Śiva and Pārvati, with umbrella.

No. 32 — Śiva, Pārvatī, child, and umbrella.

Between No. 32 and North-west corner — Śiva, Pārvatī, child, and umbrella.

Returning along the North side, the space between the North-west corner recess, and No. 33, has the usual panel of Śiva and Pārvatī seated.

Between Nos. 33 and 34 — Pārvatī under a tree, with attendant and chaurie.

154. Pl, No. CXXIII, fig. 2.

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No. 34 — Śiva and Pārvatī seated by the side of pillar.[155]

Between Nos. 34 and 35 — Pārvatī holding a parrot; an attendant is behind, and two elephants underneath.

On the right side between 35 and 36 is a panel with Pārvatī under a tree and chaurie bearer on each side.

Between 37 and 38 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 38 — Śiva as a *yōgi*, seatad with Pārvatī; two *gandharvas* support the pedestal on which they sit. Brahma sits on the left of the panel and aids in supporting the pedestal. Another figure, over Brahma, sits with hands crossed in contemplation.[156]

Between Nos. 38 and 39 — Pārvatī playing on a *vīṇā*, a parrot is on the left side, attendant with chaurie on the right and two elephants underneath.

No. 39 — Śiva and Pārvatī attended by two servants and a *gandharva*.[157]

Between 39 and 40 — Pārvatī, holding in her left hand a flower, on which sits a parrot; an attendandt is on her right and a figure sits cross-legged under.

No. 40 — Śiva and Pārvatī and three attendants, supported on a lotus by Brahma.[158]

Between Nos. 40 and 41 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 41 — Śiva, Pārvatī and two attendants supported on a lotus by Viṣṇu. Śiva has Brahma's head placed on the top of his own. An attendant of Viṣṇu stands by holding his conch and chakra.[159]

Between 41 and 42 — Pārvatī, with attendant, parrot and two elephants.

No. 42 — Śiva with Pārvatī on his right. On the right of Pārvatī are an attendant and *gandharva*. A female figure, probably *Gaṅgā*, stands on Śiva's left hand. On the same side are *Sūrya*, Brahma and a female with umbrella over.[160]

Between 42 and 43 — Pārvatī, attendant and two deer under a tree.

155. Plate No. XXXIX, fig. 4.
156. Pl. No. XLI, fig. 2.
157. Pl. No. CXXIII, fig. 4.
158. Pl No. CXXIII, fig. 5.
159. Pl. No. XLII, fig. 1.
160. Pl. No. XLII, fig. 2.

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No. 43 — Śiva and Pārvatī with two *gandharvas* and two attendants.[161]

Between Nos. 43 and 44 — Śiva and Pārvatī a halo — in plaster — is over Śiva's head.

Between Nos. 44 and 45 — Pārvatī attendant, bird and two elephants.

No. 45 — Śiva and Pārvatī seated; under, are two attendants — one standing and the other kneeling. A *gandharva* on the under side of Śiva's right, holds a mace, which extends up, and supports a *yāḷi* bearing a lotus, over which is a *gandharva* with a halo.[162]

Between 45 and 46 — Pārvatī attendant, bird and two deer.

No. 46 — Śiva stands with his left foot raised, and resting on a pedestal; He holds a musical instrument across His body. Two devotees, one with knotted hair and the other bearded — stand on his left. Two bulls are seen — on the left of Śiva — ascending the sky, with Śiva and Pārvatī on each.[163]

Between Nos. 46 and 47 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 47 and 48 — Pārvatī with an attendant; a *yōgi* is underneath.

No. 48 — Śiva, with Pārvatī placing Gaṇgā on his head A kneeling devotee supports another, who, with unlifted hands is adoring Śiva.[164]

Between Nos. 48 and 49 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 49 — Śiva, Pārvatī and child; Brahma and Viṣṇu, with *gandharvas* under worshipping the triad.[165]

Between Nos. 49 and 50 — Pārvatī, attendant, bird and bull.

Between Nos. 50 and 51 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between Nos. 51 and 52 — Pārvatī, attendant. elephant and bird.

Returning along the east side, from the north-east corner, the first space between that corner and No. 53 has a back panel with Śiva and Pārvatī; also another with Śiva on left side.

No. 53 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

161. Pl. No. XXXIX, fig. 3.
162. Pl. No. XLIII, fig. 1.
163. Pl. No. XLIII, fig. 2.
164. Pl. No. XLIV, fig. 2.
165. Plate No. XLV, fig. 1.

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Space between Nos. 53 and 54 — Siva and Pārvatī.

No. 54 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

Between 54 and 55 — Śiva and Pārvatī.

No. 55 — Śiva and Pārvatī.[166]

In the *Mahāmaṇḍapam*, the large left panel on the South elevation has Pārvatī seated with a noose in her right hand and a lotus bud in her left.

The north side of the same *maṇḍapam* has — in the large right panel — Pārvatī seated with two attendants on her right; and on her left are a bird, and lamp bearers.

Ardhamaṇḍapam

On the back interior wall of the shrine, is a panel with seated figures of Śiva, Pārvatī and child.

On the south exterior side of this shrine is four armed Śiva with Pārvatī.

On the south exterior wall of the central shrine, and in the space between the south-east corner shrine and that on the middle of the south side, are a six armed Śiva and Pārvatī, seated with their feet on *Vyādhi*, the god of sickness.

On the left side of the same recess is the entrance to the shrine on the centre of south facade of the '*vimāna*'. In the shrine — on the back — is Śiva seated with his left foot on a *gandharva*; the platform on which he sits is supported by two *yāḷi* pillars. Brahma and Viṣṇu are in attendance, worshipping.

On the left interior side is Śiva in bridegroom's dress — seated on a bull, with attendants; a *gandharva* leads the animal.

On the right side of the shrine is Pārvatī seated on a pedestal supported by a *yāḷi* on the left, and two *gandharvas*. She is shown dressed as a bride. The two panels seemingly represent the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.[167]

On the north wall of the '*Vimāṇa*', in the recess between the north-west corner shrine and on the centre of the north face are Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva has eight arms, and various symbols, including noose, bow and umbrella.

166. Plate No. XXXI.
167. Plate No. LI also shows Pārvatī; Plate LIX also.

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In the panel on the back interior is Śiva supported by *gandharvas* and *yāḷis*.

On the north exterior side of the shrine at the north-east corner of the '*vimāna*', are Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva has four arms and rests one foot on a lotus. Two of his hands hold the elephant's skin over his crown.

In this wherever Śiva and Pārvatī and the child are mentioned, it is the *Sōmāskanda mūrta*. If Śiva and Pārvati alone are found, it is the *Umāsahita mūrta*. In some, Pārvatī is not found in the company of Śiva; in many cases the descriptions suggest that these forms are referring to Pārvatī, performing tapas or penance. The repetitions of these forms are very significant.

XIII

In Conjīvaram, according to *Tantras*, Kāmākṣi is the supreme principle of the Universe. Ārūrar in one place, refers to the Mother, all the characteristics of Śiva, even as we find in Cilappatikārrm: "*Cāntamāka veṇṇīru pūci veṇparṟalai kalaṉā vēynta veṇ piṟaik kaṇṇitaṉṉaiyōr pākam vaittukantīr.*'.[168] You are great in placing on one side, her, who is adorned with the laurel or a crescent and with the jewels of the white toothed skulls, besmearing her body with white ashes as a fragrant paste'. This reference to white ash will explain another description of Śiva, as besmearing along with her, the ashes on the chest —"*Tuṭi iṭai naṉ maṭavāḷoṭu mārpil poṭi aṇivār.*"[169] This may be better understood in the light of another description where the poet speaks of the Mother as inseparable from his broad chest adorned with the garlands — "*Koṉṟait tāriruntaṭa mārpu niṅkāt taiyalāḷ.*"[170]

Conjīvaram is considered to be the seat of the Mother-'Kāmak-*kōṭṭam* — that which was establised by her for saving the world in the ancient city of Conjīvaram of the cloud covered big groves — the Mother who is inseparable from your wide chest of honey bubbling garlands' — "*Tārirun taṭa mārpu nīṅkāt taiyalāḷ ulakuyya vaitta kārirum poḻir kacci mūtṅr Kāmakkōṭṭam*".[170a] 'The Mother is said to cook for doing all kinds of charity in every

168. 7: 49: 9
169. 7: 11: 5.
170. 7: 5: 6.
170a. 7: 5: 6.

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city'.[171] The story of the *ṭapas* and worship of the Mother at Conjīvaram is mentioned in every verse of the Ēkampam hymn.[172] This story of the tapas and worship of the Mother is given in some detail in verse No. 10 of this hymn. "*Eḷkaliṉṟi imaiyavar kōṉai īcaṉāi vaḻipāṭu ceyvālpōl uḷḷattuḷki ukantumai naṅkai vaḻipaṭac ceṉṟu niṉṟavā kaṇṭu vellaṅ kāṭṭi veruṭṭiṭa añci veruvi yōṭit taḻuva veḻippaṭṭa kaḷḷak kampaṉai eṅkaḷ pirāṉaik kāṇak kaṇ aṭiyēṉ peṟṟavārē.*" 'She did not slight Him — no negligence was shown to the Lord of the gods, *Īśa*, the God. As though she was worshipping Him (outwardly) she concentrated on Him mentally with great joy. The Lord went and stood and saw it all. (To test her), He (remaining invisible) made the flood appear (as though rushing on her) and frightened her. In fear and fright, she ran and embraced (the *liṅga*). The thief of a *Kampaṉ* manifested Himself there. Ah! what a grace I am blessed with an eye to see Him?' — This is '*Taḻuvakkuḻainta vaṭivam*' — the form of embrace.[173]

The poet further says: "The Lord saw the penance of her; He understood through and through her characteristic features. He conferred on her all that she aspired for; He married her.'[174]

Appar has referred to the Mother worshipping there at Conjīvaram.[175] Campantar refers to the river there.[176] But the phrase *Kāmakkōṭṭam* is not used in literature earlier than Ārūrar's. Slowly the importance of Umā at Conjīvaram had been growing probably due to the *Tāntric* influence both Hindu and Buddhist. How this name *Kāmakkōṭṭam* came into use is not clear. One of the mutts of Śaṅkarācārya goes by the name of *Kāmakōṭi Pīṭha* Mutt; if Ārūrar's reference is earlier, *Kāmakōṭi* must be another form of *Kāmakkōṭṭam*. *Kōṭṭam* is a temple as is explained by Aṭiyārkkunallār, the commentator on Cilappatikāram.[177]

Kāma, which is the name of Cupid, does not refer to him in this phrase *Kāmakkōṭṭam*. Temples were in existence, where *Kāma* was worshipped in *Caṅkam* age: "*Kāmavēḷ kōṭṭam*" is spoken of in Cilappatikāram;[178] the two tanks attached to this temple are

171. 7: 43: 9.
172. 7: 61: 1-10.
173. 7: 61: 10.
174. 7: 16: 1.
175. 5: 47: 2.
176. 2: 12: 5.
177. *Kuṇavāyil kōṭṭam — Pāyiram*, line 1.
178. IX: 60.

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spoken of as "*Iru Kāmattiṇai ēri*" in *Paṭṭiṉappālai*.[179] There is no reference whatever to Cupid in relation to Conjīvaram, to lead us to conclude that what was originally a Cupid's temple, later on came to be converted into a temple of the Mother, though it must be noted that the form of the Mother now found holds the sugar-cane bow and the flower arrows in its hands even as Cupid holds them. Therefore, the word '*Kāma*' continues a puzzle. But, we are aware of temples being known after the patron and builders, as *Mayēntirappaḷḷi* named after Mahēndra. This sends us on an enquiry to find any king of the name *Kāma* and we know that one of the titles of Rājasiṁha was'*Atyantakāmah*' found inscribed on some of the *rathas* of Māmallapuram. Can it be that *Kāmakkōṭṭam* came to be named after this renovator of the temple? In the absence of a more definite evidence, such as an inscription in the temple, this can remain only a suggestion.

But the fact that almost all the panels in the Kailāsanātha Temple bring out the influence or importance of the Mother except a few striking exceptions shows Rājasiṁha's devotion to the Mother. From the numbers omitted on the above extract from Rea, one can form a view of the proportion between the panels in which the Mother figures and those on which she does not.

XIII

The *Sōmāskanda mūrta* may be taken up for consideration. It is one of the clues conclusively proving that any one temple where this figure occupies the panel behind the *Liṅga* belongs to Rājasiṁha's age. In the Ēkampam temple the *liṅga* is not fluted like those of Rājasiṁha's age; it is said to be very ancient having been sung by Appar and Campaṇtar belonging to an earlier period. But there is a panel behind the *liṅga* in the *Garbagṛha* containing the sculpture of this *Sōmaskanda mūrta*, revealing the hand of Rājasiṁha as a renovator of the temple.

The *Sōmāskanda mūrta* is found in Māmallapuram as well. Longhurst gives a representation in Plate XIV, C.[180] *Rea* in addition to the descriptions already extracted, gives a few plates in which this form is found.[181] Śiva has four hands with His right

179. 1. 139
180. *Pallova Architecture*, Vol II.
181. Plate XLV, fig. 1, is one.

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leg bent and resting on the pedestal whilst the left leg hangs down. The child is there perhaps sitting on the lap of the mother. The mother has only two hands; the left hand is resting straight on the pedestal and the left leg is hanging. Viṣṇu is on the left of Śiva whilst Brahma is on the right. With reference to the presence of Viṣṇu and Brahma in the *Umāsahita Sukhāsana* form and in *Sōmāskanda* form, it may be stated that the original *Trimūrti* shrines when Śiva's worship assumes importance are thus reduced to these forms with the old Brahma and Viṣṇu continuing to be present on both the sides. We see this change gradually taking place at Māmallapuram. Ārūrar, when he speaks of the Lord coming to Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr, speaks of Viṣṇu and Brahma being there with Him along with the inseparable Pārvatī — "*Vaiyakam muḻutuṇṭa Māloṭu nāṉmukaṉum ... Pāvaiyōṭum uṭaṉē ... pōnta aticayam aṟiyēṉē*".[182]

Plate LII, fig. 1 is from the Tripurāntakēśvara Temple. The *Abhaya* pose of the right front arm is clear. The child is on the mother's lap and the mother is embracing it with the right arm. Otherwise this is like the Plate XLV. Plate LII, fig. 3 gives a *pañcaloha* image of *Sōmāskanda*, perhaps of a later age. The axe, the deer, abhaya and varada are there in the hands. The right leg is hanging down. The child is separately shown between Śiva and Pārvatī in a dancing posture.

Plate XCVI is from the Mataṅgēśvara Temple. Śiva is resting his hanging left leg on a stout figure. Pārvatī is resting her left hanging leg on a head. The *makuṭa* is there for Skanda. He is holding something in both the hands. The crown of the Mother is different from what it is in Plate XIV. Viṣṇu and Brahma are also there. Śiva seems to be holding a snake in his upper right hand, which is curling up its head near His thigh.

Plate CIV, fig. 1, is from the Muktēśvara temple. The hanging legs of Śiva and Pārvatī are on a pedestal. Pārvatī is seated slightly lower down. *Yāḻis* are below the pedestal, suggesting the idea of *Siṁhāsana*. There are umbrellas both above Śiva and Pārvatī. Brahma and Viṣṇu are there. Plate CXVII, of *Sōmāskanda mūrti*, is from the Airāvatēśvara temple.

182. 7: 85: 2.

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Ārūrar speaks always of Pārvatī and Śiva being together. In ten places he refers to Śiva as the father of Muruka[183] and at least two places he speaks of Pārvatī as his mother.[184] These references taken together describe the *Sōmāśkanda mūrti*. *Umāsahita mūrti* without Skanda is like the *Sōmāskanda mūrti* above described. It is found in Plate XXXIX, fig. 3. The back right arm of Śiva probably holds a rosary. *Ibid.*, fig. 4 also is an *Umāsahita mūrti* (probably *Caṇḍēśā anugraha mūrti*). Śiva is resting his right front hand straight on the pedestal. The left leg is kept downwards and lifted up vertically to rest on the pedestal. The right leg is hanging down. The left front arm is resting on the raised up leg. Both the legs of Pārvatī are hanging down. Her right arm is resting on the pedestal straight. Plate XLI, fig. 2 gives another *Umāsahita mūrti*. Śiva sits cross legged with the left leg hanging and the right leg going over it. There is a rosary in the right back arm. The left leg of Pārvatī is hanging down. Brahma is perhaps performing *pūjā*. In Plate XLII, Rea gives another *Umāsahita mūrti* The right leg of Śiva hangs down and the foot rests on a pedestal and the left is crossed over it. The right leg of Pārvatī hangs with its foot resting on a pedestal, whilst the left leg is bent downwards and kept vertically on the pedestal. Śiva has four hands and Pārvatī two. Viṣṇu is worshipping with lotus. Plate XLIII, fig. 1 gives another *Umāsahita mūrti*. The front right arm of Śiva rests on his thigh. Pārvatī is not resting her hand straight on the pedestal.

Plate LV, fig. 1 gives Pārvatī and Śiva standing as in *Umāsahita Candraśēkhara* form. We suggested this may be *Tripurāntaka*.

Plate LVII is also an *Umāsahita mūrti* but this is *Gajāha mūrti*. Plate LIX is also an *Umāsahita mūrti* but this is *Gaṇgādhara*. Plate XCVII, fig 1 (to out right side) is another *Umāsahita mūrti*. It is unique in as much as Pārvatī is on the right side of Śiva, as mentioned in some *Āgamas*. This sculpture is from the Muktēśvara temple.

Coming to the Age of Rāja Rāja, we find the *Umāsahita mūrt* about which the epigraphist writes as follows: "In the group

183. 7: 5: 2; 7: 16: 7: 18: 6; 7: 38: 8; 7: 58: 3; 7: 59: 10; 7: 63: 2; 7: 64: 6; 7: 68: 7; 7: 83: 5.
184. 7: 46: 9; 7: 62: 4.

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Umāsahitar described in No. 32,[185] the God and Goddess are separate images seated together and accompanied by a standing image of Subrahmaṇya and one of Gaṇapati. The donor was a certain *Vēḷāṉ Ādittaṉ* alias Parāntaka Pallavaraiyaṉ. This group is probably the same as that now known under the name *Umā Mahēśvara*, though in the latter Subrahmaṇya and Gaṇapati do not generally figure:

Hēmādri's description of *Umā Mahēśvara mūrti* is as follows:

"Yugmam strī puruṣam kāryam umēṣau divyarūpiṇau
Aṣṭavaktram tu dēvēśam jaṭācandrādhabhūṣitam;
Dvipāṇīm Dvibhujām dēvīm sumadhyām supayōdharām
Vāmapāṇimtu dēvasya dēvyāh skandhē niyōjayēt;
Dakṣiṇamtu karam śambhōrutpalēna vibhūṣitam
Dēvyāstu dakṣiṇam pāṇim skandhē dēvasya kalpayēt
Vāmapāṇau tathā dēvyā darpaṇam dāpayēndubham."

In the *Kāraṇāgama*, under *Saparivār-Omamahēśvara-dhyāna* occurs the following:

"Vāmē śailasutā purastu vṛṣabhah paścātsurēndrādayō
Daityārišca vidhišca pārśvadalayōrvāyvādikōnēṣu ca
Bhṛṅgīnāradabāṇabhairavagajāsyaskandavīrēśvarā
Madhyē śubrahsarōjakōmaḷaruca śambhum bhajē
pāṇḍuram."

In his *Bṛhatsamhita*,[186] Varāhamihira describes Śiva as follows:

"Śambhoh śirasīndukalā vṛṣadhvajōakṣi ca tṛtīyamap
cōrdhvam
Śūlam dhanuh pināka vāmārdhē vā girisutārdham."

This was perhaps the commencement of the worship of the deity in its feminine aspect.

There is also the *Kalyāṇasundara mūrti* in Plate XLII, fig. 2, though Rea does not describe it as such. Only two hands of Śiva are seen. Pārvatī has only two hands. There is an umbrella over the crown of Pārvatī and a bigger one over Śiva. Brahma is standing on Śiva's left. He is said to be the offiiciating priest.

185. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II.
186. Chapter XI, verse 43.

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Pārvatī is to the right of Śiva; she is in the act of placing the right food forward to the left. Śiva is taking or holding her right hand into, and with, His right hand. His feet are oriented towards the left. Probobly it represents "*Saptapadī*" part of the ceremony of marriage after *pāṇi-grahaṇa*, the walking seven steps together. In between Śiva and Brahma is seen a head with a halo; Rea identifies it as the Sun. It may be Viṣṇu, the halo being there to show his importance. On the right of Pārvatī is a woman standing with the right hand on the hip and left raised up to the crown. On the left of Brahma is a man with a crown, necklace, armlets and ear-rings. These last two are probably Mēna and Himavān. There is a *Gaṇa* at the left hand corner coming up to the knee of Pārvatī. The marriage represented in two opposite panels found in the *Artha maṇḍapa* has already been mentioned.

Coming to the later ages, we find the inscription,[187] recording that before the 29th year of the reign of Rājarājadēva, his queen Trailōkyamahādēvi set up copper images of Śiva called *Kalyāṇasundara*, of his wife *Umāparamēśvarī*, and of the two gods Viṣṇu and Brahman, who were represented as worshipping the first image and that she presented a number of ornaments to the first two images. An inscription of the 10th year of the reign of Rājēndra Cōḷadēva,[188] refers to these two images of *Kalyāṇasundara* and his wife as having been set up by *Trailōkyamāhādēvi*, the consort of Rājarjādēva.

The name *Kalyāṇasundara* means, '*Sundara*' preparing himself for the marriage. The group consisted of the god Śiva with four arms. Close to Him was His consort *Umāparamēśvarī*. An image of God Viṣṇu with four arms was pouring water into the hands of the God Śiva, and Brahma was comfortably seated offering oblation. This is the usual representation of the marriage of the God *Sundarēśvara* of Madura with the goddess *Mīnākṣi*.

Of *Kalyāṇasundara* also called *Vaivāhikamūrti* the following description is given in the *Kāraṇāgama*:—

> "*Sindūrābham triṇētram yugabhujasahitam hārakēyūrabhūṣam*
> *Divyaīr vastrairvṛtāṇgam varakatakalasaddhēmakalhārabhūṣam*

187. No. 48 of the *S.I.I.*, Vol. II.
188. No. 11.

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Śambhum dakṣiṇapārvatīkaratalam savyēna saṅgṛhvatam
Ṭaṅkam kṛṣṇamṛgam dharam varakaram cūḍhēndubaddhā-
daram.
Jaṭāmakuṭasaṅyuktam candrārdhakṛtabhūṣaṇam
Ṭryakṣam caturbhujam namasyē navayauvanagarvitam
Samabhaṅgayutam dēvasthānakam samprakīrtitam
Kuñcitam savyapādēna sthitasvyētaranghrikam".

XIV

To continue Ārūrar's reference to Śiva in relation to Pārvati, our poet describes Śiva being supremely happy with Pārvatī. '*Makiḻnāṉ*',[189] and '*makiḻnta*'.[190]. *Śṛṅgāra rasa* is made to correspond in Tamil to '*Uvakai*' or happiness and Ārūrar uses the verbal form '*Uvantīr*'.[191] There is a connected word '*Ukantīr*'[192] which also has a suggestion of happiness but the basic meaning according to Tolkāppiyam is, 'You become great with her'. Śiva is also said to be seated as rest with Pārvatī, suggesting liking or propriety in the combination—'*Amarntavaṉ*'.[193] This suggests the Sukhāsana idea. '*Mēvum Īcaṉ*'[194] is another term. It may mean '*Īśa* who likes' or *Īśa* who reaches or attains her or who is by her side'. He also speaks of "*Uṭaṉ ... mēyavaṉ*".[195] The Lord is all love for her — "*Parivuṭaiyār*".[196] '*Parivu*' is pity also; it may be referring to His becoming manifest when she became frightened. He loved her so much that when she was the daughter of a mountain, He became the man of mountain country, that in His culture— "*Virumpiya māyamil māmalai nāṭaṉākiya māṉpaṉ*"[197] He is equally possessed of her love all to Himself along with her form.[198]

"*Uṭaṉ uṟai vāḻkkai*" is favourite phrase with the ancient poets.[199] It is domestic life of not only co-operative partnership of

189. 7: 22: 9.
190. 7: 19: 3.
191. 7: 9: 9.
192. 7: 49: 8.
193. 7: 12: 9; 7: 20 7; 27: 5; 7: 28: 4; 7: 32: 6; 7: 48: 8.
194. 7: 62: 7.
195. 7: 24: 10.
196. 7: 11: 1.
197. 7: 44: 5.
198. 7: 38: 5.
199. *Maṇimēkalai*, II, 47.

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man and woman but also of actual physical inseparability. This has been the dream of women in the Tamil land; they want to realize their dream at least in their next birth. In the ideal representation of Śiva and Pārvatī, the dream is found realized and Ārūrar speaks of '*Malai makaḷ uṭaṉuṟai vāḻkkai*',[200] as an important sign of Śiva's divinity, thus hinting at the indispensable *Umāsahāyatva* aspect of Godhead spoken of in the Upaniṣads.

XV

There are three terms used which seem to be all connected at first sight: '*Paṅku*' '*Paṅkaṉ* and '*Kūṟaṉ*'.' *Kūṟu*' is a division, or a share. '*Paṇku*' is '*paku*' with nunnation and means a share. '*Pāka*', if derived from *Bhāga*, means also a share or a moiety. It may also be taken as a form of 'Pāṅkaṉ' — a partner, a friend. Pākaṉ means one who drives the elephant and therefore one who drives any animal; Ārūrar has used the term '*Viṭaiyiṉ pākaṉ*',[201] in punning on this word he makes the Lord '*Pāka* of the bull' and Pārvatī and Viṣṇu, as their leader or as being by their side: '*Paṭamāṭum pāmpaṇaiyāṉukkum pāvāi nallāḷ taṉakkum vaṭamāṭum māl viṭai ērrukkum pākaṉ*'.[202] But the term '*Pāṅkāṉ*' and '*Pākaṉ*' are explained sometimes, as is shown in the Tamil Lexicon, as, 'One who is by the side of'. They become merely the name of the part of any place like "*Orupāl*":[203] See "*Kaṇṇi paṅkā*", "*Umai paṅkā*", "*Maṅkai paṅka*", "*Maṅkai paṅkiṉaṉ*", "*Naṅkai paṅkā*,', *Maṭantai paṇka*", "*Āyiḻai paṅkiṉar*", "*Pāvai paṅkaṉ*" "*Ōr paṅkuṭaiyīr*"[204]

"*Kaṇṇi paṅkā*";[205] "*Pāvai paṅkaṉ*;[206] "*Umai paṇkā*",[207] "*Maṅkai paṅkā*",[208] "*Maṭantai paṅkā*"[209], "*Umai naṅkai Paṅkā*";[210]

200. 7: 76: 5.
201. 7: 84: 7.
202. 7: 17: 9.
203. 7: 84: 5.
204. 7: 1: 9; 7: 2: 6; 7: 2: 9; 7: 15: 3; 7: 15: 6; 7: 19: 1; 7: 20: 5; 7: 20: 6; 7: 24: 2; 7: 27: 4; 7: 32: 5; 7: 41: 7; 7: 42: 4; 7: 52: 1; 7: 52: 7; 7: 68: 3; 7: 68: 5; 7: 71: 1; 7: 75: 6; 7: 90: 10; 7: 97: 7.
205. 7: 24: 2; 7: 27: 4; 7: 32: 5; 7: 68: 3.
206. 7: 91: 3.
207. 7: 90: 10; 7: 97: 7.
208. 7: 1: 9; 7: 15: 3; 7: 15: 6.
209. 7: 41: 7.
210. 7: 52: 7.

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"*Ōr Paṅkuṭaiyāy*"[211]—all these use the word '*Paṇku*' in various forms and combinations. It is the idea of "*Uṭaṉurai vāḻkkai*" that is conveyed by these terms. This meaning of being by his side is strengthened by such usage as "Paṅkiṉil taṅka",[212] 'whilst she rests in one part' necessarily meaning 'one side' because of the force of the word 'rests'. In view of the idea of *Ardhanārīśvara* form the meaning of sharing the body, in other places, may not be absurd and at least in one place there can be no other meaning — "*Paṅkam ceyta Maṭavāḷ*"[213] The verb 'ceyta', 'who did or effected' rejects any other meaning. 'The youthful damsel who has effected a partition (of your body)' — this is the meaning of the pharse.

'*Pākaṉ*' is the next word. Ārūrar speaks of '*Ōr pākam*'[214] "*Oru pākam*",[215] "*Oru pākā*",[216] or "*Pākaṃ vaittukantāṉ*",[217] "*Pākam amaṛntavaṉ*" or '*amarntu*',[218] "*Oru pākam vaittār* or *vaittu*",[219] "*Aṇaṅkoru pākam vaittu*",[220] "*Ēḻai pākaṉ*",[221] "*Umai pākaṉ*",[222] "*Kōl vaḷaiyaḷai ōr pākamāy*",[223] "*Pākam*",[224] and "*Pākaṉ*.[225] Even here the suggestion of *Ardhanārīśvara* is not inappropriate.

That form alone should have been intended in a few places: "*Tirumēṉi viḷaṅka ōr taṉṉamar pākamatākiya*",[226] — 'The one part (of his body) which He likes, He has made it shine with the divine form of the lightning-like Lady'; "*Peṇ pākam orupāl ceytāṉ*"[227] — 'He made one part of the body the share of the woman'; "*Tēvi... pāvaiyākat taṉaturuvam orupākam cērttuvitta Perumāṉ*".[228] 'The

211. 7: 20: 2; 7: 42: 4.
212. 7: 10: 4.
213. 7: 80: 5.
214. 7: 6: 5; 7: 9: 9; 7: 11: 1; 7: 19: 3; 7: 98: 8.
215. 7: 20: 7; 7: 28: 4; 7: 40: 10; 7: 63: 8.
216. 7: 70: 3.
217. 7: 86; 8.
218. 7: 12: 9; 7: 27: 5; 7: 32: 6; 7: 48: 8.
219. 7. 19: 7; 7: 49: 9.
220. 7: 63: 8.
221. 7: 76: 9.
222. 7: 26: 1.
223. 7: 96: 8.
224. 7: 6: 7: 84: 1; 7: 88: 3; 7: 89: 5.
225. 7: 57: 4.
226. 7: 11: 6.
227. 7: 38. 7.
228. 7: 40: 10.

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doll of the mountain is His consort; in His form in one part the Lord has made her in Him combine'; "*Iṟaivar Umai ōroru pākam peṇ āṇ āvar*",[229]—'He becomes along with Umā one part woman, one part man'. "*Umaiyāḷai oru pākattaṭakkiṉāṉ*"[230] — 'One who made Umā to fit into one part (of His body)'. In all these cases there can be no doubt that it is the *Ardhanārīśvara* form that is described.

Even as Ārūrar speaks of "*Pakam koṇṭa*" and "*Paṅku kōṇṭa*" he speaks of "*Ōr pāl koṇṭa*", "*Ōr pāl koṇṭa maṇi*"[231] and "*Ōr pāl makiḻntu*",[232] suggesting that the Mother is on one side. But in "*Orupāl mōkam mikuttu ilakum kūṟu cey apparicu*"[233] — 'That characteristic feature of the Lord according to which the Mother partitions and takes away the shining part as hers'—the reference can only be the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.

This is because of the force of the word 'Kūṟu' or share used therein. In all places where this word is used there can be no doubt about the poet describing the *Ardhanārīśvara form.* "*Ōr kūṟaṉām*",[234] *Ōr kūṟaṉ*"[235] "*Ōr kūṟutaiyaṉ* or *Kūṟuṭaiyāy*"[236] "*Kūṟaṉṟi-k kūṟuvatillaiyō*",[237] *Kūṟaṉ*',[238] '*Kūṟukantu*'[239] and '*Kūṟamarntu*',[240] it is clear the reference is to Śiva partitioning the body between Himself and Pārvatī, with all His heart and as an important act.[241] This is made clear by another reference that the moiety of the body is the partitioned share of the lady—"*Pāti mātu oru kūṟuṭaiyāṉ*".[242] Our poet is looking upon this as a great ideal — Fatherhood and Motherhood of God as embodied in one form — and he speaks of Śiva as holding to this as His divine principle of one bearing up with this partition — the divine ideal

229. 7: 53: 2.
230. 7: 59: 9.
231. 7: 58: 1.
232. 7: 72: 7.
233. 7: 84: 5.
234. 7: 12: 5.
235. 7: 64: 9.
236. 7: 22: 5; 7: 23: 8; 7: 26: 2.
237 7: 44: 2.
238. 7: 83: 7.
239. 7: 74: 10.
240: 7: 25: 4.
241. 7: 74: 10.
242. 7: 70: 8.

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or observance or a characteristic feature of this divinity or pride —"*Kūṟu taṅkiya koḷkaīyiṉāṉ*".[243]

XVI

There are other descriptions which clearly bring out the conception of the unity of Fatherhood and Motherhood of God: 'You have placed the woman in one half of your body' — "*Pāti ōr peṇṇai vaittāy*".[244] In what part of the body she was placed is stated in other verses: "*Īṭattil vaittāy*"[245] — 'You have placed her on the left side'; "*Mātiṉukku uṭampu iṭam koṭuttāṉ*"[246] — 'He gave a place on the left portion for the woman in His body'; "*Maṭamātu iṭam ākattavaḷ*",[247] — 'The young damsel is on the left in His body'; "*Ākam koṇṭār*",[248]—'He took her within His body'; "*Ākattamarntaruḷi*",[249]—'He was pleased with her being in His body';—thus He showered His grace. The poet speaks of the Lord of the man and woman form: "*Peṇ āṇ āya pirāṇ*",[250] "*Peṇ āṉ āvār*".[251] The Lord dances in this form with the '*tōṭu*' or '*patra*' woman's ear-ring inserted in one ear and '*kuḻai*' or '*kuṇḍala*' or man's ear-ring swinging on the other: "*Tōṭu peytu oru kātiṉil kuḻai tūṅka.....āṭumāṟu vallār*".[252] There is another form of God, 'the *Bhikṣāṭana mūrti*' which symbolizing God's wandering in love for the souls is of special significance to the Śaivites. Ārūrar imagines that God goes wandering in this 'Man-woman form' — *Nīḷ netuṅ kaṇṇiṉāḷoṭum kūṟar*",[253] 'with the anklet of heroism jingling on one leg and the anklet of woman-hood on the other' — "*Kaccēr aravoṉṟu araiyil acaittuk kaḻalum cilampum kalikkap palikkeṉṟu uccam pōtā ūrūr tiriya*".[254] Here on one side is the gold and silk garment of the Mother; on the other side is the skin garment of the Father. Thus He roams about: *Tukilōṭu poṉ tōluṭuttu uḻalvāṉe*".[255] There is another description:

243. 7: 64: 1.
244. 7: 20: 3.
245. 7: 20: 4.
246. 7: 68: 8.
247. 7: 82: 4.
248. 7: 17: 3.
249. 7: 26: 9.
250. 7: 86: 3.
251. 7: 53: 2.
252. 7: 87; 1.
253. 7: 36: 5.
254. 7: 41: 2.
255. 7: 29: 9.

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"Kuṟṟamil taṉ aṭiyār kūṟum icaip paricum
kōcikamum araiyil kōvaṇamum ataḷum
mal tikaḻ tiṅ puyamum mārpiṭai nīṟu tutai
māmalai maṇkai Umai cēr cuvaṭum pukaḻak
kaṟṟaṉavum paravik kaitoḻal eṉṟu kolō":[256]

'The music or the fame sung by His faultless devotees — the silk (of the Mother), the lion cloth and the skin at the waist (of the Father), the strong wrestling like strong and good looking shoulder, the mark of the Lady Uma's embrace or part in the chest, full of the sacred ash — these when shall I praise repeating what all I have learnt for praising and when shall I worship them?'

There are 131 references to Lord Śiva being one with Umā, the Mother Goddess. Śiva is always found inseparable in the representations with the Mother Goddess. The *Pūrvakāraṇagama*, however, states in the representation of *Bhikṣāṭana*, *Kaṅkāla*, *Harihara*, *Ardhanārīśvara*, *Kāmāntaka*, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Sukhāsana* forms, the Mother Goddess should not be represented, whereas, in all other aspects, she should be found near Śiva. But Ñāṉacampantar makes the Mother inseparable in almost all the representations as may be seen from his famous '*Kōḷaru Tiruppatikam*'.[257] Probably he is following the tradition of the Tamil land that beautifully expressed in the invocatory verse to Kalittokai, where the activities of God are shown to be inspired by His Śakti or the Mother Goddess keeping the time for His various dances of activity — *Koṭukoṭṭi*, *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* and *Kāpālam*. The sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple seem to agree with this.

Ārūrar is not so very clear about this question but perhaps the juxtaposition of the terms, "*Malai maṇkai maṇāḷaṉ māraṉār uṭal nīrēḻac ceṟṟut tuḷaitta aṅkattōṭu tūmalarkoṉṟai tōlum nūlum tutainta varai mārpaṉ*"[258] may be interpreted as referring this inseparable aspect mentioned in the verse of '*Kōḷaru Tiruppatikam*' in this very representation.

What is therefore more important is the *Ardhanārīśvara* form which Māṇickavācakar calls the most ancient form: '*Toṉmaik-*

256. 7: 84: 4.
257. 4: 85.
258. 7: 57: 5

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kōlam'.[259] The invocatory verse to *Aiṅkuṟunūṟu* refers to this form: "*Nīla mēṉi vāliḻai pākattu oruvaṉ irutāḷ niḻaṟ kīḻ mūvakai ulakum mukiḻttaṉa muṟaiyē*".

It is the firm conviction of these poets as is stated in this very verse that the creation and the multiplication of the species is due to this form. The Vēdas refer to the one principle desirous of becoming many for starting the creation. In many places we find the usual description of Śiva being made the description of Śakti as well. Even this *Ardhanārīśvara* form is found thus transferred. The Goddess of Madura is identified with the Mother Goddess by the closing *veṇpā* of *Aḻaṟpaṭu kātai* of Cilappatikāram and she is described in the opening lines of the next *kātai*,[260] as an *Ardhanārī*:

"*Iṭamaruṅku īruṇṭa nīlam āyiṉum*
Valamaruṅku poṉṉiṟam puraiyum mēṉiyaḷ
Iṭakkai polampūṇ tāmarai ēntiṉum
Valakkai añcuṭark koṭuvāḷ Piṭittōḷ
Valakkāl puṉaikaḻal kaṭṭiṉum iṭakkāl
Taṉiccilampu araṟṟum takaimaiyaḷ".[261]

The *Śivapurāṇa* gives its own version of this form. Brahma begot the *Prajāpatis* but they were not able to create the world and its beings. Thereupon, the creator meditated on *Mahēśvara*, the Great Lord, who appeared to him in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, reminding the creator thereby the necessity for the female principle in creation.

XVII

There is another story, where, when the Ṛṣi Bhṛṅgin went round Śiva alone in his worship, whereupon, the Mother Goddess prayed to God for being united with His own body, so as to prevent any worshipper neglecting her. Almost all the *Āgamas* and other works on sculpture give a detailed description of this image. The right half is male and the left half is female and therefore the right half has a *jaṭāmakuṭa* with the crescent moon; the right ear has a *kuṇḍala*; the right half of the forehead has one half of an eye; the whole of the right side is adorned with ornaments peculiar to Śiva and the garment should cover the body

259. *Tirukōttumpi in Tiruvācakam* — V. 18.
260. *Kaṭṭurai kātai.*
261. *Cilap.*, XXIII: 5-10.

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below the loins only up to the knee, the garment being the tiger's skin or silk. On the right part of the chest there is the '*nāka yajñōpavīta*'. There is the serpent as *yajñōpavīta* and a girdle of snake on the right side of the loins. The right half is besmeared with ashes.

Coming to the left side, there is the '*Karaṇḍamakuṭa* (*Koṇṭai*) and a half '*tilaka*'. The left eye is painted with collyrium and the left ear wears a '*vālika*'. The parrot perches upon the wrist. There is one bosom on the left and there are ornaments fit for women. This half is smeared with saffron and draped in coloured silk saree up to the ankles. The garment may be of white silk also and is held tight by three girdles. There is the left anklet and the left foot is tinged red with henna (*marutōṉṟi*). If there are four hands, the two on the right keep the *abhaya* pose and the '*paraśu*', or the *varada* pose and the trident, or the *abhaya* pose and *taṅka* (*tuṭi*) or the trident and the *akṣamālā*. In some cases, one arm is bent resting on the bull, while the other keeps the *abhaya* pose. Of the left two arms, one is bent and resting on the bull, whilst the other, is let down hanging, or, hold the blue lily or the blue lotus.

If there are only two arms, the right, is the *varada* pose, or, holds a skull, whilst the left either is let down hanging, or, keeps a mirror or a parrot or a flower, or, rests on the head of the bull. The *Āgamas* also contemplate three arms, when there is only one on the left side, holding a flower or a mirror or a parrot, adorned with armlets, wristlets, bangles and other ornaments. This reference to the three arms is important because of the *Ardhanārīśvara* sculpture found in the Kailāsanātha Temple at Kāñcīpuram. It has three arms; the front right hand is holding a trident by its lower end while the back fore-arm on the right is raised up to the *jaṭāmakuṭa* and is holding a cobra by its tail whilst the cobra hangs down lifting up its hood near the hand holding the trident. The left hand on the Mother's side holds a '*vīṇa*' and its elbow rests upon the sitting bull. Whereas the *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*, the *Kāmikāgama*, the *Suprabhēdāgama*, the *Ṣilparatṉa* and the *Kāraṇāgama* insist upon this image being in a standing posture, this sculpture represents as a seated form. In this sculpture, the '*vīṇā*' takes the place of the usual parrot. Ārūrar as already stated refers to this form as "*Peṇ āṇ āya pirāṉ*".[262]

262. 7: 86: 3.

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Ardhanārīśvara form is represented in *Dharmarāja ratha* of Māmallapuram. This form is found even in Jāva and the Eastern Archipelago, where the inscriptions explain that in this form Śakti and Śiva are conceived as essentially one and the same.

XVIII

An image of *Ardhanārīśvara* was set up by Kṛṣṇa Rāman.[263] The note of the Epigraphists is as follows: The image is often met with, among the sculptures of Śiva temples in Southern India, and is partly male and partly female. In one of the niches of the north wall of the central shrine of the Tanjore temple, there is a figure of *Ardhanārīśvara*. This differs from the group described in No. 39, there being a bull in the former close to which the fiure is standing. A later representation of *Ardhanārīśvara* in the Madura temple has no bull. In the group set up by *Kṛṣṇaṇ Rāmaṇ* and the sculpture on the north wall of the central shrine the *Īśvara* half has two arms and the *Umā* half only a single arm. In the Madura sculpture each of them has two arms. *Hēmādri* in the *Vratakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarkacintāmaṇi* describes the figure of *Ardhanārīśvara* as having four arms:

> "*Ardham dēvasya nārī tu kartavyā śubhalakṣaṇā*
> *Ardhamtu puruṣah kāryah sarvalakṣaṇabhūsitah*;
> *Īśvarārddhē jaṭājūṭam karttavyam candrabhūṣitam*
> *Umārddhē tilakam kāryyam sīmantamalakam tathā*;
> *Bhasmōddhūḷitamarddham tu arddham kuṅkumabhūṣitam*
> *Nāgōpavītinam cārddhamarddham hāravibhūṣitam*;
> *Vāmārddhē tu stanam kuryyāt ghānam pīnam suvarttulam*
> *Umārddhē tu prakarttavyam suvastrēṇa ca vēṣṭitam*;
> *Mēkhalām dāpayēttatra vajravaiḍūryyabhūṣitām*;
> *Ūrddhvaliṅgam mahēśārddham sarpamēkhalamaṇḍitam*;
> *Pādañca dēvādēvasya samapanmōparisthitam*
> *Śālakttakam smṛtam vāmamañjanēṇa vibhūṣitam*;
> *Triśūlamakṣasūtramea bhujayōh savyayōh smṛtam*
> *Darpaṇamcōrpalam kāryyam bhujayōrapasavyayōh.*"

The group set up by Rājarāja's general was made of copper but the *Umā*-half was coated with brass. Closely connected with

263. *S.I.I.*, Vol. 11, No. 39.

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this group is No. 47 which records the setting up of an image of *Bhriṅgīśa* with 3 arms and 3 legs by *Kōvaṉ Aṇṇāmalai alias Kēralāntaka Virupparaiyaṉ*. It was the exclusive devotion of *Bhriṅgīśa* to to the god Śiva that led Pārvatī to seek union with her consort in the form *Ardhanārīśvara*.

XIX

Harihara:

The *Harihara* form may be taken as a variant of this form. The Mother Goddess represents the *Prakṛti* whilst Śiva represents the *Puruṣa*. The *Liṅga* and *Āvuṭaiyāḷ* represent the same principle. Viṣṇu is the Lord of the Prakṛti according to the Śaiva Siddhānta. The Mother Goddess is addressed as the sister of Viṣṇu — '*Mālavaṟkiḷaṇkiḷai*",[264] and she holds the conch and wheel like Viṣṇu.[265] That is why Viṣṇu is substituted in the place of Mother Goddess.

Vāmanapurāṅa narrates a story where Viṣṇu preaching to a Ṛṣi as identified with Śiva manifested Himself to the sage in the dual aspect of *Harihara*. The structure representing this form is the Śiva half as in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form. The *Vaiṣṇava* half has two arms carrying the *cakra* or *saṅkha* or the *gadā* in one hand, the other holding the *kaṭaka* pose near the thigh. There is a *kirīta* (crown) set with precious stones and ear ornament shaped like a *makara*. Wristlets and armlets adorn the arms. There is an anklet, shaped like a snake, which is probably '*kaḻal*' worn as a sign of victory by warriors of Tamil land. Yellow silk garment held in position by girdles flows from the waist up to the ankles.

During the period of the first *Aḻvārs* there has been an attempt at harmonising Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, Pēyāḻvār in describing the figure of the Lord on the Tiruppati hills sings of this Harihara form:[266] "The descending *jaṭā*, the tall crown, the shining axe and the discus, the encircling serpent and the gold waist-band are seen. So my Lord of the sacred mountain surrounded by over-flowing streamlets himself appears thus uniting in himself both the forms". Poykaiyālvar describes this form in his

264. *Cilap.*, 12: 68.
265. *Cilap.*, 12: 108.
266. *Third Tiruvantāti*, 63.

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Antāti (First 5): "His name is Hara and Nārāyaṇa (Haranārāyaṇa). His conveyance, the bull and the bird. His words, the book (*Āgamas*) and the *Vēdas*. His residence, the Mountain and the Waters (Sea). His activity, destruction and protection. He holds the spear and the discus. His colour is of the fire and the cloud. His form is one".

The last statement leaves no doubt that the Aḻvār is describing the *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa* form for which there must have been many temples all through the country like the one which exists even today in *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇar* kōil in the South.

The Eastern Islands to which the Tamilians carried their own culture and civilization developed in those foreign lands at Cambodia and elsewhere the peculiar Harihara cult; this is an echo of the songs of the First Aḻvārs.

Harihara image in the form of the Javanese king *Krīṭarāja* is found in East Java. An inscription of the Sāka year 561,[267] throws a flood of light on this new development or harmony about which we do not have much of evidence left in the Tamil Country except the few verses quoted above. As the period corresponds to the age of Ārūrar, this information is important for understanding our *Tēvāram* poets. "Victorious are Hara and Acyuta who have become one for the good of the world though as the spouses of Pārvatī and Śrī, they are two distinct powers. Victorious also is Īśānavarman found especially for his heroism who supports the earth like Śeṣanāga". The Muni Īśānadatta celebrated for his austerities, his life devoted to poverty and study, of the offspring of an illustrious family has consecrated this image in which the bodies of Śiva and Acyuta are joined half and half for the welfare of his parents. He has also consecrated a Liṅga of Viṣṇu and of *Īśāna Caṇḍēśvara*, his decision being that their worship should be combined by participation in the same offering". The name *Īśāṇa* is peculiar to the Śaiva sects. In this inscription we see the king and his priest taking interest in the cult of Harihara. This harmonized form of the God-head is called *Śiva-Viṣṇu, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Śambhuviṣṇu, Hariśaṅkara, Har-Acyuta.* This inscription is important because it attempts at making the *Liṅgam* itself as a representation of Śiva and Viṣṇu. We do not have this development preserved in South India, but since the

167. 639 A.D.

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Āvuṭaiyāḷ in the Śiva liṅga form is said to represent the Śakti or *Prakṛti*, it may be said to represent Viṣṇu as well.

Ārūrar refers to this Harihara form in two places.[268] In both the places he jointly refers to the *Ardhanārīśvara* and *Harihara* form thereby suggesting that both are one and the same. Referring to the sculptures of the Pallava age, we find in the Dharmarāja Ratha not only the *Ardhanārīśvara* form already noted but also the *Harihara* form.

268. 7: 17: 9: 7; 87: 5.

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CHAPTER IV

ṚṢABHĀRŪḌHA MŪRTI

I

The *Brāhmaṇi* bull is sacred to the Indian from the times of Mohenjadaro and Harappa civilization. Śiva is seen to ride on the sacred bull. Perhaps the term, "Pacuvukantēṛi,"[1] implies that He is the Lord of the sacrifice. His flag also is the sacred bull. Ārūrar mentions at least in seven places the sacred bull which has by his time become the sacred flag of the Imperial Pallavas.[2] In all, there are 102 references to the *Brāhmaṇi* bull in Ārūrar's hymns.

II

From the age of the *Caṅkam* onwards, the sacred bull has become endearing to the Śaivite poets.[3]

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār sings the mighty prowess of this bull[4] and in her *Tiruviraṭṭai Maṇimālai*,[5] she jocularly asks, "Is there nothing else to ride upon for this God?" Ārūrar himself speaks of the bridgeroom on the bull which is prattling like a child thus emphasising its childish innocence — "*Maḻalai ērru maṇālaṉ*".[6] It will be seen that it forms the very foundation and support of God-head. Sometimes, it is looked upon as the pure white Dharma. In other places it is the pure white knowledge represented by the *Vēdas*.[7] Again the Omnipresent Viṣṇu, the personal aspect of the Absolute inasmuch as the incarnation of the impersonal Śiva, is looked upon as this very bull — "*Māl viṭai*".[8]

The form of Śiva as riding on the bull is so sacred to the Śaivite worshippers that among the ten days festivals in any Śiva temple, the festival usually on the fifth day, when the image of

1. 7: 75: 6.
2. 7: 7: 3; 7: 10: 7; 7: 27; 1; 7: 33; 1; 7: 47: 6; 7: 82: 8; 7: 81; 6:
3. *Puṟanānūṟu*: 56: 1.
4. *Aṟputattiruvantāti*: 100.
5. V. 18.
6. 7: 12: 5.
7. 7: 57: 3.
8. 7: 70: 1.

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Śiva, seated upon the bull and carried round the street in procession, is held the most sacred.

Periyapurāṇam tells us that God Śiva appeared to many of the Saints as riding on this bull.[9]

III

In this form of *Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti*, Śiva with three eyes and *jaṭāmakuṭa* stands on His straight right leg whilst the left is slightly bent. He has four arms: in the back arms, he carries the hatchet on the right and the deer on the left; the front right arm holds a '*vakra daṇḍa*'—a crooked stick. The front left fore-arm rests on the head of the bull in the *patāka hasta* pose.[10] On the left, stands Gowrī.[11] The bull stands behind Śiva as high as the chest or the thigh, the navel or the fore-leg.[12]

Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti is what Ārūrar calls "Erutēṟu mūrti".[13]

Queen Sōramahādēvi set up an image of *Ṛṣabhavāhanadēva* with the goddess Umāparamēśvari and a bull.[14] The Epigraphist writes as follows: "The God Gaṇapati appears to have been a member of the group though he is not found in the usual representation of *Ṛṣabhārūḍha mūrti*.

"According to one of the Śaiva legends, it was the God Viṣṇu himself that became a bull (*ṛṣabha*) for Śiva to ride upon when the latter had to fight against the demon Tripura. In one of the sculptures of the Seven Pagodas,[15] there is a representation of *Ṛṣabhavāhanadēva*. Here Śiva and Pārvatī are seated on a couch each of them resting one of the legs on the back of a bull which is lying down. Pārvatī has Subrahmaṇya on her knee. Behind them is seen a figure of the God Viṣṇu to the right and one of Brahma to the left. Behind the bull is seated a woman. A parasol is held over the head of Pārvatī. It is not impossible that this group represents the usual *Sōmāskanda* in which, as the name denotes, the images of Śiva, Umā (*Pārvatī*) and Skanda appear. The bull, however, is not generally seen in representations of *Sōmāskanda*".

9. *Taṭut.*, 67; *Ilaiyāṉ.*, 25; *Māṉakkañcāṟar*, 33 etc.
10. *Uttara kāmikāgama*:62: 1-3.
11. *ibid.*, 12.
12. *ibid.*, 13-14.
13. 7: 64: 3.
14. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 46.
15. *Cave temples of India*, p. 147.

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IV

The poet has used almost all the synonyms of the word bull in Tamil. It is only an analysis of his poems that reveals this truth, showing no conscious effort on his part. The exigencies of versification alone cannot explain this; the imaginative effort at choosing the correct poetic word for the context is also there, a choice made possible by his command of the Tamil Language.

In 10 places, he uses the phrase "*Māl viṭai*"[16] for, according to the *purāṇas*, at the time of the burning of the three castles, Viṣṇu, as Śiva's *Ṛṣabha vāhana* came to support the chariot which was giving way under the weight of Śiva. The Tamil *Upadēca Kāṇṭam* also gives this story. '*Māl*', therefore may be taken to be used in the sense of Viṣṇu, though the sense of big or huge may be there as a secondary meaning. Viṣṇu is famous as "*Puṇḍarīkākṣa*' — 'the lord of the red lotus eyes' and the reference to '*ceṅkaṇ*' or the ruddy eye in nine places in relation to the bull, further confirms this interpretation, though it has a secondary meaning of being natural to the fighting bull. If Viṣṇu is interpreted, by natural association, his blue colour will be suggested; but the *Ṛṣabha* is pure white, the very incarnation of *Dharma*. Before Viṣṇu assumed the bull-form, *Dharma* it was, which was carrying Śiva in the form of the white bull. Therefore, even Viṣṇu had assume the white colour when he became a bull — "*Veḷai māl viṭai*".[17]

Ārūrar speaks of "*Vēda māl viṭai*".[18] The *Vēdic* song comparing the *śabda* to the cow is wellknown and Ārūrar makes *Vēdas* themselves the bull.

'*Viṭai*', another word for the bull, used by Ārūrar, is traced to the Sanskrit '*vṛṣa*' by the Tamil Lexicon. But there are others, who will trace it to the root '*viṭu*'. "*Kaṭa viṭutal*" is one of the operations of cultivation, where the bulls are allowed to go round and round the heaped up paddy for separating the straw. There is also the root '*viṭai*' implying the majestic and angry gait of the bull.

16. 7: 35: 1; 7: 42: 5; 7: 44: 10; 7: 57: 3; 7: 57: 3; 7: 57: 10; 7: 61: 3; 7: 62: 6; 7: 70: 1; 7: 84: 7; 7: 86; 5.
17. 7: 42: 5.
18. 7: 57: 3.

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'*Ēru*',[19] is another word used by Ārūrar and this suggests the overpowering, almost the arrogant posture suggesting its masculine virility. The pouncing attitude is alluded to by Ārūrar — "*Pāyum viṭai*".[20] The majestic gait of heroes is often compared in Tamil with that of the bull. Ārūrar to the majestic walk — *Naṭai uṭai nal erutu*".[21] "*Ēṟu ēṟum īcar*"[22], therefore, is not only beautiful as a '*piṉvaru nilai aṇi*' but full of significance as revealing the divine majesty and Omnipotence of God. This angry and proud majestic form is, therefore, emphasised for suggesting by contrast the higher divinity of Śiva It is a murderous bull, killing perhaps the Rākṣasas. It is warlike — "*Poru veḷ viṭai*" it is cruel — "*koṭu mā viṭai*",[24] and teasing — '*alaitta*'.[25] It is a murderous bull roaring in anger, — "*Cilaikum kolaiccē*".[26]

The word '*Cē*' denotes the bull but the secondary sense of '*Cemmai*' or uprightness is there to suggest that it is all in the path of righteousness. It has green eyes — '*Paiṅkaṇ*'.[27] Its eyes fume with anger, the red becomes almost green as explained by Parimēlaḻakar.[28]

It takes the offensive part in war and it is so strong — "*Aṭal ēṟu*".[29] It takes the offensive even before the other side thinks of it — *Munti-p poru viṭāi*".[30] It runs with all its speed — *Vēkam koṇṭōṭi*".[31]

This poet uses a very suggestive phrase — '*Paṭṭi veḷ ēṟu*'[32] full of very rich meanings. *Paṭṭi*' means a cattle-pound or cow stall; it means the unbridled person,[33] from which significance has come the idea of the straying bull. The same idea of unruly mischievous disposition towards the enemies is emphasised by the

19 7: 4: 2; 7: 7; 3; etc:
20. 7: 53: 3.
21. 7: 11: 5
22. 7: 7: 7.
23. 7: 3: 3.
24. 7: 62: 6.
25. 7: 57: 1.
26. 7: 9: 1.
27. 7: 90: 10.
28. Commentary on *Paripāṭal*: 5-27.
29. 7: 19: 4.
30. 7: 73: 7.
31. 7: 17: 3.
32. 7: 43: 9.
33. *Kali*' 5.

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phrase — "*Cillai veḷḷēṟu*",[34] used by Ārūrar. The idea of "*paṭṭi maṇṭapam*" or the hall of scholars is familiar to the Tamilians and, therefore, the idea of a learned bull is also suggested. The bull the Master of Śaiva Siddhānta, praised as such by *Tirumūlar*.[35] is *Nandi*, Ārūrar also refers to the bull as the very embodiment of Vēdas — "*vēda viṭai*.[36] All these shades of secondary meanings enrich the conception of the bull on which Śiva sits.

The poet also emphasises its youth — its eternal youth. It is "*Maḻaviṭai*".[37] It shoots or leaps up in rage or in joy or in pride — '*Poṅku*'[38] He speaks of its childlike lispings — '*Maḻalai veḷḷēṟu*'[39] "*Maḻalai ēṟu*".[40] This may be suggestive of the childlike innocence and divine upadēsa of Nandi or the sound of the *Vēda*, for both of them are represented by the form of a bull. "*Kuṟuṅkōṭṭiṉēṟu*".[41] Suggests the youth through the horns described as short. The horn is said to be rich — '*Ceḻuṅkōṭu*'.[42] "*Kūḻai ēṟu*",[43] is a dwarfish or young bull. '*Kūḻai*' as connected with '*Kūḻamai*' suggests duty, and fondling. This idea of fondling and childlike attachment is well brought out by the phrase "*Mūciṭu māl viṭai*",[44] the bull sniffing its lord or swarming round Him, as the bee, its honey. Connected with this is the idea of beauty expressed by the phrase — "*Pukar ēṟu*".[46]

'*Iṭavam*', another word for the bull, is used by Ārūrar. It comes from the Sanskrit '*Vṛṣabha*'. It has secondary associations. *Piṅkalantai* gives the meaning of, the word '*ēṟu*'. The same lexicon gives also the meaning '*Nandi*'. In the verse in which it is used in the "*Murukaṉ Pūṇṭi*" hymn,[46] the poet seems to be punning. He is accusing God of doing some thing inappropriate. Therefore,

34. 7: 44; 2.
35. V. 61.
36. 7: 57: 3.
37. 7: 82; 2.
38. 7: 35; 1.
39. 7: 72: 3.
40. 7: 12: 5.
41. 7: 33: 1.
42. 7: 63: 4.
43. 7: 12: 1.
44. 7: 84: 7.
45. 7: 4: 2.
46. 7: 49: 8.

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'iṭavam' may suggest the left handed inferior path or a lump of earth,[47] on which He gets up.

The word '*Pacu*' also is used,[48] by Ārūrar. In a place, where he wants to speak ill of God in a jocular vein, this word is used: The poet says, 'I shall not slander you, if you ride on the *pacu*',[49] which has probably an under-ground suggestion of a cow. '*Pacu*' is a word very important in Saiva Philosophy. *Paśupati* is the Śaivites' beloved term and the particular word '*paśu*' suggests the idea of '*Paśupati*'[50]

'*Mūri*' is another name for the bull,[51] because of its strength and greatness. It means also the hump which is the special characteristic feature of the *Brāhmaṇi* bull. The word also has the underground suggestion of antiquity in Ārūrar's "*Mūri veḷḷai erutu*".[52]

The word '*Erutu*' is also used. Perhaps it is connected with '*ēr*', the plough, meaning the beast of plough. This is the bull which according to Ārūrar, the cultivator cannot get "*Uḻuvārk-kariya viṭai*".[53] Again, the poet lovingly calls it "Nal erutu" — good bull; probably the "*Naṭaiyuṭai nal erutu*"[54]—emphasises not only its majestic gait, but also its good behaviour suggesting that the bull in effect is an embodiment of goodness

The word '*Cē*' also is being in use for the bull from the days of Tolkāppiyam. The Tamil Lexicon derives it from the red colour, probably under the impression that this colour is more predominant among the bulls, It may be derived also from '*Cēttal*' which means 'to be lying down at rest'—the characteristic couchant posture of the bull whilst it chews its cud. As already suggested, this word '*Cē*' suggests straightforward righteous act. "*Cēviṉ mēl varum*",[55] is the phrase used by Ārūrar, where the great wealth of divinity is suggested to consist of increasing righteousness and impartiality The direct meaning is that his

47. *Periyāḻvār*, 3: 5: 5.
48. 7: 15: 8; 7: 75: 6.
49. 7: 15: 8.
50. 7: 75: 6.
51. *Patiṟṟuppattu*—67: 15.
52 7: 42: 6.
53. 7: 42: 6.
54. 7: 11: 5.
55. 7: 68: 3.

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wealth is the bull He rides. The bull is the sign of divinity — "*Ceṇkaṇ cēvuṭai-c civalōkaṉ*".[56]

There is one other word for the bull used by Ārūrar, '*Perṟam*' with its variant form '*Perṟu*'.[57] If it is to be derived from the root '*Peṟu*', it may mean the best gift in a pastoral economy, where the cattle forms the real wealth, which is another idea of "*Cēviṉ mēl varu celvaṉ*".[58] Ārūrar calls the Lord, '*Perṟār*',[59] as one in possession of the bull.

The common word is '*Ā*', with its variant form with the '*ṉ*' suffix, thus forming '*Āṉ*'. It is traced to the root '*Ā*' in the sense of 'to prosper', belonging to the same cattle economy of the pastoral age. In "*Ā nal veḷḷēru*"[60] and *Āviṉiṟ cē*',[61] '*Ā*' is used by the poet to denote the genus. The poet makes this reference to the pastoral tract is clear. In Tamil Literary tradition, the bull belongs to '*Mullai*' or pastoral tract. Ārūrar speaks of "*Kollaic cillai veḷ ēṟu*"[62] and "*Cempuṉañ cēr koṭipaṭu mūri*"[53] — 'the oxen in the pastoral area in the rich fields full of creepers.'

'*Kō*' is another word derived from the Sanskrit '*Gō*' or related according to a few to the Tamil word '*Kōṉ*' the name of the pastoral chief. The poet calls God, "*Kōviṉ mēl varum Kō*"[64] — 'the lord of the bull', using the same word '*kō*' in two different meanings, the bull and the Lord. The bull is thus suggested to be the sign of divinity.

V

This reminds us of the Pallava age in which Ārūrar lived. The bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. Like Śiva they had the bull flag — '*Viṭai veḻ koṭi*"[65] Their coins bear this emblem.[66] Their seals with a few exceptions bore this symbol of a couchant bull — "*Viṭai maṇ pori ōlai*".[67] When we see in the Kāsāhuṭi

56. 7: 35: 5.
57. 7: 90: 8.
58. 7: 68: 3.
59. 7; 22: 9.
60. 7: 8: 2.
61. 7: 17: 4.
62. 7: 44: 2.
63. 7: 22: 6.
64. 7: 68: 1.
65. *Periya Tirumoḻi*—11: 9.
66. *Eliot's coins of South India*, No. 31-38.
67. *Nandikkalambakam*—11.

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plates and elsewhere the liṅga surmounted on the recumbent bull, we have to recognize that it is not the ordinary bull but Śiva's bull that is represented, thereby making the seal not only a seal of the Government but also that of the state religion of Śaivism.

In the light of these seals, the descriptions of Rājasiṁha in his inscription,[63] of Kailāsanātha Temples as not only "the *Ṛṣabha lāñcana*"— 'He whose emblem is the bull', but also as "*Śrī Ṛṣabha darpah*" — 'He who is proud of the bull (as his sign)' becomes very significant. Just in front of the Kailasanātha Temple is the *Nandi maṇṭapa* with the bull, as in other Śiva temples of modern times. In the age of the Ādi Dravida Saint, Nandaṉār, these must have been in front of the temples, because tradition tells us that at Tiruppuṉkūr, where this untouchable Saint was standing outside the temple precincts, he felt miserable that the couchant bull was hiding the view of God, where upon God ordered the bull to move a little away, for giving the Saint a *darśana*. In ancient times, these bulls must have been built in brick.

VI

In the temples of the period of Mahēndravarma, these bulls are found only in *Bhairava koṇḍa Temples*,[69] but the other temples also must have had them. Coming to the period of Narasiṁha, the Māmalla, we have in *Arjuna Ratha* on the Southern side in the central panel, a figure of Śiva leaning on the bull. Near the *Arjuna's Ratha* is the couchant bull.[70] In the *Kṛṣṇa Maṇḍapa*, the sculptor has carved out a beautiful bull in the form in which it is found in Śaivite temples, perhaps because of the artist's interest in the *Pallava lāñchana*. The shore temple at Māmallapuram belongs to the period of Rājasiṁha. The smaller Śiva shrine has the domical cell crowned by a stone image of the sacred bull.[71] Nandis were placed on the ground at each corner and face of the larger shrine. The same scheme is found in the Kailasanātha Temple.[72] Here near the base at each corner and face, between the projecting shrines, a large 'nandi' is placed on the ground.[73]

68. *S.I.I*, Vol. I, No. 25.
69. Plate XX, *Pallava Architecture* by Longhurst, Vol. I.
70. Plate X.
71. Plates I and II—the bull is seen on the West.
72. Page 20, *Rea*.
73. Page 19, *Rea*; See Plate VII and Plates XII and XIII.

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The Kailasanātha Temple must have been very imposing. "The architectural effect is accomplished by the true principle of design in the grouping of a number of minor features round about and leading the eye upto the central and crowning object of the structure; in these cases, this is the vimāna tower. The central object is the greater tower over the shrine with lesser towers over the shrines at each of its corners and at the centre of each face. The view outside would originally be extremely effective, for, in the peculiar arrangement of cells grouped along each side of the courtyard, each shrine has a small tower over it which stands clear of the courtyard wall head,"[74] presenting a varied skyline, reminding us of the temples of the Eastern Archipelago.

The main outlines are marked of as it were by the bulls. On the ground are the bulls; on the wall heads are the bulls about which more shall be mentioned. On the top of the tower, below the dome are, supporting as it were, the bull in the four corners. This last is a new feature of the Kailāsanātha temple. This is the description of the '*vimāna*': "The general elevation of this superstructure is a small tower over each of the exterior shrines at the corners and facades. Above this is a storey. Over this is a double cornice; the storeys above are successively stepped back forming a slight platform between each. Over this is a square portion with cornice, a '*nandi*' at each corner and a finial over it. The tower cap is capped by an octagonal *śikharam*.[75] These '*nandis*' in the '*vimāna*' form a new feature. At the Māmallapuram shore temple, there are only *gaṇas* playing on conches. This is replaced by '*nandi*' in the Kailāsanātha temple and in all the temples of Conjīvaram."[76]

A word has to be said about the bulls near the cells: "On each side of the large court is ranged a continuous series of cells each with a small tower and '*sikharas*' over it. These '*śikharas*' have originally stood with their summits appearing above the wall, the head of the court with '*nandis*' and elephants placed alternately on the wall head between them. This would form a most effective grouping as a whole, from the outside". These bulls and elephants remain to be explained. Appar speaks of '*Airāvaṇam*'

74. Extract from page 15, *Rea.*
75. Plate XXVI.
76. Plate C, *Mataṅgēśvara Temple*; Plate XVI, *Mataṅgēśvara Temple*; Plates XVIII, XIX, *Muktēśvara Temple*; Plate XX, *Tripurāntakēśvara Temple*.

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the elephant of Śiva: "*Ayirāvaṇam ēṟātu āṉēṟēṟi*"[77] — 'You ride on the bull without riding on the elephant'. Therefore, we have this alteration of the elephant and the bull. If this idea is grasped, the full meaning of Ārūrar's interrogation may be grasped: "*Viṭai ēṟuvateṉ, mata yāṉai niṟka*?"[78] Whilst the elephant stands, why are you riding on the bull?'

VII

The Lord loves the bull — *Ukantu*'.[79] He rides on it '*Mēṟkoḷum*',[80] "*Erutēṟṟaiyum mēṟkoṇṭāṉ*"[81],' *Viṭaiyiṉ mēl varuvāṉ*",[82] "*Varuvār viṭaimel*",[83] 'He comes to us on it'. The bull is harnessed and He rides, "*Pūṭṭikkoṇṭu ēṟṟiṉai ēṟuvar*",[84] and comes to us along with Pārvatī — "*Varuvār viṭai mēl mātōṭu.*"[85] We usually find God riding on the bull even as women ride on the horse with both the legs hanging on one and the same side. Postures of God riding on the bull even as one rides on the horse are found in the Kailāsanātha Temple,[86] and Airāvatēśvara Temple.[87]

There is a beautiful description of this *mūrti* by Ārūrar:

"*Maruvār koṉṟai maticūṭi māṇik kattiṉ malaipōla*
Varuvār viṭaimēl mātōṭu makiḻntupūtap paṭaicūḻat
Tirumāl piramaṉ intiraṟkum tēvar nākar tāṉavarkkum
Perumān Kaṭavūr mayāṉattup periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷē."[88]

"The Lord, who is known as *Periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷ* at *Kaṭavūr*, who is the Lord of Viṣṇu, Brahma, Indra, the *Dēvas Nāgas* and *Rākṣasas*, comes on the bull with Parvatī surrounded by the *Pūtas* adorned with '*koṉṟai*' flower and the crescent moon on His head like a ruby mountain'.

77. *Ap.* 6; 25: 1.
78. 7: 4: 5.
79. 7: 9: 1.
80. 7: 50: 2.
81. 7: 22: 6.
82. 7: 86: 1.
83. 7: 53: 1.
84. 7: 18: 5.
85. 7: 53: 1.
86. Plate XLIII, fig. 2.
87. Plate CXVI; See Dārāsuram plates; *M.A.R.*, 1919-1920.
88. 7: 53: 1.

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VIII

This form of riding on the bull has its own esoteric significance. The poet asks of God, "what is this liking of yours—this riding on the beautiful bull?"—"*Pukar ēṟu ukantēṟal purinta teṉṉē?*"[89] He repeats this rhetorical interrogation: "*Viṭai ēṟuvateṉ?*"[90] "*Viṭai ērit tiriva teṉṉē?*"[91] Ārūrar speaks of the Lord riding on the bull of the form of '*O*' or *Praṇava*.[92] In another place he speaks of the Universe being in the form of '*Ōmkārā*' or *Praṇava*.[93] Vēdas are, but the elaboration of this Praṇava and therefore the bull is said to be the *Vēdas*.[94] Dharma is that which supports everything; the very basis of everything and *Praṇava* is its symbol. The Lord is there in this form, the very ruler of the Universe. The conception of *Paśupati* or the Lord of the souls receives concrete representation in this form.

89. 7: 4: 2.
90. 7: 4: 5.
91. 7: 6: 3.
92. 7: 5: 10.
93. 7: 67: 1.
94. 7: 57: 3.

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PART II

CHAPTER I

VIṢĀPAHARAṆA MŪRTI

I

A story which has always captivated the imagination of the Tamilians is the story of Śiva swallowing the poison. For obtaining the *ambrosia* which would make them immortal, the *Devas* churned the ocean of milk. The '*Mandara*' mountain was placed as the churning post; the great snake-king *Ādiśēṣa* was made the rope; Viṣṇu himself became the support for the post. The *Dēvas* caught hold of the rope at one end and the *Asuras* (Demons) at the other end. To the great consternation of all, there first arose the all destroying poison. Śiva swallowed it. Pārvatī who was near Him pressed the throat of Śiva to prevent the poison going into the stomach. The blue poison, becoming visible through the fair skin of the throat of Śiva, is ever remembered as the embodiment of Śiva's Grace.

II

Ṛg Vēda refers to Rudra drinking '*Viṣa*' from a cup along with a Muni. The *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa* speaks of Rudra drinking '*viṣa*', which means water and poison. Hālāhala means also poison and liquor. Rudra is the Fire-god,[1] and the drinking of water refers to the evaporation of water effected by Fire or Sun. '*Viṣa*' has the meaning of poison and probably because of this the story of swallowing poison has developed. The *Atharva Vēda*,[2] and the *Yajur Vēda*,[3] speak of his blue neck (*Nīlagrīva*) and from the time of *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad*, this *Nīlakaṇṭham* is considered by the Śaivites as the important mark of divinity.

III

The form of this *Viṣāpaharaṇamūrti* is found described in the *Kāraṇāgama*. Therein, it is stated: "Siva, as usual, should have a face with three eyes on it, wearing a *jaṭāmakuṭa* and having four

1. Ṛg Vēda, Part II, 1: 6.
2. XV: i. 7-8; XI: 2. 6.
3. *Vājasanēya Samhita* XVI: 7.51.2-4.

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arms. In two of His hands there should be the '*paraśu*' (the battle axe) and the '*mṛga*' (the deer); in one of the remaining hands there should be the cup containing the poison and the fourth hand should be held in the '*varada*' pose. His sight must be fixed upon the poison and the general attitude should be such as to indicate that He is going to sip the poison immediately. He should be adorned with all kinds of ornaments. On the left of Śiva there should be His consort Pārvatī, embracing her Lord about the neck with her right arm and appearing highly perplexed and distressed.[4] Her complexion should be dark; she should have two eyes, two arms and be standing in the '*tribhaṅga*' posture (with three bends in her body), with her right leg placed vertically on the ground and the left one kept slightly bent."

Another description adds to the above the following details: "The appearance of Śiva should be made terrific (*ugra*) by the addition of side tusks; His complexion should be white as the full-moon and He should be draped in garments made of tiger's skin: there should be a garland made of small bells, and along with the other usual ornaments, there should be some others composed of scorpions (*Vṛścika*). In the right hands of Śiva there should be the '*triśūla*' and a beaked vessel (*gōkarṇa*) containing the poison; and in one of the left hands the '*kapāla*'. Since no object is mentioned as being in the fourth hand, it appears that this arm may be taken to be employed in the act of embracing the *Dēvī*. In the first description, Śiva and Pārvatī are required to be standing, but in this one, they are said to be seated on the bull-vehicle of Śiva".[5]

In the age of Rājā Rāja, Queen Pṛthivīmahadēvi set up a seated image of *Śrīkaṇṭhamūrtikaḷ* with four arms.[6] The following is the note of the epigraphist: "The God Śiva got this name in consequence of his swallowing the *hālāhala* poison produced at the churning of the ocean. The name *Nīlakaṇṭha* of the god is also traceable to the some event".

Visāpaharaṇamūrti, 'the swallower of poison' is described in the *Kāraṇagama* to have one face, three eyes, braided hair and four arms holding in the two upper ones the antelope and the axe. He is in the posture of drinking the poison which he holds

4. See *Ārūrar*, 7: 99: 1.
5. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 357-58.
6. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 80.

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in his right (lower) hand. On his left side is the goddess with two arms. With her right arm stretched round the neck of Śiva she shows anxiety in her face.

IV

Our search for a representation of this form in sculptures of the age of Ārūrar, is not successful. But however there is a sculpture of the churning of the oceans.[7] A general note may be added before we proceed further. Most of the sculptures reveal the various poses described in the *Nāṭyaśāstras* and according to the IV Chapter of this work by *Bharata*, it was, the samavākara of the churning of the ocean that was performed by Bharata on the advice of Brahma on the Himalayan slopes to please Śiva who witnessed the same.[8] It is no wonder, therefore, the sculptors, well versed in the Nāṭyaśāstra gave this picture of the churning of the oceans. Dr. Mīnākṣi has brought out with the help of quotations from *Citra Sūtra* of the *Viṣṇudharmōttara*, the necessity for a knowledge of dancing for the proficiency in painting and has proved with the help of the paintings at Cittaṉṉavāsal that the Pallava painters were so proficient in the *Bharata Śāstra*.[9] She has also pointed out the royal interest which Rājasiṁha evinced in dancing as revealed by the sculptures of his Kailāsanātha Temple especially his special interest in *Kuñcita* dance.[10] But the postures of every figure in these sculptures could be referred to as describing the various postures of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The sculptors of the Pallava age along with the painters were well versed in this art of dancing. Therefore, the sculptors represented the stories as a series of dances. The churning of the ocean is one such scene in this drama of *Viṣāpaharaṇa*.

V

Ārūrar's description of this story may be now taken up for study. We are in a better position to understand his references in the light of what we have summarised from the *purāṇas*, *Āgamas* and the sculptures which were all probably before him. From the known sea, the poet proceeds to the unknown ocean of milk, from which the poison came up. The ocean on which the

7. Plate XXXIII, fig. 3, *Rea's Pallava Architecture*.
8. Ch. IV, 1-9.
9 P. 280.
10. P. 285.

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ships sail — "*Vaṅkam mali kaṭal*',[11] "*Vaṅkam mēviya vēlai*",[12] must have been very familiar to the age of Ārūrar, when people from the port of Mahābalipuram and other ports of the East coast, must have sailed for purpose of trade to the East. The limit of the sea is the shore '*Vēlai*,[13] from which we get a glimpse of its greatness. The sea from which the poison came up is '*kaṭal*'; perhaps like '*kāṭu*', a forest, it comes from the root '*kaṭu*', a cruel and terrific expanse of water — "*Taṭaṅkaṭal.*[14] It is dark — "*Karuṅkaṭal*"[15], the clouds feast therein—"*Kārār kaṭal*"[16] It is full of tides — "*Ōtakkaṭal*"[17] This big ocean heaves up as though to cover everything — "*Poṇku mā kaṭal*".[18] It is tha noisy sea — "*Oli kaṭal*",[19] "*Muḻaṅku kaṭal.*",[20] teasing the conches — "*Caṅka-lakkum taṭaṅ kaṭal*".[21]

This ocean is churned by the "*Vāṉavar and Tāṉavar*" (the Dēvas and the Demons).[22] The beautiful mountain is the churning post; the deadly serpent is the churning rope.[23] "The poison sprang up from the sea — "*Eḻunta ālam*"[24] "*Eḻukaṭal nañcu*",[25] "*Vēlaiyuḷ mikkeḻunteriyum nañcam*".[26]

The poison is '*Nañcu*'. It is the deadly '*Kālakūṭam*'.[27] It is the terrible great poison — "*Periya nañcu*",[28] the '*ālam*' (*Hālā-hala*);[29] it is the '*viṣa*' (*Viṭam*).[30] It comes swarming like the gathering darkness — "*Kārulāviya nañcu*",[31] and concentrating a

11. 7: 51: 11.
12. 7: 75: 2.
13. 7: 75: 2.
14. 7: 19: 3.
15. 7: 18: 3.
16. 7: 53: 7.
17. 7: 94: 6.
18. 7: 70: 1.
19. 7: 73: 10.
20. 7: 63: 3.
21. 7: 51: 3.
22. 7: 68: 4.
23. 7: 55: 5.
24. 7: 55: 5.
25. 7: 82: 2
26. 7: 68: 4.
27. 7: 9: 9.
28. 7: 67: 9.
29. 7: 55: 5.
30. 7: 6: 5; 7: 16: 8; 7: 23: 3; 7: 51: 3; 7: 70: 1; 7: 81: 6; 7: 93: 7; 7: 99: 1.
31. 7: 36: 1.

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point — "*Moyttelunta viṭam*".[32] The *Dēvas* were terrified when the poison sprang up and an alarm was raised—'*Pūcaliṭa*'.[33] The poet proceeds to explain the drinking of the poison in various ways. He exclaims in one place, 'But what an innocent and foolish one is the Great God to swallow this poison?' — "*Nañciṉai uṇṭiṭṭa pētai-p perumāṉ*".[34] He again says, 'This poison of the sea He swallowed without knowing it and the throat became black' — "*Vēlai viṭam ariyāmal uṇṭu kaṇṭam karuttāy.*"[35] This may mean that you swallowed it to save the world without anybody knowing but the throat became black permanently, revalving the secreet act. If so the poem must be describing the version that God of His own accord swallowed the poison.[36]

The other version is that the Dēvas requested Him to swallow the poison.[37]

In another place, he speaks of the distressing lamentation and confusing uproar amongst the *Dēvas* at which *Śiva* swallowed the poison — "*Vāṉavarkaḷ pūciliṭa-k kaṭal nañcuṇṭa*".[38]

In one place the poet speaks of the *Dēvas* as deceitful and mean—'*Vañcarkaḷ*'[33] who gathered together at the sight of the poison and begged of God to swallow it so that it may not attack them — "*Vaṅkam mēviya vēlai nañceḻa vañcarkaḷ kūvi-t taṅkal mēl aṭarāmai uṇṇeṉa*".[40] The idea probably is that Śiva will never refuse the request especially when they pretend that they are offering a feast — "*Uṇ ēṉa*".[41] He calls the Dēvas, "*Viñcai vāṉavar*",[42] which in view of the hymn 75, verse 2, may be interpreted as adepts in deceitful magic art, deceiving God also, giving Him the poison as food.

In another place,[43] the poet speaks of Śiva swallowing the poison because the three great gods, Viṣṇu, Brahma and Indra,

32. 7: 16: 8.
33 7: 84: 1.
34. 7: 94: 6.
35. 7: 23: 3.
36. 7: 55: 5
37. 7: 19: 9; 7: 46: 2; 7: 51: 3.
38. 7: 84: 1.
39. 7: 75: 2.
40. 7: 75: 2.
41. 7: 75: 2.
42. 7: 68: 4.
43. 7: 19: 9.

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fell at His feet reciting the Mantra. In the hymn 19, verse 3, the poet probably refers to the *Rudras*, the *Dēvas* carrying the trident, falling at His feet and begging of Him to save them from the poison — "*Aṅkaiyil mūvilai vēl amarar aṭi parava*".[44] Ārūrar speaks of God clearing the doubts in the minds of these *Dēvas* by this act of swallowing the poison — "*Caṅkaiyai nīṅka aruḷi-t taṭaṅkaṭal nañcamuṇṭār*",[45] a conclusive proof of His omnipotence and divinity.

God made a feast of this poison (*aruntu*) as a great delicacy[46] and "*Ukantu amutu ceytāṉ*".[47] He dined it to His full — '*Nuṅki*'.[48]

The poet refers to the presence of Pārvatī at the time of this feast.[49] In the last reference, Ārūrar describes *Umā* of the crescent-like beautiful and shining forehead, closing her eyes of staring ingreat fright. It looked as though this look of hers made the poison to stay in the throat; it became full and was pressing hard. Thus did the Lord make a feast of the great blue poison.[50] In one place,[51] Ārūrar, overpowered with his imagination which makes the story occur before his very eyes, cries with all the anxiety of a mother, "Please do vomit forth this poison. You have drunk this deadly dark poison as though it was food or nectar specially prepared for you in the fear that if it were not swallowed it would destroy all the world".

In another place, the poet exclaims that Śiva, swallowing the poison, became immortal, so to say — "*Vārkaṭal nañcuṇṭataṉuk kiṟavā teṉṟum iruntavaṉ*".[52]

The blue neck is not natural; it was the result of this feat. It darkened because of the poison.[53] It became a poisoned throat — "*Kāḷakaṇṭaṉ*",[54] a blue throat — "*Nīlakaṇṭar*",[55] a blotted throat — "*Kaṟai miṭaṟu*"[56] a throat of black spot — *Maiyārum*

44. 7: 19: 3.
45. 7: 19: 3.
46. 7: 63: 3.
47. 7: 61: 1.
48. 7: 51: 11.
49. 7: 6: 5; 7: 96: 5; 99: 1.
50. 7: 99: 1.
51. 7: 9: 10.
52. 7: 84: 8.
53. 7: 18: 3; 7: 26: 2; 7; 7: 36: 1.
54. 7: 12: 8.
55. 7: 7: 2:
56. 7: 89: 4.

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miṭaṟu",[57] the throat where darkness spreads — '*Kārūr*',[58] "*Kārūr kaṇṭam*",[59] "*Kāriruḷ pōṉṟa kaṟai*".[60] It is a beauty spot; beautiful like the sapphire — "*Maṇi kaṇṭan*"[61] "*Maimmāṉa maṇi nīla kaṇṭa-t temmāṉ*".[62] The poet speaks of the beauty, directly using the word '*ēr*' — "*Nañcēr kaṇṭā*"[63] It shines — '*Tikaḻ*'.[64]

VI

In 82 places in all, Ārūrar refers to this act of swallowing the poison. It is indeed very curious that this *Viṣāpaharaṇa Mūrti* is not specifically mentioned as *Anugraha Mūrti* in the *Āgamas*.[65] Ārūrar, as already stated, has referred to this in his enumeration of *Anugrahamūrtis*.[66] The *Nīlakaṇṭham* signified God's Grace and the very name *Nīlakaṇṭha* was cherished as the most lovable name of Śiva. The story of *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Nāyaṉār* explains the importance of this name. To ward off any danger, this name was always pronounced and this is clearly proved by *Tirunīlakaṇṭar* and *Tiruñāṉacampantar*.[67]

Ārūrar also mentions with all love and reverence this phrase "*Tirunīlakaṇṭam*" as though it were a *mantra*. The addition of '*Tiru*' to any name suggests divine association. Pērāciriyar in his commentary on '*Tiru*' in the first verse of *Tirukkōvaiyār*, makes this tradition clear. The name '*Nīlakaṇṭar*' is also used,[68] by Ārūrar, but the phrases '*Tirunīla miṭaṟṟiṉāṉ*',[69] and '*Tirunīla miṭaṟṟempirāṉ*',[70] are used with the prefix '*Tiru*' to bring about the sacred aspect.

VII

The spiritual significance of this story was realized by the Tamilians as early as the *Caṅkam* Age. When Atikamāṉ instead

57. 7: 25: 5.
58. 7: 95: 11.
59. 7: 95: 11.
60. 7: 58: 9.
61. 7: 9: 8.
62. 7: 38: 6.
63. 7: 15: 3.
64. 7: 27: 7.
65. *Hindu Iconography*, V. II, P. 1, page 356.
66. 7: 55: 5.
67. See *Periyapurāṇam* and *Campantar Tēvāram*—I, 116.
68. 7: 7: 2.
69. 7: 27: 4.
70. 7: 22: 1.

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of eating the black emblic myrobalan (*karunelli*) of life-giving properties offered it to *Avvaiyār*, it amounted to his preferring death if the lady of the culture could be saved. This is the act of a saviour preferring crucifixion for redeeming the world. Avvaiyār when she learns the truth about the magic powers of the fruit offered to her, explains that Atikamāṉ is verily Śiva, the Great Saviour, swallowing the poison and preparing to die for saving others.[71] We see our poet mentioning this kind of Grace— "*Nañcuṇṭu tēvarkku amutam koṭutta nalam*",[72] 'We do not understand this Good act", "*Nalam oṉṟu ariyōm*"[73] — says Ārūrar.

The famous *Kuṟaḷ* defining civilization in terms of '*Dākṣaṇ yam*' (*Kaṅṇōṭṭam*) refers probably to this very great act of Śiva knowingly swallowing the poison offered by others.[74] The poet has a veiled reference to this.[75]

No other story can bring out this theory of Grace of God swallowing all our sins and saving even the prodigal son — "*Pātakamē cōru*" and *Ceytaṉavē tavamākknm.*"[75a] This form is, therefore, the rare nectar — "*Āramutu*",[76] unto the worshippers. These simple, credulous, innocent and tender lovers of God keep this form in their mind — it looks He has assumed this poisoned neck, so that, He himself might be in their hearts— '*Maṭamuṭaiya aṭiyārttam maṉattēyuṟa viṭamuṭaiya miṭaraṉ*'.[77]

VIII

It is probably this esoteric significance of this story that Tirumūlar expresses, when he writes the verse:

"*Aṇṭamo ṭeṇṭicai tāṅkum atōmukam*
Kaṇṭam karutta karuttari vāṟillai
Uṇṭatu nañceṉ ṟuraippar uṇarvilōr
Veṇṭalai mālai viricaṭai yōṟkē".[78]

71. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*: 91.
72. 7: 2: 4.
73. 7: 2: 4.
74. *K.* 550.
75. 7: 94: 6, etc.
75a. *Tiruvācakam*: *Tiru-t-tōḷnōkkam.*
76. 7: 51: 2.
77. 7: 81: 6.
78. *Tirumantiram*, 521.

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In other places Tirumūlar speaks of God as swallowing us all and keeping us immersed in the bliss of His love

"Antamum ātiyum ākum parāparaṉ
Tantam paramparaṉ taṉṉir paramuṭaṉ
Nantamai uṇṭumeyñ ñāṉanē yāntattē
Nanti iruntaṉaṉ nāmaṟi yōmē.[79]

Ārūrar elaborates this in an autobiographical reference[80] that God's Grace revealed by this story has inspired him to take refuge in Him. He says, "The big mountains of beautiful pattern was fixed as the churning post; the deadly serpent was bound round it; (the ocean) was churned; there arose the deadly poison and all those who saw it ran very fast away from this danger. With a view to showering your blessings upon the *Dēvas*, you swallowed the blue poison of the sea and kept it for ever in your throat. O Mad Lord! Seeing this conduct of yours, I have taken refuge in your feet".[81]

IX

This story has thus a special significance to the worshippers of Ārūrar, because of the tradition of the Purāṇic story about his previous birth. *Periyapurāṇam* in '*Tirumalai-c cirappu*' makes out that this poet in his previous birth was a denizen of Kailās going under the name Ālālacuntarar. *Ālālacuntarar* is the '*tatbhava*' form of the phrase '*Hālāhala Sundara*'. The reflection of God Śiva in a Mirror came out as the beautiful form of Sundara and when the *Dēvas* rushed to Śiva for his help against the growing poison of *Hālāhala*, Śiva sent this Sundra to collect the poison and bring it to Him for being swallowed; and it is because of this, Sundra came to be known as *Ālāla Cuntarar*. Therefore, this poet's description of this story has a special significance to those who believe in the *purāṇic* tradition. Maṟai Malai Aṭikal and others feel that the verses about the previous birth are later day interpolations. Be that as it may, this poet does not refer to the story of bringing the poison. He seems to suggest that Śiva straightaway swallowed the poison at the instance of the *Dēvas*.

79. *Tirumantiram*, 2594.
80. 7: 55: 5.
81. 7: 55: 5.

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X

It may be stated in passing, that how this poet came to be called Sundarar, remains still a riddle unless it be that he was called Sundarar because of the name in his previous birth, though in the 100th hymn, the poet describes himself, '*Cuntaravēṭaṅkaḷāl turicē ceyyum toṇṭaṉ*'.[82] In one of his verses, this poet refers to this name. It is clear Cēkkiḻār does not give him this name expect where he refers to his previous birth.

Sundarar as a denizen of Kailās is referred to by Appar, "*Cuntaraṉai-t tuṇai-k kavari vīca-k koṇṭār*",[83] where he is given the function of fanning with the chaurie. In *Periyapurāṇam*, his function is to bring the sacred ashes and the garland.

82. 7: 100: 3.
83. 6: 96: 5.

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CHAPTER II

GAÑGĀDHARA MŪRTI

I

Generally Śiva is described as having a matlock which is described as having the *Gaṅgā* (the Ganges) in it. He is, therefore, called the *Gaṅgādhara mūrti.*

II

The description of the blue neck of Śiva has suggested to some that the form of Śiva represents a natural phenomenon of the mountain. The *Ṣatarudrīya* speaks of *Girīśa* lying on a mountain, because of his thunderbolt springing from a mountain of cloud and creeping along his blue neck and red complexion. Perhaps this is the vision of God as seen in the black cloud tinged red by the glow of lightning. The matted hair, the crescent moon, the Ganges and His connection with the Himālayas suggest the personification of the very form of the Himālayas awful and beautiful. Oldenberg has pointed out this similarity of the nature of *Rudra's* in its essence to Mountain God.

Whatever that be, in the later ages when the Ganges came to be looked upon as the sacred river almost divine, stories were invented regarding enterprises about its coming down from the Heavens to this world. It was easier for Śaivities who have thought of their God as the husband of the daughter of Himavān to connect Him with the holy Ganges.

III

One of the kings of the Solar family Bhagīratha becomes famous in the *Purāṇas* and the *Itihāsas* as a great king who brought this holy river, to save his cursed ancestors after a great penance of thousands of years. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *purāṇas* narrate this story. When the cult of pilgrimage and bathing in the holy waters of the rivers became popular, this story assumed a greater importance. By the time of Appar this cult of pilgrimage has become well established, "*Kaṅkai āṭileṉ, Kāviri ātileṉ*?" — 'What is the use of bathing in the Ganges or what is the use of bathing

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in the Kāviri?'[1] Here it will be seen that Appar is combining the Ganges and *Kāviri* on the same level. Kulāśēkhara Āḻvār goes a step further and speaks of the *Kāviri* of the Tamil land as of greater holiness, "*Kaṅkaiyiṟ puṉitamāya Kāviri*". All this implies the admitted sacredness of the Ganges and the Tamil epic poet Kampaṉ narrates the story of the coming of the Ganges by the Grace of Śiva, thanks to the penance of Bhagīratha.

That this story has been very popular in the age of *Tēvaram* especially in the age of Ñānacampantar and Appar of the 7th century A.D. is made clear by the various representation of this story by the sculptures of the age responsible for the Pallava monuments of that age. It is Tiruccirāppāḷḷi which first revealed by its Inscriptions the truth of Appar's influence over Mahēndra, otherwise called Guṇabhara. In this Tiruccirāppaḷḷi cave temple excavated by him, halfway up the Tiruccirāppaḷḷi rock, there is carved in the western wall of the hall facing the shrine in a large panel of seven feet square, a fine image of Śiva in the form of *Gaṅgādhara*. "In this sculpture, Śiva is portrayed with four arms, the right upper arm holding the Ganges issuing from His hair. The left upper arm perhaps holds a rosary, whereas, the left lower arm rests on the left hip. The right lower arm holds a hooded serpent. The raised right foot rests on the head of an ugly dwarf. On the right side of Śiva's head is the head and bust of a little human figure with the hand raised in prayer; evidently it is the Ganges": This is the description given by Longhurst [2] This will make the figure that of *Gāṅgāvisarjana Mūrti* where Śiva crushing the pride of *Gaṅgā* by making her disappear within His matted hair, allowed her to flow out as a tiny rivulet.

IV

The *Gaṅgādharamūrti* represents the figure where Śiva allows *Gaṅgā* to come down with all her force only to disappear within His locks. The Tiruccirāppaḷḷi representation is interpreted by Kṛṣṇa Sāstry,[3] as *Gaṅgādharamūrti* holding with His right hand a lock of hair in order to receive *Gaṅgā* descending from the clouds. Bhagīratha is not represented in this panel unless we take one of the faded out *Ṛṣi's* form as representing him.

1. *Appar Tēvāram*: 5: 99: 2.
2. *Pallava Architecture*, Part I
3. *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses*, p. 132.

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It is the temple of Kailāsanātha built by Rājasiṁha, that magic casement which brings before our eyes the Śaivite spirit making it alive through its representations of Śaivite mythology, in illustrating them, following the descriptions of the Śaivite poets. In this temple, several panels represent the story of the descent of *Gaṇgā*. Plate No. 44, fig. 2 (*Rea*) represents Śiva standing on a pedestal. *Gaṇgā* is descending on His left side of the head. Pārvatī is standing with her body forming two curves. Bhagīratha is standing on the right with folded hands in a mood of penance. Plate LIX (*Rea*) gives a bigger representation. There is no *Bhagīratha* here. Śiva has eight hands, instead of four, as in the previous panel. Mr. Rea is wrong in saying that there are only six arms. The lower left arm is embracing Pārvatī. Plate LVII is also said to be a representation of *Gaṅgā Avatāra*. Pārvati and Śiva alone are found here. But the form of *Gaṅgā* is absent. Śiva is holding what appears to be a portion of curve bent upwards. In other places *Rea* has interpreted this as this skin of the elephant flayed. The topmost panel represents Śiva killing an elephant which had terrified Pārvatī. The lower-most panel also represents an elephant and the middle panel, therefore, may be taken as the representation of Śiva holding up the flayed skin of the elephant as His shawl or cover.

Plate CIV, fig. 2 gives the very story of the descent of *Gaṅgā*: There are three hands on the right, but only two on the left, the lower arm, embracing Pārvatī, has been destroyed. The form of *Gaṅgā* is there descending on to the left side of Śiva. Plate CXXIII, fig. 2 gives more or less the same figure. Plate XCVII, fig. 2 is from Mataṅgēśvara temple of Conjīvaram. Śiva and Pārvati have a conical crown. Śiva has two hands on the right but only one is visible on the left. *Gaṅgā* is seen descending from the left side.

The *Aṁśumadhēdāgama*, the *Kāmikāgama* and the *Kāraṇāgama* describe the figure of *Gaṅgādhara Mūrti*. Śiva should stand with His right leg remaining straight while the left leg should be slightly bent. The front right hand should be placed towards the chin of Pārvatī. His left front arm should be embracing her. The back right arm lifted up to his crown should be holding a *jaṭā* and the back left hand should carry a *mṛga*. *Gaṅgā* should be placed on this. Pārvatī should be on the left with her right leg somewhat bent on the left remaining straight. Her right hand should be hanging down freely or holding up a few folds of her cloth, whilst

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the left one should be carrying in it a flower. Her face should express a state of mental uneasiness perhaps due to a feeling of jealousy: Sometimes Śiva's front right hand should be in the '*abhaya*' pose and front left in the '*kaṭaka*' pose. He should carry the hatchet and the deer in the other two hands. Bhagīratha should be coming to the height of Śiva's navel, chest or neck on the left of Śiva. He should be draped with a garment of barks. His matted hair should be flowing down. His two arms should be held in '*añjali*' pose on his chest or over his head. It will be seen that most of the rules are not followed by the sculptures of the *Tēvāram* period when probably no rigidity or convention had been achieved.

V

The most wonderful representation of the descent of *Gaṅgā* is found represented at Mahabalipuram on the open side of a mountain which stands almost like a wall. This is wrongly called as the figure of Arjuna's penance which is really the descent of *Gaṅgā* from the Himālayas' tops and the figure represented as doing penance can be no other than Bhagīratha. This great rock sculpture is unique and unlike any other ancient monument in India. Appar compares God to a fully filled irrigation tank, "*Ēri niṟaintaṉaiya celvaṉ kaṇṭāy*".[4] It is almost the divine feeling for the waters felt by the people of Toṇṭamaṇṭalam that is embodied in this remarkable scene sculptured here. 'This rock-cut drama' as Percy Brown remarks, 'is an allegorical representation of the holy river Ganges issuing from its source in the distant Himālayas, the water fed from a receptacle above cascading down a natural cleft in the rock in the centre of the magnificent picture in relief'. Perhaps the whole figure representing *Gaṇgāvisarjana* has brought forth the real feeling of the Tamilians for the water, for irrigating their fields. Śiva is here represented as being nude whereas in the other images of *Gaṅgādhara*, He is portrayed fully clothed and decorated. The importance of his sculpture may be realized from the other attempts to visualize the same scene on another part of a mountain (rock). It is almost a duplicate representation of the so-called Arjuna's penance but unfortunately not finished, perhaps because there were cracks in the mountain (rock) or it may be, as Longhurst points out, a kind of experimental mode for the great finished work at the other end

4. *Appar Tēvāram* 6: 23: 5.

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of the hill. Plates 29, 30, and 31 in Longhurst's *Pallava Architecture*, Part II give us this sculpture from various points of view.

That idea has captured the minds of the artists of Rājasiṁha's age as may be seen from the scene portrayed in the Shore temple — a first copy of the idea which reached its final form in the sculpture of the so-called Arjuna's penance.[5] Percy Brown explains the Shore Temple in such a way as to bring out the importance of the sculpture: "In the first place it seems evident that portions of the ground plan of the enclosure consisted of a system of shallow cisterns which could be flooded on occasions so that it resolves itself into a type of water temple. Some of the conduits or receptacles may still be traced and it is clear that they constituted an essential part of the lay out. The water to feed this system was brought by a canal and conveyed by sluices throughout the building any overflow being carried down a rocky cascade in the rear of the shrine and into the sea. The name of *Jalaśayana* temple seems to be appropriate".

VI

Ārūrar has in all 72 references to *Gaṅgā* in his hymns. He uses the form *kaṅku*' instead of '*Kaṅkai*' (*Gaṅgai*) or '*Kaṅga*' (*Gaṅgā*) at least in two places.[6] In the famous 'Tiruppuṉkūr' hymn where the poet says he has refuge in Lord because of the various acts of Grace narrated of olden times, he refers to this story of God acceding the request of Bhagīratha and making *Gaṅgā* rushing down with an uproar (almost destroying the whole world) to disappear within His matted hair.[7] The Ganges of the famous holy bathing ghat — "*Tuṟai-k kaṅkai*"[8] was coming down from the heights of the twilight sky — "*Cekkar vāṉ nīr*"[9] in whirling high floods — *Kaṇkai veḷḷam*",[10] "*Kaṭuṅkaluḻik-kaṅkai nīr veḷḷam*",[11] almost like a sea throwing up the rolling waves — "*Tiraikaḷ vantu puraḷa vīcum Kaṅkai*".[12] Proud Ganges was sent to disappear at the bottom of the braided hair.[13] The water in-

5. Plate 3, part III, *Longhurst*.
6. 7: 30: 9; 7: 41: 7.
7. 7: 55: 7.
8. 7: 82: 6.
9. 7: 1: 8.
10. 7: 4: 1.
11. 7: 38: 4
12. 7: 5: 2.
13. 7: 77: 2.

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creased and swelled but lo! the matted hair swallowed up and the water was nowhere.[14] The full river is in His towering braid of hair.[15]

In one poem he speaks of Śiva adorning Himself with the crescent moon and the Ganges and dancing with the ever increasing fire in His hand whilst the serpents whirled and the jingling anklets began to resound.[16] In another place,[17] Ārūrar speaks of the waters of Śiva's crown which can be no other than the Ganges along with the matted hair whirling around in a dance. Plate XLIV: fig. 2 already referred to (*Rea*) shows eight parted projections proceeding from the crown of Śiva. If they are not to be representations of the cobra hood, they may be taken as whirling eight-fold matted hair of Śiva. In many places Ārūrar is very much impressed with the beauty of this form, "*Āru tāṇkiya Aḻakaṉ*",[18] "*Āṟu cūṭa vallār avarē aḻakiyarē*".[19]

Gaṅgā is looked upon as the woman, "*Peṇpaṭi ceñcaṭaiyāṉ*"[20] and this suggests the idea of Gaṅgā being the consort of Śiva. Ārūrar speaks of Śiva as "*Gaṅgā nāyakaṉ*".[21] He speaks of the love of *Gaṅga* — "*Kātal cēr mātarāḷ Kaṅkaiyāḷ*"[22] and he refers to Gaṅgā as Śiva's wife, '*Tāram*'.[23] She is described as the beautiful lady of the waters with the flowing tresses conversing with the Lord like a koel so happy in His company that the fishes in the river danced up in joy.[24]

In a few places the poet speaks of Śiva being in the company of both the wives *Gaṅga* and *Pārvati*.[25] He speaks of the special consideration and love shown to *Gaṅgā*.[26] In another poem,[27] the poet jocularly remarks that he cannot serve the Lord because

14. 7: 92: 10.
15. 7: 7: 2; 7: 96: 8.
16. 7: 86: 2.
17. 7: 19: 7.
18. 7: 64: 1.
19. 7: 87: 2.
20. 7: 98: 6.
21. 7: 23: 2.
22. 7: 38: 3.
23. 7: 5: 9.
24. 7: 38: 5.
25. 7: 9: 9: 7; 10: 2: 7; 19: 7; 7: 20: 3; 7: 32: 5; 7: 43: 4; 7: 52: 7; 7: 54: 8; 7: 62: 4; 7: 85: 4; 7: 98: 2.
26. 7: 19: 4; 7: 38: 3.
27. 7: 5: 2.

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there is nobody in the Lord's household, who would take care of the servants; for *Gaṅgā* will not open her mouth; *Gaṇapati* is immobile with his belly; *Subrahmaṇya* is a child and *Pārvatī* will not supply the daily batta; or, according to another reading she is always playing on the strings of the (*Vīṇā*' (*Vīṇai*) without caring to feed the servants.

VII

Ārūrar refers to this form in another autobiographical episode of his. Ārūrar once got a heap of paddy but no servant could be found for transporting it to his house. He prays to God for help. Therein he states: "In half of your body you have placed a woman; in the spreading matted hair you have placed *Gaṅgā*. You know the suffering of good women. Please order the transport".[28]

Ārūrar had experienced the torture of being the husband of two wives. He has been punished according to the tradition for this double marriage. In one place in a moment of utter dejection, he pleads, perhaps in a lighter vein, that he can accuse Śiva himself with the same charge;[29] he is treading on a very dangerous ground: "You embraced the maid of the mountain; without considering this you adorned yourself on your crown with that lady of the thousand faces — *Gaṅgā Dēvi*. (The mountain and the thousand faces— "*Kaṅkai āyiram mukam uṭaiyāḷ*" — suggest the mountainous passer expressing in thousand ways). If I have forgotten *Paravai* and married *Caṇkili*, you did so. It is possible to retort" — so says the poet.

VIII

He brings out the seeming inappropriateness of the whole show: "The Lord is a *yōgi* himself burning to ashes *Kāma* as already known to all. This austerity and renunciation is shown by the matted hair, '*caṭai*'. One part of His body is *Umā*, the daughter of the Mountain and in what form? She is performing great austerities bubbling up with victory — "*Mā tavam cey malai maṅkai*". As though it were not enough, another woman is allowed to sit at rest on the matted hair. Is she an expression of Love? No. She radiates anger — ,'*Calam kiḷar Kaṅkai*" (There is a pun on the word '*calam*' which means also water). What a wonderful

28. 7: 20: 3.
29. 7: 54: 8.

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effusion of Love! Perhaps these descriptions suggest that there is no mean animal passion but a conquest of passions and a communion of souls".[30] A beautiful conceit explains this truth: "God burnt to ashes *Kāma* with his fiery eye of His forehead; This fire of His skill shoots up through varied flowers and blossoms. It is the '*koṉṟai*' flower up above His ruddy matted hair, where shines crystal clear the flower Ganges"[31] — "*Kaṇṇutālāṟ, Kāmaṉaiyum kāynta tiṟal Kaṅkai malar teṇṇilāvu ceñcaṭai mēl tī malarnta koṉṟaiyiṉāṉ*'.[32]

In another place he weaves an interesting drama out of this kind of mythology: "*Pārvatī* has taken a portion of Siva's body and *Gaṅga* also has become attached to His body. There is no other place for a third wife and, therefore Śiva has '*Kāṭukiḻāḷ*' by His side at '*Tirukkōṭi*'[33]

XI

We had referred to the beauty of this form as experienced by Ārūrar. Apart from the beauty of the womanly form, the poet suggests another source of beauty. It is the beauty of a harmonious combination of contradictory and conflicting things — a beautiful symbol of the Absolute where all contradictions are dissolved and harmonised in its wonderful unity with no '*sajātīya*', '*vijātīya*' or '*svagata*' *bhēda*. It is said *Māndhāta* and other great kings made the cruel tiger and the meek lamb drink side by side at one and the same stream. Some such wonderful divine peace is suggested by the beauty of Śiva's matted hair, where reside the moon, and the serpent wont to swallow it, along with the woman accustomed to shiver at its very sight.[34] In addition, there are the flowers and leaves of the trees. The word '*viravukiṉṟa*'[35] — combining — offers the key to the beauty of the form and its mystic significance.[36]

There is the harmony of the cool deep river and the white clear moon,[37] of the river and the shining crescent with probably

30. 7: 98: 2.
31. 7: 89: 6.
32. 7: 89: 6.
33 7: 32: 5.
34. 7: 6: 8.
35. 7: 6: 8.
36. 7: 77: 8; 7: 83: 8; 7: 93: 1; 7: 99: 8.
37. 7: 16: 11.

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its reflections on thousand waves.[38] This harmony of God is sweet like the sugarcane and its quintessence sweet, like the candy.[39] There is a community of spirit of beauty, light and refreshing coolness suggested by the description of the '*kuravu*' flower and '*kūviḷa*' leaves glistening amidst the ruddy braids of His hair along with the cool moon and the Ganges[40] and again by the description of the crescent moon, the '*koṉṟai*' flower of the sylvan tract and the river — "*Pōḻum matiyam puṉak koṉṟa puṉal cēr ceṉṉi-p puṇṇiyā*".[41] There is also the harmony of the waters and the flowers and the serpents and the braids of hair.[42]

The Lord raises up a new ideal happy family of love: "The lady of love, *Gaṅgā* — He adorns His braids of hair with this beauty coming in the form of water — is the heroine of this ideal household. The crescent refuses to grow perhaps because of fear of the serpents — the poisonous serpents with their pattern of lines. But God here makes them sleep together fearless. Our father (of this universe, of us all, of both the moon and the serpent) rules with Grace that way".[43] This happy family is again and again described. '*Koṉṟai*' with the humming bees, as though somebody has injected the honey there, the Ganges, the moon — these He adorns on His braided hair; the Heroine, here is the daughter of the Mountain, into which enter the darkness and cloud, for rest — He keeps her reside in one part of the body.[44] The same higher harmony is described in hymn 43, verse 4. This is the crown and glory of god-head. Ārūrar speaks of the Ganges and the crown of the Lord.[45]

This story of the Ganges has also a mystic significance. And as usual the poet asks of the Lord, "What is the significance of your adorning yourself with the Ganges on your head?"[46] "What is the significance of your crowning yourself with *Gaṅgā* along with the embracing Lady of the Mountain"?[47]

38. 7: 33; 1: 7; 35 : 2.
39. 7: 54: 3.
40. 7: 98: 8.
41. 7: 77: 8.
42. 7: 93: 1.
43. 7: 38: 3.
44. 7: 10: 4.
45. 7: 19: 4; 7; 44: 1.
46. 7: 4: 1.
47. 7: 4: 5.

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CHAPTER III

PĀRTHĀNUGRAHA MŪRTI

I

The *Mahābhārata* shows that Śaivism came to be followed by great *Ṛṣis* like Upamanyu, Vyāsa and a host of others. Śiva preaches Ahiṃsa — non-eating of flesh,[1] and even today this non-eating of flesh goes by the name of Śaivism — perhaps by this time the Jainism had become developed. *Tīrtha yātrā*' cult had come to stay[2] for removing sin and for enjoying celestial pleasure. It also reflects the conflict of Śaivites and Vaiṣṇavites and an attempt at harmony. If Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa is the great master expounding *Gītā* to Arjuna, Śiva is claimed to be the special God of Arjuna bestowing on him the special weapon, *Pāśupatāstra,* with which Arjuna won the Bhārata War.

The story occurs in the *Vanaparvam* of the *Maha Bhārata.* Arjuna, advised by his divine father Indra, performed tapas, for getting *Pāśupatāstra* from Śiva. Śiva came in the form of a hunter. An asura assuming the form of a boar was about to attack Arjuna, who, therefore, aimed an arrow at it. The *kirāta* or the hunter also aimed. The animal was dead. The hunter, to pick up a quarrel, abused Arjuna for shooting at his quarry and in the fierce fight that ensued, Arjuna was worsted in both the battles, of bows and that of wrestling. Arjuna struck the hunter on the head with his bow which mysteriously disappeared. The *kirāta* was recognized by Arjuna as Śiva, and Śiva admiring Arjuna bestowed upon him the *Pāśupatāstra.* It is said in the *Purāṇas* that *Pārvatī* went as a huntress carrying the child Subrahmaṇya, followed by four dogs, the *Vēdas.* Even the Vaiṣṇavites like Villiputtūrār become eloquent and very much moved when they come to narrate this story of *Kirātārjuna.* The Sanskrit poet Bhāravi has been inspired by this episode so much as to write a beautiful drama on it the '*Kirātārjunīyam*'.

II

The *Kirātārjuna mūrti* according to the texts on sculpture has four arms, carrying *dhanus, bāṇa, mṛga, jaṭāmakuṭa* three eyes, *yajñō-*

1. Ch. 213, *Anuśāsana Parvam.*
2. Ch. 79, *Vana Parvam.*

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pavīta and ornaments. He stands erect with Arjuna on the right who has two eyes, *jaṭāmakuṭa*, ornaments and *añjali* pose on the right and with Gaurī on the left. In the *Kāraṇāgama*, Śiva is described as holding an arrow and a bow and an antelope; the latter two are seen in a figure in Cidambaram.[3] Bow and arrow are found in Tirucceṅkāttaṅkuṭi image. According to the Āgamas the *Pāśupatāstra mūrti* has four terrific faces with three eyes, tusks, stiff hair and fierce mustache carrying *śakti*, *mṛga*, *śaṅkha* and *khaḍga* in the four hands. *Vēṭkaḷam* near Cidambaram is considered to be the place where this weapon was bestowed on Arjuna. There is an image there. Evidently the rules of the *Āgamas* were not obligatory. Tanjore inscriptions refer to an image of this form.

There is one sculpture of the age of *Tēvāram* in the Kailāsanātha Temple.[4] This is how Rea reads it: "Panel 15 shows Śiva as a hunter fighting with and slaying the king who was afterwards turned into a pig. Two figures are shown with right and left legs advanced. An animal on the under right side of the panel seems to represent varāha."[5] It is not clear where Rea got the story he narrates; but anybody knowing the story of Arjuna and the hunter will easily recognize the hunter and Arjuna in the two human figures.

III

Coming to the age of Rāja Rāja, we find, an image of *Kirātārjuna* set up in the Śrī Rājarājēśvara temple by the magistrate,[6] Udayadivākaraṉ Tillaiyāḷi.[7] The following is the note of the Epigraphist:

The detailed description of the image is not furnished. But it evidently represented the scene of fight between Arjuna and the God guised as a *Kirāta* or hunter. The fight ended in the former obtaining the blessings of the latter together with the weapon known as *Pāśupatāśtra*.

3. Fig 92, *Gods and Goddesses of South India*
4. *Rea*: Pl. No. XXXIV, fig. 2.
5. *Rea*: p. 31.
6. *Adhikāri*.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 9.

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Kirātārjuna-mūrti is one of the 25 sportive incarnations (*līlā-mūrtis*) of Śiva mentioned in the *Kāraṇāgama*. It described him as follows:

"Gaturbhujam triṇētrum ca jaṭāmākuṭasaṁyutam
Sarvābharaṇasaṁyuktam divyāmbarasamāvṛtam
Dhanurbāṇayutam raktam kṛśṇaparaśusaṁyutam
Upavītasamāyuktam samabhaṅgatanum kuru."
"Vāmē gourīsamāyuktam dakṣṇētvar'unam sthitham."

Aijunasvarūpam:

"Ēkavaktram dvinayanam jaṭāmakuṭasaṁyutam
Sarvābharaṇasaṁyuktam kṛtāñjaliputamsthitam."

An image of *Pāśupata mūrti* was set up by queen Ilāḍamahādēvi. The details are however not given. In fact, her setting up the image is only incidentally referred to in *S.I.I.*, Vol, II, No. 95. The scene relates to the gift of the *Pāśupata*-weapon to the Pāṇḍava Prince Arjuna for use in battle against Jayadratha.

IV

Arjuna has been popular in the Tamil land. His name has got mixed with all kinds of folk tales of *Pavaḷakkoṭi mālai*, *Alliyaracāṇi mālai*, etc. Places in the Tamil land were called after the Pāṇḍavas. In the age of Ārūrar himself Paṉaṅkāṭṭūr was known as "*Vaṉ Pārttāṉ Paṉaṅkāṭṭūr*",[8] though a different kind of interpretation is given to this expression,[9] one may notice that this expression has got some connection with *Pārthan* (*Arjuna*). The temple in this place must have come into existence during the time of Ārūrar since there is no hymn from Campantar or Appar on this place.

Ārūrar has referred to the story of Arjuna in thirteen places in his hymns. Ārurar has used the mythological terms: '*Pārthaṉ*'[10] *Vijaya*,[11] and '*Arjuna*'[12]. He calls him '*Pārthaṉ*, the great' "*Perumpārttaṉ*".[13] Arjuna was performing an austerity. The Lord

8. 7: 86: 1.
9. c.f. the study of the hymns, Vol. III.
10. 7: 55: 7: 7: 56; 2; 7: 76: ,3; 7: 88: 7; 7: 97: 6.
11. 7: 53: 8; 7: 57: 6; 7: 66: 4; 7: 70: 5.
12. 7: 98: 9.
13. 7: 97: 6.

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went in the foot-steps of a boar. It was an angry boar — '*Ciṉakkēḷal*';[14] '*Kēḷ*' usually refers to the colour, perhaps the poet wants to emphasize its appearance: 'unique boar'.[15] It was a terrific boar, '*Kaṭuṅkēḷal*''.[16] The other name of the boar is '*paṉṟi*',[17] because of the tusks or teeth. This word is also used by Ārūrar,[18] and pointed attention is drawn to the tusk of the boar, '*Kōṭār kēḷal*'.[19]

The Lord went merrily along with his young wife,[20] in his assumed form of a hunter to play the spy, '*Vēyāṭiyār*',[21] for knowing the real strength of Arjuna, '*Vēṭuvaṉ*',[22] '*Veṭaṉ*'.[23] He was a unique hunter. His courage took the form of a hunter, "*Vīrattāl oru vēṭaṉāki*".[24] The hunter was a warrior and a hero, '*Maṟavaṉ*'[25] a great magician, '*Māyaṉ*[26] as the subsequent events proved.

He was a denizen of the forest or desert, '*Kāṉavaṉ*'[27] and he went there appropriately as such in the desert to avoid all doubts.[28] He wore the feather of the crane.[29] It was a burning desert, so hot that the land was full of cracks, "*Kamar payil vēñcuram*".[30] He carried a bow of war, "*Ceru vil ēnti*"[31] and following the boar he came near Arjuna. He came driving it fast and approached Arjuna.[32] Arjuna was performing austerities. He started the fighting operation. He fought with Arjuna leaving no room for the latter to suspect who the hunter was. He came down to his boar playing the part of a hunter he had assumed beautifully well, "*Nāṭāvaṅṅam ceru-c ceytu*".[33] This quarrel over the boar upset

14. 7: 17:8.
15. 7: 57: 6; 7: 66: 4.
16. 7: 98: 9.
17. 7: 68: 7.
18. 7: 68: 7.
19. 7: 53: 8.
20. 7: 53: 8.
21. 7: 17: 8.
22. 7: 17: 8; 7: 53: 8; 7: 66: 4,
23. 7: 56: 4; 57: 6; 7: 70: 5.
24. 7: 66: 4.
25. 7: 68: 7.
26. 7: 69· 7.
27. 7: 98: 9.
28. 7: 53: 8.
29. 7: 84: 2.
30. 7: 98: 9.
31. 7: 57: 6.
32. 7: 66: 4.
33. 7: 53: 8.

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Arjuna's equanimity of austerity. The austerities were thus destroyed, '*Tavamaḷittu*'.[34] The hunter fought with seemingly righteous indignation and his eyes became red with this anger, "*Ceṅkaṇ vēṭanāy*".[35] He was indulging in war, "*Amar payilvu eiti*".[36] On the round and well shaped shoulders of Arjuna, the Lord sent many a sharp arrow to pierce through. Arjuna was a lover of bows. But now his skill as an archer faded away, "*Melkiya virroḷilāṉ.*"[37] He became thorougly exhausted. But the Lord fought with love and kindness enjoying probably every minute the valour and skill of Arjuna.[38] Finally, pleased with him, the Lord gave the strongest weapon, "*Vaṉpaṭai*',[39] the '*Pāśupata*'[40] well placed in its receptacle, "*Āva nāḷi nilai*".[41]

V

This episode is one of the stories which appealed to the poet inspiring him to take refuge in God. This is a story of Grace (Anugraha) of God,[42] the story of the battle of love where the Lord comes to judge and present the fitting weapon. The whole story is repeated there in another hymn.[43]

"*Vāṭā mulaiyāḷ taṉṉōṭum makiḻntu kāṉil vēṭuvaṟāy-k*
Kōṭār kēḻal piṉceṉru kuṟuki vicayaṟ tavamaḷittu
Nāṭā vaṇṇam ceru-c ceytu āva nāḷi nilaiyaruḷcey
Piṭār caṭaiyār mayāṉattu-p Periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷē".

34. 7: 53: 8.
35. 7: 57 :6.
36. 7: 98: 9
37. 7: 97: 6.
38. 7: 66: 4.
39. 7: 66: 4.
40. 7: 55: 7.
41. 7: 53: 8.
42. 7; 66: 4.
43. 7: 53: 8.

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CHAPTER IV

CANDRA ANUGRAHA MŪRTI

I

Dagṣa had the 27 stars as his daughters and gave them in marriage to the Moon, with a strict warning that he should not show any favouritism to any one of them. But the Moon beeame so much attached to *Rōhiṇī*[1] that he neglected others. The slighted and neglected wives complained to their mighty father. Enraged *Dakṣa*, cursed the Moon to waste away and lose all his sixteen '*kalais*'[2] or phases of brilliance. Day after day the Moon began to lose one sixteenth of his total brilliance like our waning moon. There was no Power on earth who could help him out of this effacement, except the omnipotent Śiva. The Moon prayed, worshipped and took refuge in the feet of the Lord. Śiva, taking pity on him and his foolish wives who were following a suicidal policy wanted to save the Moon from dying out and at the same time to save *Dakṣa's* curse from becoming nugatory. The crescent Moon had but one sixteenth of his brilliance. The Lord took him up and adorned his crown with the laurel of this cresent Moon. By this contact with divinity or divine Grace, the Moon stopped decaying any Further and began growing day after day till he attained his original fullness of brilliance. But *Dakṣa's* curse was also to be fulfilled and he began deteriorating from his fullness. Thus began in the World the waxing and the waning moon. The crescent is the shining example of the cursed being saved by Lord's Grace.

The merciful Lord came to be known, therefore, as *Candra-Śēkhara*—one who has the Moon on His crown.

II

Karaṇāgama speaks thus of *Candraśēkhara mūrti* :

"*Abhayavaradahastam saumyaśṛṅgārabhāvam*
Vipulavaradanētram candrabimbāmśamaulim
Rjutanusamapādasthānakam vidrumābham
Hariṇaparaśupāṇim padmapīthōpariṣtham".

Though Ārūrar does not use the phrase *Candraśēkhara*, he uses a corresponding name, "*Indu śēkhara*"[3]— one who has the

1. Hyades
2. Kalās.
3. 7: 70: 5.

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moon in his crown. The Tamil forms "*Mati cūṭi*",[4] "*Piṟai cūṭi*"[5] and '*Piṟaiyāṉ*,[6] are also found. The words used by him to denote the moon are (1) the Sanskrit word '*Indu*', in its Tamil form '*Intu*' meaning that which cools the world with its light, which word occurs only once,[7] and the Tamil words arranged in the order of their frequency of usage, (2) '*Mati*' is used nearly thirty times,[8] and its variant forms with the suffix '*am*', (3) '*Matiyam*' used ten times,[9] the word '*Mati*' coming from the verbal root '*mati*' to value, to count, and, therefore, meaning the moon that measures the time into months, (4) '*Piṟai*' used about 28 times,[10] this word coming from the root '*piṟa*' to be born and meaning, therefore, the 'new born crescent moon', later on coming to denote the crescent. whether waxing or waning, (5) '*Tiṇkal*' used about 13 times,[11] perhaps a variant of '*tikal*' undergoing nunnation and coming from '*tiku*' to dazzle, though some explain it as the sweet nectar, (6) '*Nilā*,[12] with its variant forms, (7) '*Nila*',[13] and (8) '*Nilavu*',[14] corresponding to the word '*Nilavu*'—'to shine', and denoting originally the suffused and steady light of the moon-shine as against the dazzling and glistening hot glare of the sun and later on coming to mean in the age of Ārūrar and Māṇikka vācakar, the moon itself.[15]

III

The verbal roots he uses in relation to the Moon are here given in the order of frequency : (1) '*Cūṭu*'—'to crown'—Śiva

4. 7: 47: 9.
5. 7: 1: 1.
6. 7: 38: 4.
7. 7: 70: 5.
8. 7: 1: 6; 7: 2: 4; 7: 3: 1; 7: 15: 3; 7: 16: 8; 7: 16: 11; 7: 23: 1: 7: 25; 7; 7: 32: 8; 7: 33: 5; 7: 38: 6; 7: 40: 1; 7: 40: 11; 7: 41: 5: 7: 46: 3; 7: 47: 9; 7: 53: 1; 7: 53: 5; 7; 56: 2: 7: 56:9; 7: 62: 2; 7: 68: 9; 7: 71: 7: 7: 75: 6; 7: 82: 5: 7: 86: 3; 7: 88: 4; 7: 91; 3; 7: 94: 10; 7: 97: 6.
9. 7: 6: 4; 7; 6: 8; 7: 7: 9; 7: 35: 2; 7: 40: 3; 7: 41: 7; 7: 47: 5: 7: 77 8; 5: 85: 7; 7: 90: 5.
10. 7: 1: 1; 7: 4: 2; 7: 10: 3; 7: 24: 7; 7: 25: 10: 7: 27: 6; 7: 28: 2: 7: 31: 9; 7: 33: 1; 7: 38: 1; 7: 38: 3; 7: 38: 4; 7: 42: 5; 7: 44: 6; 7: 48: 10; 7: 49: 9; 7; 53: 4; 7: 60: 4; 7: 63: 9: 7: 70: 10; 7: 71: 1; 7: 71: 2: 7: 73: 4; 7: 75: 8; 7: 80; 2; 7: 80: 3; 7: 84: 1; 7: 86: 2.
11. 7: 5: 2; 7: 10: 4; 7: 14: 7; 7: 22: 2; 7: 25: 4; 7: 44: 1; 7: 44; 8; 7: 48: 6; 7: 61: 6; 7: 63: 2; 7: 87: 3; 7: 97: 8; 7:98: 8.
12. 7: 70: 2; 7; 87: 8.
13. 7: 3: 1:
14. 7: 89: 6.
15: *Tiruvacākam* — 35; 5 .

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crowns Himself with the moon and this root is used about 32 times; (2) '*Vai*'—'to place' used about 6 times[16]—'Śiva has placed it on His crown;' (3) '*Cēr*'—'to reach'—'The moon reaches Śiva's crown' used about 3 times;[17] (4) '*Taṅku*'—'to rest': 'The moon rests on His head', used about 2 times;[18] (5) '*Āṛ*'—'to rest or to be full' (because of its light) used two times or so;[19] (6) '*Tāṅku*'—'to bear'—'Siva's head bears it', used thrice;[20] (7) '*Muṭi*---'to crown' or 'adorn the head' used about twice;[21] 'God has adorned the moon as a laurel or a crown'; (8) '*Puṉai*'—'to adorn' used once[22] and '*Aṇi*'—'to adorn' used once;[23] 'Śiva adorns Himself with the moon;' (9) '*Utai*'—to be possessed' used about twice,[24] Siva is moon's Lord; (10) '*Pulku*' — to embrace' or 'cleave to' used once,[25] Śiva's head, the moon cleaves to'; and (11) '*Mēvu*' — 'to rest' or 'to desire' used once.[26] 'The moon with all his heart reached and rests on Śiva's head'.

IV

It is the crescent that Śiva saved, by adorning Himself with it. The word '*Piṟai*' means the crescent. Since it has come to mean the waning moon as well, the poet is anxious to emphasize the fact of the waxing crescent — the creseent born after the new moon by referring to its youth and its being an extreme fraction of the young moon — "*Iḷampiṟai*",[27] the young crescent—"*Malku vāṉ iḷampiṟai*" the increasing or growing young crescent',[28] "*Piḷai veṇpiṟai*" — 'the innocent infant of a crescent'[29] — (there is here a pun on the word '*veṇ*' which means innocent or simple and white), "*Vaḷarāta piṟai*" — the crescent which has not developed

16. 7: 6: 4; 7: 15: 3; 7: 16: 8; 7: 38: 3; 7: 41: 7; 7: 46: 3; 7: 71: 1; 7: 71: 2.
17. 7: 25: 7; 7: 77: 8; 7: 91: 3:
18. 7: 5: 2; 7: 61: 6.
19. 7: 28: 2; 7: 53: 4.
20. 7: 16: 11; 7: 24; 7; 7: 33: 1.
21. 7: 10: 3; 7: 44: 1.
22. 7: 62: 2.
23. 7: 25: 4.
24. 7: 27: 6; 7: 98: 8.
25. 7: 97: 6.
26. 7: 87: 8.
27. 7: 84: 1.
28. 7: 44; 6.
39. 7: 42: 5.

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grown',[30] "*Piṟai-t tuṇṭam*"—'the bit of a crescent';[31] "*Nalla tuṇṭappiṟai*"—'the good bit of a crescent';[32] and 'the fractioned bit of a crescent'—"*Paṅkam ceyta piṟai*",[33] (there is here a pun on '*paṅkam*' which not only means division but also disgrace and, therefore, it suggests the cursed crescent).

V

Poetically the same suggestions gleam through his description of the moon as '*mati*'. It is "*Matippitir*"—'a particle of the moon',[34] "*Pāka mā mati*"—'a fraction of the big moon'.[35] It is the glorious infant of a moon—"*Piḷḷai mā mati*",[36] 'the growing or waxing moon'—"*Uyarum mati*".[37] 'It is the young and growing sprout of a moon'—"*Muḷai vaḷar iḷa mati*".[38] 'It is an undeveloped moon'—"*Muṟṟā mati*".[39] This suggestion has to be made even when the word '*Tiṅkaḷ*' is used. It is "*Iḷantiṅkaḷ*"—'the young moon'. '*Nilā*' as is seen from its usage in nursery is the crescent moon.

There are other ways in which the poet suggests this infancy of the crescent moon. It is the crescent appearing on the west at dusk that is the starting point of the waxing moon. The poet refers to it as the white crescent of the dusk—"*Anti veṇpiṟai*"[41] as the moon of the beautiful or 'cirrus clad evening'—"*Mañcuṇṭa mālai mati*" and "*Mālai mati*"—'the cresent moon of the evening'.[43] 'It is the crawling moon'—"*Tavaḻumati*"[40]—the word crawling suggesting the idea of a baby moon.

VI

The first shoot of the crescent is a deeper curve suggesting the sharp sickle. To the poet, it is the crescent moon of the

30. 7: 38: 3.
31. 7: 10: 3.
32. 7: 80: 2.
33. 7: 80: 3.
34. 7: 88: 4.
35. 7: 56: 9.
36. 7. 68: 9.
37. 7; 82: 5.
38. 7: 71: 7.
39. 7: 32: 8; 7: 94: 10.
40. 7: 48: 6.
41. 7: 60: 4.
42. 7: 2: 4.
43. 7: 41: 5.
44. 7: 91: 3.

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sharp edge—"*Vaḷ vāya mati*".[45] It is too much bent—"*Kōṇal mā mati*"[46] and therefore it is "*Kōṇiya piṟai*",[47] the crooked crescent moon. There is another beautiful conceit—*Kuṉiviṉiya katir matiyam*"[48]—'the shining moon with the sweet bend of a dance'. The other description of the form of a crescent suggests the "palmyra *ōlai*" or rather the blade of the flower '*tāḻai*'—*Ēṭu vāṉ iḷantiṅkaḷ*"—'the leaf of a tender crescent moon of the heaven';[48a] "*Pōḻu matiyam*"[49]—'the leaf af a moon'. (*Pōḻ* with the enunciative vowel '*u*' beeomes '*Pōḻu*' and has been interpreted on the analogy of the '*Ēṭu*' above, though it can be interpreted in a different way as will be presently seen). This idea of a flower of a moon explains the poet's enumeration of this along with other flowers, like *vaṉṉi*, *kuravu*, *koṉṟair*, *mattam* etc.,[50] especially with *koṉṟai*.[51]

VII

This idea or suggestion of a "*Tāḻai* flower"[52] leads on to the favourite description of the crescent as the crowning laurel wreath of God, so often alluded to by Tirunāvukkaracar in the hymn beginning with "*Mātar-p piṟaik kaṇṇiyāṉai*".[53] This description also appeals to our poet, Appar's devoted follower and admirer. 'The Lord is spoken of as wearing the laurel wreath of a moon': "*Tiṅkaṭ kuṟun teriyal tikaḻ kaṇṇi*"[54]—'the shining crest wreath of a dwarfish garland of a moon'; "*Veṇmatiyak kaṇṇi*"[55]—'the wreath of a white moon'; "*Mati-p pitir-k kaṇṇi*"[56]—'the wreath of a spark of a moon'; "*Vēynta veṇ piṟai-k kaṇṇi*"[57]—'the wreath wrought of the white crescent'.

VIII

The conception of a crown or a diadem is also there: "*Piṟait tuṇṭamuṭi*"[58]—'crown or diadem of a crescent'. "*Cikarattiṭai ila*

45. 7: 40: 1.
46. 7: 33: 5.
47. 7: 48: 10.
48. 7: 40: 9.
48a. 7: 48: 6.
49. 7: 77: 8.
50. 7: 6: 8; 7: 10: 4; 7: 16: 8; 7: 44: 8; 7: 70: 10; 7: 77: 8; 7; 98: 8.
51. 7: 27: 6; 7: 40: 3; 7: 53: 1; 7: 53: 5.
52. 7:48: 6.
53. 4: 3: 1-11.
54. 7: 97: 8.
55. 7: 90: 5.
56. 7: 88: 4.
57. 7: 49: 9.
58. 7: 10: 3.

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veṇpiṟai"[59] is the young white crescent of the moon on the crown. The verb '*cūṭu*' suggests this idea of a crown or "*cūḷāmaṇi*" or the crest jewel. Hence its brilliance and lustre are alluded to, apart from the usual description of its whiteness: "*Kurumāppiṟai*"[60] — 'the glorious crescent of the brilliant lustre'; "*Nilā veṇ mati*"—[61] 'the shining white moon'; "*Tikaḷ matiyam*"[62] — 'the resplendent moon.[2] Here the poet speaks suggestively of "*Tūmati*",[63] "*Tū matiyam*"[64] — 'the pure white crescent moon with no blot', even as we speak of the pure white blotless pearl. 'It is a crystal clear crescent', "*Teṇṇilā*".[66] This certainly suggests the purity, which the cursed moon achieved, thanks to the Grace of the Lord. "*Katir matiyam*",[66] refers to its effulgent radiance. "*Pōḻum mati*",[67] is the moon driving out darkness by its radiance; it reminds us of the phrase, "*Vāḷ pōḻ*" of Nakkīrar, in *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai*.[68] It is this light of a beautiful gem of the crown that the description of the moon as "*Vaṉṉi mati*",[69] and "*Taḻal mati*"[70] — the fire-like moon can be understood. Otherwise, '*Vaṉṉi*' in "*Vaṉṉimati*" has to be taken as '*Vaṉṉi* flower' and '*Taḻal*' in "*Taḻal mati*" as the burning of the wasting disease brought on moon's head by the curse of *Dakṣa*. Or, it should be referring to the conceit of the Indian poets who make the desolate lovers cry against the heat of the moon. For otherwise the description, "*Tāḻal mati*" falsifies the other descriptions, "*Taṇṇār*" *mati*",[71] *Taṇṇār māmati*"[72] or "*Taṇ mati*",[73] 'the cool moon or the moon full of coolness', and "*Kuḷirataru tiṅkaḷ*"[74] — 'the moon that gives out coolness'.

59. 7: 71: 2.
60. 7: 63: 9.
61. 7: 3: 1.
62. 7: 7: 9.
63. 7: 56: 2.
64. 7: 40: 3.
65. 7: 70: 2.
66. 7: 40: 9.
67. 7: 77: 8.
68. 7: 1: 11.
69. 7: 16: 8.
70. 7: 62: 2.
71. 7: 1: 6.
72. 7: 86: 3.
73. 7: 38: 6.
74. 7: 98: 8.

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IX

It is to this conceit of the love sickness we must again go for explaining the "*Nīṭuṟaiyum nilā veṇ mati*"[75] — 'the white moon of the radiance abiding for a very long time'. But, here also there may be a reference to the never fading brilliance of the gem of a moon. More than anything else this suggestion of a long life here brings out clearly the eternal blessing the moon received — the new life in the company of the Lord, the never to end long life. This description thus sings the poet's song of Grace and redemption of the Saviour, even as the description "*Tūmati*"[76] does. Has not the poet pointed out the very place, where this crown of His, the moon was relieved of and saved from the cruel enemy of his karma? — "*Piṟai-t tuṇṭamuṭi-c ceṭi koḷ viṉai-p pakaṟ tīrum iṭam.....Kacci Aṉēkataṅkāvatamē*".[77]

X

The braids of cirrus of the heavens and the crescent therein have been suggested as the very reflection of the Lord. The poet is captivated by this beauty of the moon within the braid setting it ablaze with light or of the moon on the braid: "*Piṟaṅkum caṭai mēlpiṟai*"[78] — 'the crescent on the braid thrown into bold relief'. He is enamoured of the beauty of the colour contrast — "*Puṉ caṭai mēl veṇṭiṅkaḷ*"[79] — 'the white resplendent moon on the lustreless braids'. "*Mañcēr vēṇ mati ceñcaṭai vaitta maṇi*"[80] — the great ruby of the ruddy braids adorned with the white moon of the cirrus', if we may add, turned ruddy at dusk — a reflection of the braids as it were. The colour contrast of the red braids and white moon is repeated often and often — "*Ceñcaṭai mēḻ veṇ mati*".[81] The idea of bringing together the braids and the moon is thus clear.[82]

75. 7: 3: 1.
76. 7: 56: 2.
77. 7: 10: 3.
78. 7: 4: 2.
79. 7: 14: 7.
80. 7: 15: 3.
81. 7: 40: 11; 7: 90: 5.
82. 7: 4: 2; 7: 5: 2; 7: 10: 4; 7: 15: 3; 7: 16: 11; 7: 25: 4; 7: 25: 7; 7: 25: 10; 7: 28: 2; 7: 33: 1; 7: 35: 2; 7: 38: 1; 7: 38: 6; 7: 40: 1; 7: 40: 3; 7: 40: 9; 7: 40: 11; 7: 41: 7; 7: 44: 8; 7: 46: 3; 7: 47: 5; 7: 53: 4; 7: 56; 2; 7: 61: 6; 7: 62: 2; 7: 68: 9; 7: 70: 2; 7: 71: 1; 7: 72: 3; 7: 73: 4; 7; 75: 8; 7: 82: 5; 7: 85: 7; 7: 87: 8; 7: 89: 6; 7: 90: 5; 7: 91: 3; 7: 97: 6: 7: 98: 8:

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XI

The colour scheme brings in the '*koṉṟai*' therein.[83] The cool Ganges glistens and throws a reflection of all the flowers and serpents and the juxtaposition of the moon and the Ganges explains this peculiar beauty.[84] The Ganges is a crown or a laurel wreath and so is the moon — "*Muṭippaṭu kaṅkaiyum tiṅkaḷum.*"[85] The combination of the Ganges and the moon on the crown of the Lord has already been explained. when commenting the *Gaṅgādhara* form of Śiva.

XII

The harmony of the Lord has already been explained in that connection.[86] The divine harmony of love is still further emphasized by the surprising attachment of the moon to the serpent on the crown of the Lord. This is an idea which occurs very often in Appar and in our poet. He is possessed, all to Himself, of that one form of the great moon and the serpent sleeping together on His crown — "*Muṭimēl māmatiyum aravum uṭaṉ tuyilum vaṭivē tām uṭaiyār*"[87], "*Valarāta piṟaiyum variyaravum uṭaṉ tuyila vaittaruḷum entai.*"[88] The moon does not grow, usually afraid of the serpent, but here our Lord makes them, out of His grace, sleep in peace together. The Lord of the glorious crescent moon embraces the serpent — "*Kuru māppiṟai pāmpai-t tīṇṭu Nampi*".[89] This is something unusual — a sign of divine presence and love; for, in the ordinary world it is the serpent of a *Rāhu* who rushes at the Moon to swallow whereas here on the crown of the Lord the erstwhile frightened moon it is that goes to approach, touch and fondle the serpent. Both are found in mutual embrace of love — "*Malkiya ceñcaṭaimēl matiyum aravum uṭaṉē pulkiya Āraṇaṉ*".[90] They play and interchange their places — "*Taṇmatiyum pāmpum taṭumāru caṭai.*"[91] It is this the kingdom of God come; the New Order —

83. 7: 10: 4; 7: 27: 6; 7: 40: 3; 7: 53: 5; 7: 53: 1; 7: 77: 8; 7; 98; 8.
84. 7: 6: 8; 7: 10: 4; 7: 16: 11: 7: 33: 1; 7: 35: 2; 7: 41: 7; 7; 73: 4; 7: 77: 8; 7: 86: 2; 7: 98: 8.
85. 7: 44: 1.
86. 7: 6: 8; 7: 10: 4; etc.
87. 7: 23: 1.
88. 7: 38: 3.
89. 7: 63: 9.
90. 7: 97: 6.
91. 7: 38: 6

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the unique culture of the Lord — "*Pāmpiṉoṭu paṭar caṭai mēl mati vaitta paṇpīr*".[92]

In keeping with the tradition of the Homeric simile where the poets digress and indulge in descriptions, captivated by his own imagination and vision of the thing Ārūrar describes the moon at length. The beautiful white moon appears in the midst of the cirrus clouds — "*Mañcēr veṇmati*".[93] "*Maḻai nuḻai matiyam*"[94] — 'It is the moon entering the rain-bearing clouds' — a sight which has pleased every child imagining that the moon is playing a game of hide and seek with it.

XIII

The moon has reached the topmost place. It is the great moon of the high skies — "*Viṇṇil mā mati*".[95] It approaches the topmost heights of human arts of architecture and of the nature's grandeur of a garden. There is the rampart of a wall made cool by the overhanging bunches of flowers of the surrounding garden of nature, the palaces, the rise within the city wall (unimaginable heights according to the conceit of Man); the moon comes on the top — "*Kontaṇavum poḻil cūḻ kuḻir mā matil māḷikai mēl vantaṇavum mati cēr caṭai mā mutu kuṉṟuṭaiyāy*".[96] He is the over reaching and soaring imagination of Man crowned by the moon. This imaginative art appears but a reflection of Divinity with the moon on its spreading braids of Heaven. The poet does not say so; his words suggest this idea. This is not of the weaving of our own imagination. In another place the poet makes the phenomenon of the universe standing with the moon on the crown or the Heavens, a symbol and a reflection — nay an incarnation of the inner vision of the seers and the reality of the Lord — a symbol and an incarnation on this world required for giving a firm grasp to the poorer pilgrims to the promised land. 'You are in their eyes; there are those who think of you in their inner thought — in their heart of hearts; you enable them to see you to become an existence of this earth; so you have placed the moon (on the crown)' — "*Kaṇṇuḷīray-k karuttil ummai-k karutuvārkaḷ kāṇum vaṇṇam maṇṇuḷīrāy matiyam vaittīr*".[97] Here is explained the philosophy of

92. 7: 46: 3.
93. 7: 15: 3.
94. 7: 85: 7.
95. 7: 75: 6.
96. 7: 25: 7:
97. 7: 6: 4.

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beauty and the theory of art representing divinity as incarnating in the images and other works of art.

XIV

As in other cases of Śīva's feats, here also the final consummation is the dance of Grace and joy. The Lord moves or changes the modes and dances wearing *Gaṅgā* and the crecent—"*Piṟaiyum Kaṅkaiyum cūṭi-p peyarntāṭum perumāṉār*".[98]

XV

The poetic epic of the story of moon's redemption, the artistic representation of this form as a dance and an image—all these thus have an esoteric meaning—a revelation of Lord's Grace, and therefore Ārūrar asks, 'What is the significance of your wearning the crescent and why have you done so?'—"*Piṟaṅkum caṭaimēl piṟai cūṭiṟṟu eṉṉē*?"[99]

98. 7: 86: 2.
99. 7: 4: 2.

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CHAPTER V

RĀVAṆA ANUGRAHA MŪRTI

I

Among the forms conferring Grace, *Āgamas* mention also *Rāvaṇa anugraha mūrti*. Whilst *Rāvaṇa* was going in his chariot, coursing through air, Mount *Kailās* stood in his way. Proud *Rāvaṇa* began to uproot the mountain and throw it away from his path. The trembling of the Mountain terrified Pārvatī, and Śiva pressed down the mountain with his toe, crushing *Rāvaṇa* underneath it. He was advised to sing hymns on Śiva. His music and song pleased the Lord who blessed him with long life and a sword.

If Vaiṣṇavites glorify their Lord as the conqueror of *Rāvaṇa*, should not Śaivites have a story of Śiva vanquishing this *Rākṣasa*? The defeat of *Rāvaṇa* at the hands of the monkeys was itself, according to Śaivites, a result of *Nandi's* curse on *Rāvaṇa* when the latter insulted *Nandi* on the Mount *Kailās* at his advising *Rāvaṇa* to go a different way. The very name *Rāvaṇa*—from the root '*Ṛ*' to bewail or scream—according to the Śaivites, arose out of his screaming under the Mountain. They love the story so very much that they think that it was Appar who in his previous birth advised *Rāvaṇa* to sing the hymns of God and that, therefore, Appar in every one of his hymns refers to *Rāvaṇa*. Nāṉacampantar also, sings of this story of Rāvaṇa in the 8th verse of each of his hymns uniformly—except in a few cases. There can be no doubt that this was a very popular story in the age of *Tēvāram*.

II

The story is popular in the Tamil country from the days of the *Caṇkam* work *Kalittokai*. In the *Kuriṉcikkali*, Kapilar compares, an elephant striking its tusk against a '*Vēṅkai*' tree,[1] from which the tusk cannot be taken out, to the twice five headed king of the *Rākṣasas*, placing his hands underneath the mountain, trying to lift it up with his bent hands shining with shoulderlets, failing in his attempt and suffering therefrom, whilst the '*Antaṇaṉ*' of the cool

1. *East Indian kino tree.*

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braided hairs, who bent the bow of Himālayas sat on that high mountiain lovingly with *Umā* :

"Imayavil vāṅkiya īrñcaṭai antaṇaṉ
Umaiyamarntu uyarmalai iruntaṇaṉ āka
Aiyiru talaiyiṉ arakkar kōmāṉ
Toṭipoli taṭakkaiyiṟ kiḻppukut tammalai
Eṭukkal cellātu uḻappavaṉ pōla
Uṟupuli uruvēyppap pūttu vēṅkaiyai
Kaṟukkoṇ ṭataṉmutaṟ kuttiya matayāṉai".[2]

III

No particular form for this *mūrti* is presecribed in the *Āgamas* or *Śilpa śāstras*. In the sculptures of the age of *Ārūrar* we are fortunate to get the representation of this form. There is figure 5, in Plate CXXIII of *Rea*. Rea enumerates the figures found there as follows:—'Śiva, Pārvatī and three attendants, supported on a lotus by Brahma'. This is evidently wrong. Brahma is given only four hands by *Mānasāra* and other works. Here, there are more hands than four; there must be more beneath the chest line up to which alone the figure appears. The posture is one of trying, to carry something—suggesting *Rāvaṇa* under the mountain. Only three faces are visible but others must be beyond the angle of vision. In other figures which are admittedly of *Rāvaṇa*, we see only three clear faces Pārvatī is sitting by the side of Śiva resting her hand firmly on Śiva's thigh. Śiva is pressing down his right arm, whilst he is catching something up in support. The left leg is bent vertically whilst the right leg is hanging and is pressing down.

From the Tripurāntakēśvara temple in Coñjīvaram comes another representation.[3] Five faces of *Rāvaṇa* are within the angle of vision. *Rāvaṇa* is kneeling down and trying to uproot the mountain with his hands and with all his strength, as is revealed by the twists of his body and heads. Śiva and Pārvatī are seated up above. *Rāvaṇa's* efforts seem to have titled them to the left, for he is moving the mountain up and to their left. They are pressing down on their left. Pārvatī's body seems to lean towards Śiva. Ten arms on the right and eight arms on the left are within the angle of vision.

2. *Kalittokai*, 38.
3. Plate CIX, Fig. 2 of *Rea*.

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Plate CV, Fig. 1, represents *Rāvaṇa* uprooting the mountain. *Rāvaṇa's* three faces alone are visible.[3a] The effort of *Rāvaṇa* is very well brought out. He is kneeling down; a rotary effort is attempted. The heads are being crushed and are falling down. Rocks are giving way and one is falling down on one of his left hands. This is from the Muktēśvara temple of Coñjīvaram.

Plate LXXIV, Fig. 4 of *Rea* is from Mataṅgēśvara temple, Coñjīvaram. *Rāvaṇa* is found kneeling down. Five faces are visible; six hands on the left and eight on the right are there. We see his back. Pārvatī shows some loss of equilibrium. Śiva's elongoted right leg is hurriedly pressing down. All these sculptures bear a family likeness as belonging to one particular school of artists.

IV

Ārūrar's descriptions may be studied in the light of these explanations. *Rāvaṇa* was a *Rākṣasa*—"*Arakkaṉ*".[4] He was adamantine—"*Val arakkaṉ*".[5] He was mighty and strong—"*Vali cēr arakkaṉ*".[6] He was a hero and a warrior—"*Maṟakkoḷ arakkaṉ*".[7] But all his capacities and strength were used for evil; it was a crime, not strength—"*Kuṟṟattiṟal*".[8] "*Maṟakkoḷ arakkaṉ*" mentioned above may also mean a sinful and deadly *Rākṣasa*. He was like the black mountain—"*Karuvarai pōl arakkaṉ*;[9] but all the same he has a splendour or beauty of his own—"*Tēcuṭaiya*".[10]

He was Rāvaṇa—"*Irāvaṇaṉ*".[11] He was the lord or king of *Laṅka*—"*Ilaṅkayar kōn*"; "*Ilaṅkaikkiṟaivaṉ*";[12] "*Ilaṅkai vēntaṉ*".[13] Laṅka was of the great ocean throwing up the breakers. It was surrounded on all sides by the ocean which by its very motion (of its currents or waves) is circum-ambulating the island—"*Kaṭi cūḻ kaṭāl ilaṅkai*".[14] It was in the Southern seas full of waves—"*Tiraiyiṉār kaṭal cūḻnta Teṉṉilaṅkai*".[15] It is the city full of

3a. Plate CXXIII, *ibid.*
4. 7: 2: 10; 7: 20: 8; 7: 62: 9: 7: 88: 9; 7: 91: 9; 7: 93; 4.
5. 7: 23; 8.
6. 7: 47: 9.
7. 7: 93: 4.
8. 7: 67: 9.
9. 7: 8: 10.
10. 7: 46: 7.
11. 7: 18: 9; 7: 90: 7.
12. 7: 3: 8; 7: 4: 8; 7: 16: 7; 7: 40: 11; 7: 46: 7; 7: 55: 9; 7: 78: 9.
13. 7: 68: 9.
14. 7: 78: 9.
15. 7: 40: 11.

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very long trunk roads for strong chariots — perhaps opening out into all the parts of his universe — "*Tiṇṭēr, neṭu vīti*".[16]

This happened once upon a time — "*Paṇṭu*".[17] Rāvaṇa came in the chariot.[18] He was in his glories or with the sword — "*Vanta vāḷ arakkaṉ*".[19] He was in the prime of his youth like a bull — "*Kāḷai*".[20] He cared for none; he never thought of God — "*Karutāta Arakkaṉ*".[21] He was coming in a chariot, a strongly built and fast moving chariot — "*Kaṭuttavaṉ tēr koṇṭōṭi*".[22] When his chariot was running, the mountain lay across preventing his free fight — "*Mulaṅka varai*",[23] It was the beautiful and resplendent Kailās — "*Eḻil tikaḻ Kailai*";[24] the good Kailās — "*Kayilāya naṉ malai*".[25] He was too full of the pride of Sovereignty — "*Mikkiṟai ēyavaṉ*"[26] to notice at first this mountain. His intellect worked the wrong way — "*Tuṉmati*".[27] He thought he had the required proud strength — "*Miṭukkuṇṭu eṉṟu*"[28] and rushed to uproot the mountain — "*Oṭiyōr veṟpeṭuttāṉ*".[29] He wanted to pluck it out as it were — "*Parri varaiyai eṭutta arakkaṉ*".[30] He was in the act of raising it, but the poet states he had raised it.[31] It refers to the attempt and not the achievement. The poet dramatically thus brings out the effort which to the onlookers appears to be almost successful.

V

This gave a shaking to the mountain. The daughter of Himavān, was frightened — "*Imavāṉ makaḻ añca*" [32] Ārūrar develops an idea which Appar has imagined in his poetry.[33]

16. 7: 3: 8.
17. 7: 73: 8.
18. 7: 53: 7; 7: 82: 10.
19. 7: 70: 5.
20. 7: 57: 9.
21. 7: 38: 9.
22. 7: 22: 7.
23. 7: 78: 9.
24. 7: 68: 9.
25. 7: 22: 7.
26. 7: 11: 7.
27. 7: 11: 7.
28. 7: 17: 10.
29. 7: 17: 10.
30. 7: 91: 9.
31. 7: 2: 10; 7: 17: 10: 7: 57: 9; 7: 68: 9; 7: 90: 7; 7: 91: 9.
32. 7: 68: 9.
33. 6: 12: 10.

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The Lady of the pure words and the broad pelvis draped in rich cotton was in a sulky mood, full of bouderie. Śiva could not appease her. Rāvaṇa came at the most opportune moment, as though he had been told to come — "*Coṛpāṭāy vantu*".[34] His shaking of the mountain made her suddenly embrace Śiva, forgetting all her bouderie.

VI

The Lord smiled a little. He pressed his foot.[35] He touched the mountain below with his foot,[36] only with one toe on the mountain.[37] Rāvaṇa was caught under the mountain and crushed.[38] Mountains of his shoulders were crushed, by the mountain or by the dint of the line made by the tip of God's toe—"*Varai*".[39] There are two places in these hymns where the swift movement and the sense are suggested by the sound of the words.

"*Paṛṛi varaiyai eṭutta arakkaṉ*
Iṛṛu muriyo viralāl aṭarttān".[40]
"*Maṛakkoḷ arakkaṉ varaitōḷ varaiyāl*
Iṛakkoḷ viraṛkōṉ irukkam iṭam".[41]

Thus was Rāvaaṇa attacked. His stength was also crushed.[42] His power was destroyed — "*Āṛṛal aḻittu*".[43] He was thrown out and he fell down with his body mangled — "*Pōy vīḻutu citaiya*".[44]

Rāvaṇa's discomfiture is described in greater detail. The ten heads were crushed.[45] The poet counts the heads leisurely as five plus five, perhaps following Kapilar, mentioned above.[46] In the sculptures, we see five faces represented on one side and five suggested on the other side or back side. Alas! what a fate for

34. 7: 46: 7.
35. 7: 88: 9.
36 7: 90: 7.
37. 7: 11: 7; 7: 16: 7; 7: 53: 7; 7: 57: 9; 7: 91: 9; 7: 93: 4; 7: 98; 10.
38. 7: 73: 8.
39. 7: 93: 4.
40. 7: 91: 9.
41. 7: 93: 4.
42. 7: 17: 10.
43. 7: 62: 9.
44. 7: 53: 7.
45. 7: 2: 10; 7: 4: 8; 7: 16: 7; 7: 90: 7.
46. 7: 88: 9.

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the crowned heads![47] He began to shriek with the twice five months of the ten crowned faces.[48] He screamed under the Mount Kailās.[49] He moaned at being crushed.[50]

The poet indulges in counting the heads and hands. It is only in a few places he says that the heads and hands were crushed without mentioning their numbers.[51] The shoulders were very big — "*Peruntōḷkaḷ*;[52] he most often gives their number. The twenty round shoulders, God crushed.[53] Sometimes he emphasizes the large number of shoulders as referring to them as 'many shoulders' perhaps suggesting they are innumerable.[54] He speaks of the five times four arms.[55] He counts both the ten heads and the twenty arms.[56]

Ārūrar in describing Śiva's attack on *Rāvaṇa* uses the verbs '*iṟuttu*' (smashed),[57] '*aṭarttu*' (crushed — oppressed),[58] '*nerittu*' (squeezed),[59] '*iṟṟu*' (broke the bones),[60] '*citaittu*' (mangled),[61] '*aḻittu* (destroyed),[62] '*tolaittu*' (removed)[63] and '*ceṟṟu*' (subdued and overcame).[64]

The poet states that the Lord of the shoulders and ten crowns was made to evolve through the three stages of a '*Pēy*',[65] or ghost or demon. Perhaps the three stages are: growing big, growing small and disappearing in almost death; or, it may mean losing the heads, losing the arms and shrieking. Or, the three stages of

47. 7: 38: 9.
48. 7: 22: 7.
49. 7: 98. 10.
50. 7: 16; 7.
51. 7: 20: 8.
52. 7: 38: 9.
53. 7: 3: 8.
54. 7: 4: 8.
55. 7: 47: 9.
56. 7: 16: 7; 7: 38: 9; 7: 88: 9.
57. 7: 2: 10: 7: 4: 8.
58. 7: 23: 8; 7: 46: 7; 7: 47: 9; 7: 55: 9; 7: 73: 8; 7: 78: 9; 7: 88: 9; 7: 91: 9; 7: 98: 10.
59. 7: 3: 8; 7: 17: 10; 7: 68: 9; 7: 82: 10.
60. 7: 4: 8; 7: 16: 7.
61. 7: 53: 7.
62. 7: 62: 9.
63. 7: 70: 5.
64. 7: 40: 11.
65. 7: 38: 9.

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demonhood may refer to the '*Pēy*', *Pāriṭam*' and '*Pūtam*' which are explained later.

The heads and hands fell broken — "*Iṟṟu vīḻā*".[66] The sculpture above described illustrates this.[67] The hands were broken; the brain matter had come out of all his crowned heads; that was how the Lord crushed him down with one toe.[68] In the course of these descriptions, the poet is himself overpowered by the horror and exclaims: 'He is pitiless — He who broke up the five and five heads and twenty shoulders of the Rākṣasa whom He completely crushed'.[69]

VII

If the poet is horrified at this first step, he is inspired by the next step. It is said that *Rāvaṇa* made a harp or '*vīṇa*' of his hands with the head as the sound box. The representation of *Rāvaṇēśvara Vāhana* of modern times clearly expresses this idea. In Plate CV of *Rea*, one of the heads fallen on *Rāvaṇa's* thigh may represent the sound box; the upper part of the '*vīṇa*' the hand, is not there. The poet, however, refers to the *Rāvaṇa* sings the *Vēdic* songs to the tune of the strings of his hands — "*Kai narampāl vēda gītaṇkaḷ pāṭaluṟa*".[70] He sang divine music --- "*Tippiya kītaṅkaḷ*".[71] The Lord heard the sweet music of these songs of great ideal or significance — "*Kurikoḷ pāṭaliṉ iṉṉicai kēṭṭu*".[72] All this was the work of God — "*Paṭuttavaṉ*".[73] The sinner who had to die was given a fresh long lease of life — "*Vāḻum nāḷ koṭuttāy*".[74] It was fixed at many thousands of years. A chariot was given; a sword was also given by the Lord to *Rāvaṇa*.[75] The chariot was the '*Puṣpaka vimāna*' which *Rāvaṇa* won from *Kubēra*; but the poet makes it a Śiva's gift. The Lord gave him not only the sword into his victorious right hand but also the tittle of *Rāvaṇa* — one who screamed — which had become famous.[76] The

66. 7: 4: 8.
67. Plate CV — *Rea*.
68. 7: 57: 9.
69. 7: 88: 9.
70. 7: 22: 7
71. 7: 46: 7.
72. 7: 55: 9.
73. 7: 22: 7.
74. 7: 70: 5.
75. 7: 46: 7.
76. 7: 68: 9.

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screaming is the repentance and the theory of Grace lays much store by this repentance. Therefore, this name becomes of great importance, God never looks down upon this but saves him and gives him a long life. He is indeed the munificent Lord. 'Oh! Thou Lord of Umā! Thus you shower your sweet Grace'—"*Iṉṉaruḷ ceyta Umāpati*",[77] exclaims the poet. The foot that crushed, worked this wonder. The Lord was there bestowing this final goal—"*Ketipēṟu ceytiruntāṉ*".[78] The Lord blessed *Rāvaṇa*[79] The Lord is no more the pitiless. He melted down into pity at *Rāvaṇa's* song; that is the victory of the Lord, the victory His pity.[80] The crushing down, in the eyes of Ārūrar, is no victory. 'The Lord is pitless', the poet said, but understanding the final consummation, he hurries to add, 'He is alone the beautiful'—"*Avarē aḻakiyarē.*"[81]

This story of the sinner repenting and singing hymns to God and becoming the unequalled, inspires our poet, a poet and a musician himself, singing hymns on God and he confesses this in his famous *Tiruppuṉkūr hymn.*[82]

77. 7: 98: 10.
78. 7: 78: 9.
79. 7: 18: 9.
80. 7. 62: 9.
81. 7. 88: 9.
82. 7: 55: 9.

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Part III

CHAPTER I

TRIPURĀNTAKA MŪRTI

I

The story of the burning down of the three castles of the air has captivated the imagination of the Tamilians. The conception of flying in the air has been dreamt of by generations of men. The Tamilians spoke of an ancient Cōḷa king of theirs, adorned with beautiful armlets of heroism, conquering the three castles hanging in the air and flying through it—"*Tūṅkeyil eṟinta toḷittōḷ Cempiyaṉ*." The epic *Maṇimēkhalai* refers to the story of the more ancient Cōḷa, burying down the castles at the instance of Agastya. *Puṟanānūṟu*, 33 refers to these hanging castles terrifying the enemies. *Puṟam.*, 55 refers to the story of Śiva as harassing the three castles with a single arrow and bow of the towering mountain fitted up with the bow-string of a serpent. *Cilappatikāram* in its *Vāḻttukkātai* gives the number of these castles as three. *Paḻamoḻi*[1] explains that these were hanging in the air.

II

Though the *Saṁhitās* of the *Vēdas* do not speak of the Cōḷa, they are aware of these three castles, which, as explained in the commentary on the *Vājasanēyi Saṁhitā* of the *Kṛṣṇa Yajur Vēda*,[2] the asuras built, as a result of their severe austerities to counteract the defeat the gods had inflicted on them but unfortunately, only to be destroyed by *Agni*. The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* speaks of the *asuras*, the brothers of the gods through their common father Prajāpati, building the three castles for destroying which the jealous Indra, the leader of the *Dēvas*, prepared a thunderbolt with *Agni* as shaft, *Sōma* as iron, and Viṣṇu as the point. This is still further amplified by the *Taittirīya saṁhitā*, where the three castles are said to be in three different rising strata of iron, silver and gold and where it is further stated that *Rudra* was chosen to wield the thunderbolt of an arrow and that the destroyed

1. V., 49.
2. VI, 2: iii.

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the castles and drove away the *asuras*. The *purāṇas* still further elaborate the story by trying to explain the name *Mahēśvara*.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us, the three sons of *Tāraka*, who was killed by *Kārtikēya* as mentioned in *Kumārasambhava* the three viz., *Tarakākṣa*, *Kamalākṣa*, and *Vidyunmālī*, were blessed by Brahma for their penances, with the power to occupy three castles which would be moving at their whims and fancies and becoming one, after a thousand years to be destructible thereafter only by one single arrow. Probably the *asuras* thought they could escape any error by their flight. *Maya* built the castles, one of gold in heaven, the other of silver in air and the third of iron on earth. Indra's *vajra* had no effect on them. Brahma said that the single arrow which would destroy the castles could be wielded by Mahādēva only. Mahādēva obtained one half of their strength from all the gods, thereby becoming Mahēśvara and Mahādēva. Viṣṇu became his arrow, *Agni* its barb, *Yama* its feather, *Vēdas* his bow, *Śāvitri* his bow-string and *Brahma* his charioteer. The castles were destroyed.

In the *Mahābhārata*, it was Prajāpati, who advised the *Dēvas* to go to Mahēśvara, explaining that the latter alone could destroy the *Tripura*, because, by Him the Universe is pervaded, Who through particular austerities knows the *yōga* and the *sāṁkhya* of the *ātman*.[3] Mahādēva is stronger than others by these austerities, this *yōga* and *sāṁkhya* and in addition He has got half the strength of every *dēva*, the power they get from sacrifice. This explains one stage in the development of Śaivism and wherever the word *Mahādēva* or *Perumāṉ* is mentioned, it may be taken as a reference to this conception of God of gods.

III

This *Tripurāntaka*, the destroyer of the three castles, His form became popular in the islands of the Eastern seas. A Sanskrit inscription of *Champa* speaks of *Praṇava* being the bow of Śiva, *Sāvitri* his bow-string, *Visṇu* the arrow, *Sōma* the feather, *Agni* its barb, *Gods* his chariot, *Vēdas* its horses and *Ida* and *Viriñca* its charioteers.

3. *Muir.*, IV, p. 224.

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IV

The Tamil Country which even now cherishes the memory of the story of "*Tūṅkeyil eṟinta Toṭittōl Cempiyaṉ*" has been speaking of *Vīraṭṭāṉams* at least from the times of Tirumūlar and *Tēvaram*. The Tamilians have been believing that the eight great heroic acts of God Śiva including that of the *Tripura Dahanam* were performed within the sacred precincts of Tamil land. This burning of the castles took place, according to Tamilian tradition, at Tiruvatikai near the railway station Paṇṇuruṭṭi.[4]

Names of some villages nearly are explained in relation to this feat of Śiva. We are told that because Vināyaka was not worshipped, the axle of the chariot broke down and the place is Acciṟupākkam now known as Accarapākkam. Pēraṇi is the place where the army of *Dēvās* stood arranged.

More particulars are given in the tradition as obtaining in the Tamil Country and as embodied in the local *stalapurāṇas*. The world becomes the chariot, the *Vēdas* the horses, the Mount *Mēru* the bow and *Ādiśēṣa* the bow-string. It is this tradition that Sundarar has in mind in singing of the feats of Śiva. As the chariot breaks down proving the impotence of the whole world and the *Dēvas*, Lord Śiva laughs and the radiance of that smile reduces the castles to ashes.

V

The great epic *Cilappatikāram* enumerates the ancient eleven dances of Tamil land. Two of them relate to the burning of the castles—*Koṭukoṭṭi* and *Pāṇṭaraṅkam*:

> "*Bārati yāṭiya Bārathi araṅkattu-ṭ*
> *Tiripuram eriya-ṭ tēvar vēṇṭa*
> *Erimuka-p pērampu ēval kēṭpa*
> *Umaiyavaḷ orutiraṉ āka ōṅkiya*
> *Imaiyavaṉ āṭiya koṭukōṭṭi āṭalum*
> *Tērmuṇ niṉṟa Ticaimukaṉ kāna-p*
> *Pārati aṭiya viyaṉpāṇ ṭaraṅkamum.*"[5]

The *Dēvas* were desirous that the three castles should be burnt. The big arrow with the marine fire at his point obeyed His

4. Bāṇa Raāṣtra
5. *Cilap*,, 6: 39-45.

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command (and burnt them). The demons were burnt to ashes. It was now a heap of ashes — the very burning ghat where the *Bhairavī* or *Kāḷī* went to dance. On the stage of *Bhairavī*, with *Umā* sharing one part and keeping time with her hands, the God of gods in the joy of victory clapped His hands and danced the terrible clapping dance. In that chariot, a form assumed by the *Dēvas*, were yoked, the four swift galloping horses of *Vēdas* and there sat Brahma covering his back and tying up the long cloth into a turban and holding the whip. Lord Śiva danced in the form of *Bhairavī* or *Sarasvatī*, besmearing Himself with ashes. This is the explanation that the commentator Aṭiyārkkunallār gives. We have discussed this explanation in the place referring to the *Kapāla* dance in another article. In another place in *Cilappatikāram*, Cākkaiyaṉ (dancer) dances '*Koṭṭiccētam*' — the dance of *Koṭukoṭṭi*' above mentioned, before the Cēra king Ceṅkuṭṭuvaṉ on his victorious return from his northern tour.

Tirunilai-c cēvaṭi cilampuvāy pulampavum
Paritaru cēṅkaiyiṟ paṭuparai ārppavum
Ceṅkaṇ āyiram tirukkuṟippu aruḷavum
Ceñcaṭai ceṉṟu ticaimukam alampavum
Pāṭakam pataiyātu cūṭakam tuḷaṅkātu
Mēkalai oliyātu meṉmulai acaiyātu
Vārkuḻai āṭātu maṇikkuḻal aviḻātu
Umaiyavaḷ orutiṟa nāka ōṅkiya
Imaiyavaṉ āṭiya Koṭṭi-c cētam''.[6]

"In His feet where wealth takes for a root, the anklets began to resound; the thousand ruddy eyes expressed the feeling of His heart; His fiery matted hair stretched far and wide, brushed the eight faces of the compass. But there was no anxious haste in Her (Umā's) anklet, no fear and motion in Her armlet, no sound in Her girdle, no movement in Her soft bosom, no swing in the long pendents of Her ears, no unloosening in Her dark tresses of hair. Thus the out-stretched God of gods danced a '*Koṭukoṭṭi*' dance with the (calm) ... Umā on one side. This '*Koṭukoṭṭi*' dance (*Koṭṭi-c cētam*), the Cākkaiyaṉ dancer or Paṟaiyūr performed whilst the king was looking at it from his balcony".

6. *Cilap.*, 28: 67-75.

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VI

Kalittokai, one of the *Caṅkam* anthologies, mentions this Śiva's feat of burning the castles both in its invocatory verse and in the first verse. The first verse has not much to say. "The desert", it says, "which the hero has to cross, is burning and hot because of the spreading forest fire of bamboos, spreading all around, like the fire spreading all round the three castles at which Śiva sent His arrow":

"Toṭaṅkaṟkaṇ tōṉṟiya mutiyavaṉ mutalāka
Āṭaṅkātār miṭalcāya amararvantu irattaliṉ
Maṭaṅkalpōl ciṉaii māyamcey avuṇarai-k
Kaṭantaṭu muṉpoṭu mukkaṇāṉ mūveyilum
Uṭaṉṟakkāl mukamēpōl ōṇkatir teṟutaliṉ
Cīṟaruṅ kaṇicciyōn ciṉavaliṉ avveyil
Ēṟuper ṟutirvaṉapōl varaipiḷan tiyaṅkunar".[7]

The invocatory verse is much more important; it describes the dance mentioned above:

"You have recited many rare *Mantras* to the saints, great in six lores. You have hidden the clear water within your matted hair and you have burnt the wandering castles. Around you stand your terrible servants who never know any defeat. You pass beyond words and thoughts. You of the sapphire throat and the eight arms! Pray, listen to me now! That resounding drum in your hand makes many a musical instrument to resonate. The numerous visible forms, you make them all disappear and involve in yourself and you dance the dance of cruel clapping. Will She of the wide hip, of the raised sides and creeper-like waist (Pārvati) give the closing phase of the 'tāḷa' correctly? You have won many offensive wars. In the joy of that strength, you besmear yourself beautifully with the ashes and you dance the white dance of *Pāṇṭaraṅkam*. Will that lady of the tresses where hum the bees and of tender shoulders soft like the pillow and beautifully formed like the bamboo, give you that growing medial duration of the *tāḷa*? — So exclaims one, at the thought of your dance. The lady of the jewels of exquisite art keeps the three phases of the tāḷa for your dance of destruction. Out of love for us, the wretched things

7. *Kali.*, First Verse.

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without love, you have taken a form for saving us — you the dancer of these dances of destruction."

"*Āṟaṟi antaṇarkku arumaṟai palapakarntu*
Tēṟunīr caṭaikkarantu tiripuram tīmaṭuttu-k
Kūṟāmal kuṟittataṉmēl celḻum kaṭuṅkūḷi
Māṟāppōr maṇimiṭaṟṟu eṇkaiyāy kēḷiṉi;
Paṭupaṟai palaviyampa-p palluruvam peyarttunī
Koṭukoṭṭi āṭuṅkāl kōṭuyar akalalkul
Koṭipurai nucuppiṉāḷ koṇṭacīṟ taruvāḷō!
Maṇṭamar palakaṭantu matukaiyāl nīṟaṇinitu
Pāṇṭaraṅkam āṭuṅkāṟ paṇaiyeḻil aṇaimeṉṟōl
Vaṇṭaraṟṟum kūntalāḷ vaṇṭūkku-t taruvāḷo!
(*Kolaiyuḻuvai-t tōlacaii-k koṉṟait-tār cuvalpuraḷa-t*
Talaiyaṅkai-k koṇṭunī kāpālam āṭuṅkāl
Mulaiyaṇinta muṟuvalāḷ muṟpāṇi taṟuvāḷo!)
Eṉavāṅku,
Pāṇiyum tūkkum cīrum eṉṟivai
Māṇiḻai aṟivai kāppa
Āṇamil poruḷemak kamarntaṉai āṭi"[8]

Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar quotes the following verses in explanation of the dance mentioned here:

"*Koṭṭi yāṭal tōṟṟam oṭṭiya*
Umaiyavaḷ orupā lāka orupāl
Imaiyā nāttat tiṟaiva ṉāki
Amaiyā vuṭkum viyappum viḻaivum
Polivum ... porunta nōkkiya
Tokka avuṇar iṉṉuyir iḻappa
Akkaḷam poliya āṭiṉaṉ eṉpa
Marṟataṉ,
Viruttam kāttaṟ poruḷoṭu kūṭi-p
Porutta varūum poruntiya pāṭal
Tiruttaku marapiṉ teyvat tutippé".

"The *Koṭṭiyāṭal* appears thus: Umā is on one side: The Lord of the never opened eye is on another side. It appears as though that His looks express frightfulness, wonder, love and beauty. The *Titans* lose their sweet lives and that field becomes beautiful

8. *Kali., Invocatory verse.*

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whilst Lord dances there. The song appropriate for this dance is in praise of God, bringing out the import of protection".

"*Ēṟamar kaṭavuḷ mūveyil eivuḷi-k*
Kūṟukūṟāka-k koṭiyoṭum paṭaiyoṭum
Vēṟuvē ṟuruviṉ viṇmicai-p parantaṉar
Avvaḷi oḷiyoṭum uruvoṭum tōṉṟi-t
Tērmuṉ niṉṟu ticaitalai paṇippa-c
Cuvaiyum kuṟippum oḷivila tōṉṟi
Avaiyavai avvaḷi āṭiṉaṉ āṭa
Maintarum makaḷiruṃ tantanilai aḷiya
Meyppaṭu cuvaiyoṭu kaipyaṭai maṟappa-k
Kaṭiya kāla-k kāṟṟeṉa ēṟṟavaṉ
Paṭinilai tiriyā-p pāṇṭaraṅ kammē".

"The Lord seated on the bull aims his arrow at the three castles. At that time, with flags and weapons, they spread out, above the skies, in various forms, in many groups. At that time, the Lord appears in a frightful form of brightness. He stands on the front part of the chariot. Interminable sentiments and ideas are inspired then and there, whilst He dances. At the sight of this dance, the men and women cease to be themselves. They are moved by the sentiments expressed by the dance and forget their weapons. He dances like the whirlwind of the day of destruction. He remains unmoved, this Lord of the Bull, when He dances this white dance of *Pāṇṭaraṅkam*!"

It will appear therefore, according to Naccinārkkiniyar, that '*Koṭukoṭṭi*' is the dance of final destrution whilst *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* is the *Tripura* dance. This interpretation must be in accordance with the tradition prevailing in Naccinārkkiniyar's time but there is a much more ancient tradition preserved in *Cilappatikāram* as already pointed out, where *Koṭukoṭṭi* was looked upon as the first part of *Tirpura* dance, a dance performed on the chariot before the castles were destroyed whilst *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* is the final part of *Tripura* dance, the dance on the ashes of castles and *Titans*.

VII

In view of the variety of forms ot the image which the story must have produced, the *Aṁśumadbhēda Āgama* prescribes, rather describes, eight forms. In the first form, the left of Śiva is bent a little backwards, whilst the right is moving slightly forward. One right hand is in *siṁhakaraṇa* pose at about the height

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of the navel holding the bow-string in which the arrow is set. The bow is held in the left hand, with three bends or with crescent form. Another right hand grasps the *ṭaṅka*; the left holds the deer; other hands are held in *kartari-hasta* pose. Śiva has *jaṭā-makuṭa*. On the left is the *Dēvī*. The bow tapers at the ends and the arrow is as thick as Śiva's little finger. *Uttara kāmika Āgama* mentions that there will be *makara kuṇḍala* on the right ear and that Śiva may have four or two hands and that Śiva should be in *samabhaṅga* pose.

In the second form Śiva's left foot is kept on the *Apasmāra*. In the third, Siva, with his left leg straight, stands, whilst the right leg is slightly bent. In the fourth variety perhaps the right foot is placed on the *Apasmāra*. In the fifth variety the palm of the front left hand faces up and that of the right hand remains turned downwards, grasping the point and tail of the arrow respectively. The back right and left hands hold *ṭaṅka* and deer or bow respectively. The legs remain a little bent with no *Apasmāra*.

In the sixth, as opposed to the four arms of the five varieties, there are eight arms holding the arrow, *paraśu*, *khaḍga*, *vajra* on the right, and *vismaya* and *kaṭaka* poses, the bow and the shield on the left hands. Śiva is graceful and beautiful in His *atibhaṅga* pose with Dēvī to His left.

In the seventh, His arms are ten, carrying *bāṇa*, *cakra*, *śūla*, *ṭaṅka*, *vajra* in the right hands, *dhanus*, *śaṅkha*, *khēṭaka*, *vismaya* pose and *sūci* pose in the left hands.

In the eigth form, Śiva is driving in a chariot with the right leg slightly raised resting on a part of the chariot and the left leg being planted in its middle. There is a *mukula*, the *koṭiñci* of Tamil literature, the prop in the form of lotus bud. It is tied up with a rope. Brahma, the driver, is seated in the middle of the lotus with a bamboo stick in the one right hand and a *kamaṇḍalu* in the other, whilst *padma pāśa* and *kuṇḍikā* are held in His left hands. Below the *mukula*, the white bull is standing, which is no other than Viṣṇu getting down from the arrow to restore equilibrium to the chariot now giving way under the feet of Śiva. The chariot is shown as sailing in the air.

The plate XXXIII (6) of *Rea*, gives a representation of this. It is the left leg that is kept in front. Śiva has the right leg bent forwards. The left arms are kept in *vismaya* and *kaṭaka* poses. The

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right hands hold a torch, a *sūcī* pose and possibly a *paraśu*. The driver is Brahma. There are two horses visible, There is a sitting bull on a resting pole. This does not tally with any one of the eight forms, if the details are taken as authoritative, though it is clear it corresponds roughly to the eighth variety.

Probably plate LV (1) of *Rea* also represents the *Tripura* fight with the three asuras on the lower panel and Pārvatī by His side. The bow is visible. There is an imperial umbrella. Pārvatī is there on the left. This may be compared with the *Tripurāntaka* form of Cidambaram given as Fig. 90, in *South Indian Gods and Goddesses*, where also the asuras are represented in the lower panel, from which alone we conclude, it is *Tripurāntaka* form though in addition, the arrow shows fire at its tip.

Plate No. LIII of *Rea* is described thus: "The shirine at the North-west corner of the *vimāna*, has, in the back interior panel, an eight-armed Śiva, seated on a chariot, drawn by two horses; the heads of the horses and front of the vehicle are shown towards the front, with a wheel on each side".[9] This evidently represents that part of the story, where, when the whole mechanism of the *Dēvas* broke down, Śiva laughed and the castles were reduced to ashes. In the face of the Śiva image, the smile is very expressive. The upper row of teeth is visible. He is holding the post of the chariot with His back right arm, There is something like a *cinmudra* in his front left hand *sūci* and *vismaya* poses in the right hands whilst one arm is hanging down. He is sitting with the front right leg bent up vertically, whilst the left is bent horizontally. *Tripurāntaka* has become so popular that a temple was built in Coñjīvaram in the Rajasiṁha style and pictures of this temple are found in *Rea's* work.[10]

VIII

The *Tripura* dance has thus become famous and popular from the *Caṅkam* age—from the age of *Kalittokai* to the age of *Cilappatikāram*. The *Āgamas* describe *Tripura Tāṇḍava*: "The dance of Śiva with sixteen arms and as many symbols having Gaurī and Skanda on the left and right sides respectively, receives the name *Tripura Tāṇḍava*".[10a] In a note it is added: "The *Śilparatna* says

9. p. 41.
10. Plate XX and Plates CIX to CXIV.
10a. South Indian Gods and Goddesses, p. 84.

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that Skanda stands, on the same side as Gaurī, holding her by the hand and shows fear, love and wonder in his face" — sentiments which are mentioned in the verse quoted by Naccinārkkiniyar, though the commentator does not refer to Skanda. A more detailed description is given following the *Āgama* by Gopinatha Rao. He calls it the sixth variety which is however connected with the fifth. In the fifth form of the dance, the right leg is to be lifted straight up to the crown of the head and the left leg, somewhat bent, rests upon the *Apasmāra puruṣa*. Śiva in this aspect has eight arms; in three out of the four right hands are to be seen the *śūla pāśa* and *ḍamaru*, while the last one should be kept in the *abhaya* pose; one of the left hands is to be held cross-wise, from left to right in the *gajahasta* pose and the three other hands are to carry the *kapāla*, the vessel of fire and a bell. This is *Kālika Tāṇḍava* to a certain extent, according to Krishna Sastri.[11] If the lifted leg is to be seen, we must go to the '*Lalāṭatilaka*' mode of dance of Śiva represented in the Kailāsanātha temple. Passing on to the next variety, what corresponds to the *Tripura* dance, Gopinatha Rao writes, "In the sixth variety of dance, the legs of the figure of Śiva should be as in the case of the fith variety described above; but Śiva is to be represented here as having sixteen arms; one of the right hands is required to be held in the *abhaya* pose and the remaining right ones to carry the *ḍamaru*, *vajra*, *śula*, *pāśa*, *ṭaṅka*, *daṇḍa* (*ḍaṇḍa-hasta*?) and a snake; or, *abhaya*, *śūla*, *pāśa*, *khaḍga*, *ḍamaru*, *dhavaja* (or *patāka-hasta*?), *vētāḷa* and the *sūcī* pose. One of the left arms should be held in the *gaja-hasta* pose, being held across the body from left to right, while the remaining ones carrying either *Agni*, *mithuna*,[12] *valaya* (quoit), banner (*patāka hasta*), *ghaṇṭa*, *khēṭaka* and *kapāla*; or agni, *gajahasta*, *khēṭaka*, the *vismaya* pose, *ghaṇṭa*, *kapālā*' *khaḍga* and the *sūcī* pose. To the left of the dancing Śiva, should be standing, His consort, carrying in her left arm Skanda and keeping her hands in the *añjali* pose while the child Skanda should, out of fear at the sight of the ecstatic dance of his father, be catching hold of the breast and abdomen of his mother, the *Dēvī*. On the face of the *Dēvī* the emotions of fear and wonder and yet a friendly feeling should be brought out by skilful artist". Gopinatha Rao refers to an image from Teṉkāsi as illustrating the

11. See his figure 53 from Nallūr and Plate LXVII in the *Hindu Iconography*.

12. A double-headed instrument like the vajra?

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mode.[13] In view of the variety of ways in which the poses of the hands and the weapons are arranged, emphasis should not be laid on this arrangement. *Kalittokai* clearly mentions only eight arms; that must be an earlier tradition. The *Catura* dance of Nallūr which gives the nearest approach to the *Kālika* dance does not give the '*lalāṭatilaka*' pose or raising up the leg. Under these circumstances, one may have to look out for some other distinguishing mark In these dances the person or persons accompanying the dance seem to be very important. In the *Tripura Tāṇḍava*, both Gaurī and Skanda are to be represented either standing on the left and right respectively or both standing on the left.

IX

If we search for such a representation of a dance of Śiva in the sculptures of the *Tēvāram* age, the only store house of such images as these, is the great Kailasanātha Temple; for the other old temples which might have contained the representation of divine forms, in stucco, having been constructed of wood or brick should have decayed and disappeared to be replaced by the stone temples built in their places by the Cōḷas and other subsequent rulers of this country. That is the reason for our referring to the Kailāsanātha temple of Coñjīvaram in almost all cases.

Our search is successful this time. Plate XLIX represents a window in the East end of the *Ardhamaṇḍapam* of this temple. Here is Śiva dancing in the *kuñcita* pose. What is important is that Gaurī is on the left and Skanda is on the right turning away in fright as required in the descriptions. On the panel 19 from the East end of the west side of the court is another representation given as fig. 2, in plate XL. This has ten arms, the right hands holding a serpent, a drum, a *valaya*, *sūcyasta* pose with the palm turned upwards and a *gajahasta* pose; of the left hands one is stretched straight up to the crown; the order is holding something which is not there; the third is holding the *paraśu*; the fourth palm is held up open and the fifth is in the *khaṭakamukha* pose with the palm turned upwards. There is a garland, armlets, wristlets and anklets. This representation is found in the four cells forming part of garbagraha, two on the northern wall and two on the southern wall and two more on the same walls in the

13. Plate LX.

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same line with the *mūlavigraha* on either side, all of them facing East.

Plate LI gives the one in the panel first to right of the back central shrine. Gopinatha Rao in writing about this says, "This is of a kind of dance, which it is not easy to identify with any one of the hundred and eight standard modes of dance enumerated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In this sculpture Śiva is seen assuming in the middle of his dance, a posture similar to the *ālīḍhāsana*.[14]

Dr. Minakshi identifies this with the *kuñcita* mode of dance described in the *Nāṭyasāstra*.[15] She explains:[16] "In adopting this mode — the right leg and the right arm should be bent and the left leg and left arm should be raised aloft" (perhaps this is the meaning to be given to the raising of the leg on the *Tripura* dance as well). She continues to describe its popularity in the age of Rājasimha and his son Mahēndra by referring to the sculptures already noticed by us: One of the many sculptures depicting this pose is found behind the *garbagṛha* of *Rājasimhēsvarva gṛham*. This is in perfect agreement with the description of *kuñcitā pose* just observed.

"In this illustration, Śiva has eight hands. In the uppermost right hand He holds the tail of a snake, in the next the *ḍamaru*. The third hand is bent and the palm is characterised by an *abhaya hasta* which is not quite easy to identify: The last is held in the añcita pose. The uppermost left hand carries a burning faggot, the second is in the *patākahasta*, the third in *tripatāka* pose and the last is lifted up straight, the palm touching the top of the *jaṭā-makuṭa*. The *triśūla* and the *paraśu* are depicted separately as distinguishing emblems. The entire sculpture is set up on a *padma-pīṭha*, Below Śiva, three *gaṇas* are seen dancing gleefuly. In the niche to the left of Śiva, Pārvatī is gracefully seated. Below, the second niche is the couchant bull. On the right of Śiva, there is a dancing figure, while below it, there are two *gaṇas* playing on the lute and the flute." This agrees with the reading of the sculpture by Gopinatha Rao as above given. We have connected this with *Tripura dahanam*. The number three of the figures in the lower panel, LI-*Rea*, said to be *gaṇas* is important. May we not

14. p. 269.
15. Ch. IV, Verse 113: *Tāṇḍava Lakṣaṇa*, by Dr. B. V. Narayanaswamy Naidu, p. 34, p. 130 and p. 98.
16. *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 285.

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identify them with the three *asuras* of the *Tripura*? The verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar as describing this dance states that the Lord dances so quickly taking different poses signifying different *rasas* of the dance, forgetting the war and their weapons and resonating as it were, with the dance of the Lord. No wonder God when He came to bless them made two of them *dvārapālas*, always attending His dance and His music, whilst the third became one of the inner conclaves of the dance party, a drummer. On the left is Gaurī and on the right, one wonders whether the dancing figure is Śubrahmaṇya turning away his face from the Lord's dance.

Mahēndravarmēśvaragrham contains a magnificent sculpture of this on the southern wall of its *antarāḷa*. Here is a misrepresentation of this by *Rea*.[17] "In the interior of the porch on the right side is a row of the *hamsas* or the sacred geese; over these, is a large kneeling figure with eight hands; the symbols on the right side are a chaurie, noose and others broken and covered with plaster; in two of the left hands are two balls probably representing lime fruits". Dr. Mīnakṣi describes it correctly. All the features characterising this particular mode (*kuñcita*) have been brought out with marked precision. Additional factors which contribute towards rendering the sculpture more attractive and graceful are ornaments and flowing loin cloth which have been worked out neatly. There is a garland, armlets and wristlets, *cilampu* round the ankles and other ornaments. The hands are held in proper poses, one holding the *pāśa*, another the faggot (torch, which *Rea* has taken for a chaurie) and a third the tail of a three headed serpent. Śiva is depicted in the act of catching two balls which have been thrown up. In a note, she suggests, these may be '*ammāṉais*' and adds, "It is a popular display of skill by dancers to throw up plates, dishes, pots, *ammāṉais* and then catch them after accomplishing subsidiary tests". We have noticed a *valaya*.[18] "He seems to have first thrown up the balls and then assumed the necessary pose. One of his hands is held in the *patāka* pose preparatory to catching the falling ball between the thumb and the fore-finger held close to the other fingers. The other ball is meant to be caught by his palm which is held in the requisite pose".

17. p. 27.

18. Fig. 2 of Plate XL of *Rea*, probably intended to be thrown up and caught.

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The description suggests that it is one of the many states of the dance, at least to the extent of catching the balls. Gopinatha Rao speaks of Śiva suddenly assuming in the middle of a dance this posture. The verse quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar makes this quite clear; it is a dance of varying modes and postures inspiring varying rasas in the minds of the enemies including the wives and children of the asuras. Sundarar also refers to the wives and sons of these asuras in his poem.[19] To captivate the minds of them He danced—if so the *valaya* or *ammāṉai* or the balls or *kaḷaṅku* thrown up and caught may be easily understood.

X

There are 74 references to this story in the poems of Ārūrars The demons became great by blessings from Brahma and the poet refers to them as — "*Varaṅkaḷ perṟuḷal vāḷarakkar*".[20] They were three in number.[21] Their castles are described in varied terms. In almost all the places, their number is given as three: that seems to be an important description. They go together as helping each other—"*Tuṇai cey mummatil*",[22] They form a fortress—"*Araṇ*",[23] with fortified walls, "*Matil*",[24] all built of stone, "*Cilaiyār matil*",[25] the strong fortification rises very high, "*Uyarum vallaraṇam*".[26] They are full of deceit, "*Vañca matil*";[27] they are the very embodiment of deceit, "*Eyilār pakkam*";[28] they are perfect and complete, "*Muṟṟal ār Tiripuram*";[29] they are in the sky, "*Vāṉa matil*",[30] hanging in the mid air, "*Antarattu eyil*";[30a] they wonder and come "*Tirivaṉa mummatil*";[31] they are flying castles "*Mītōṭum tiripu-*

19. 7: 57: 5.
20. 7: 61: 9.
21. 7: 55: 8; 7; 66: 5; 7: 70: 3.
22. 7: 75: 5.
23. 7: 62: 5.
24. 7: 7; 5; 7: 22: 6; 7: 64: 2.
25 7: 22: 6.
26. 7: 62: 5.
27. 7: 7: 5.
28. 7: 86: 6.
29. 7: 62: 1.
30 7: 97: 9.
30a. 7: 14: 5.
31. 7: 22: 8

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ram",[32] they are shining and resplendent, "*Poḻi*",[33] clean and pure, "*Vāliya*",[34] colourful, "*Ēr ār*"[35] and beautiful, '*Sundara*".[36]

XI

Ārurar's short and pithy descriptions of the demons are very suggestive. They do not think of god, "*Eṇṇār*";[37] or ponder over "*Karutalar*".[38] They are wicked libertines, "*Tūrttar*".[39] They are "*Vañcar*",[40] the most deceitful, full of strategy revelling in war, "*Pōrār*",[41] splitting themselves away from the good, from the *Dēvas* or Śiva, "*Viṇṭavar*"[42] and destroying and creating havoc, "*Ceṟṟavar*",[43] who will never come near the good people, associate or be in communion with them, "*Kurukār*",[44] "*Kuṟukātavar*",[45] "*Maruvār*",[46] "*Viravār*",[47] "*Mēvalar*".[48] It is true these terms will mean merely enemies but in the poetry of our saint, one must give these words their full significance. In their arrogance, the titans slight and speak ill of all others, "*Ikaḻuntakaiyōr*".[49] They are so overbearing that they submit to none, "*Aṭaṅkalār*".[50] They never consider that they should embrace God's feet at the opportune moment, worship Him and become great, "*Pulliyiṭam toḻutuytum eṉṉātavar*".[51] They are violent and obstinate, "*Mūrkkar*",[52] who will never get reformed, "*Tiruntāta vāḻ avuṇar*",[53] They were revelling in their hatred and enmity, "*Tiḻaikkum tevvar*".[54] Being

32. 7: 69: 6.
33. 7: 47: 9.
34. 7: 61: 9
35. 7: 24: 10.
36. 7: 22: 4,—Cf. *Ēr eḻil* translated as *rūpalāvaṇya*.
37. 7: 52: 6; 7: 53: 2.
38. 7: 56: 1.
39. 7: 76: 3.
40. 7: 64: 2.
41. 7: 93: 11.
42. 7: 20: 2.
43. 7: 14: 3.
44. 7: 63: 5.
45. 7: 19: 1.
46. 7: 25: 5.
47. 7: 41: 5.
48. 7: 17: 1.
49. 7: 93. 3.
50. 7: 6; 1.
51. 7: 10: 8.
52. 7: 77: 6.
53. 7: 38: 9.
54. 7: 57: 5.

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slaves of passion, they have no fore-thought, "*Muṉ niṉaiyār*".[55] The basis of all this evil is that they do not know the truth, "*Uṇarār*".[56]

XII

These demons, united together, are flying in their castles, destroying people and *Dēvās*, "*Cerṟu mītoṭum tirupuram*",[57] "*Tirivaṉa mummatil*",[58] "*Tiriyum muppuram*",[59] "*Tiriyum puram*".[60] Life becomes impossible for the *Dēvas* in this Universe and Viṣṇu and Brahma, their leaders, with all their followers go and beg Śiva to remove their danger, "*Nirpāṉum kamalattil iruppāṉum mutalā Niraintu amarar Kuṟaintirappa*".[61] The *Dēvas* come to do all the menial service, "*Kuṟṟēval ceyya*".[62] Śiva takes this to heart, "*Kuṟaintirappa niṉaintaruḷi*",[63] and thinks of removing the sufferings of the *Dēvas*, "*Imaiyōrkaḷ iṭar kaṭiyum karuttār*".[64] All the *Dēvas*, take part in the war that follows, by becoming the bow and the charioteer etc., and this probably is what the poet means when he says, "*Kuṟṟēval ceyya*".[65]

The great *Mēru* becomes the bow, the great serpent "*Vācuki*" becomes the bow-string,[66] and the fire bocomes the "*Ampu*"—arrow.[67] In another hymn,[68] he adds "*Agni*" becomes "*Kaṇai*", Viṣṇu becomes the "*Pakaḷi*". In another poem, he makes use of the chiasmus figure and sings, "*Māl varai ari ampāk koṟṟavil*"[69] thus making Viṣṇu the "*Ampu*", and mountain the bow. In another hymn,[70] "*Kaṇai*" is "*Agni*", the serpent isthe bowstring and the stone (mountain), the bow.

55. 7: 11: 6.
56. 7: 97: 2.
57. 7: 69: 6.
58. 7: 22: 8.
59. 7: 67: 9.
60. 7: 79: 8.
61. 7: 16: 5.
62. 7: 17: 1.
63. 7: 16: 5.
64. 7. 23: 7.
65. 7: 17: 1.
66. 7: 9: 4; 7: 92: 5; 7: 99: 8.
67. 7: 16: 5.
68 7: 51: 6.
69. 7: 62: 1.
70. 7: 75: 5.

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"*Kaṇai*" is the arrow-head[71] and "*Pakaḷi*" is the foot of an arrow.[72]

The *Vēdas* become the horses,[73] "*Vēda-p puravi-t tēr*" Mahāviṣṇu, as already been referred to, becomes the bull to re-establish the equilibrium of the chariot.[74]

Ārūrar also makes mention of this bull in connection with the burning of the castles.[75] In 7: 61: 3 and 7: 71: 7, he makes it clear that this bull is the ruddy eyed Mahāviṣṇu. The last reference combines this feat along with the presence of Pārvatī. It has already been noted that in Śiva's dance at the time of '*Tripura Dahanam*', Pārvatī also takes part as one keeping the time for the dance. Hymn No. 74, verse 10 makes this clear.

XIII

After all this elaborate preparation, the actual destruction is effected in the twinkling of an eye. The Tamilians, from the time of Tolkāppiyar,[76] have been denoting an instant of time as a snap of the fingers or as the twinkling of an eye. Ārūrar makes use of both the ideas, "*Noṭi*"[77] and "*Imai*"[78] in describing the instantaneous destruction of the three castels. All the three castles are burnt together before this final destruction comes.

The poet describes graphically the various stages of the war through his suggestive words. The three castles came opposing him, "*Varu muppuraṅkaḷ*[79] Then they acted in unison, helping each other, "*Tuṇai cei mummatil*".[80] It looks as though defeat was imminent and the poet describes God making them run away or fly away.[81] The castles came down with a crash, "*Iṭi paṭa*".[82] They were burnt; they were made a feast to fire;[83] and the great

71. *Cintāmaṇi*, 90.
72. *Piṅkalantai*.
73. 7: 88: 5.
74. 7: 77: 7.
75. 7: 42: 6.
76. *Tol.*, 7.
77. 7: 4: 9; 7: 44: 1.
78. 7: 9: 4.
79. 7: 9: 1.
80. 7: 75: 5.
81. 7: 42: 6.
82. 7: 9: 4.
83 7: 99: 8.

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fire made great feast of the three castles, "*Eriyuṇṇa*"[84] The castles, the demons, their wives and children were burnt.[85] Finally they were reduced to mere ashes, "*Pōṭi*".[86] It is on this heap of white ashes Śiva danced and it is because of this His dance came to be known as 'White dance' or '*Pāṇṭaraṅkam*".

It has already been noted that the boon the demons received was that their castles should be aimed at only once by one single arrow and the poet in his hymn 38, verse 9 refers to this fulfilment of the boon by emphasising the point that only one arrow was released.

There are two vesions of this destruction: one, that it was brought about by the arrow sent by Śiva; the other, that all the mechanisms of the *Dēvās* failing at the last moment, Śiva smiled at their incompetence and the very ray of the radiant smile burnt the castles to ashes. It would appear as though our poet in almost all the places is referring to the first version. But they may be all taken as auxiliary to the final destruction by Śiva's smile, which our poet describes in two important places. He does it in the opening hymn itself,[87] immediately after his first vision of God. In the Tiruvaiyāṟu hymn again, he refers to this destructive smile of Śiva.[88]

It is this great feat which has established the title of Mahadēva and Mahēśvara to Śiva, and Sundarar rhetorically interrogates, "*Umakkāretir Emperumāṉ*"—'Who is your equal ?'[89] in describing this feat.

IXV

Ārūrar is not so much interested in describing the destructive activity. What the other *Purāṇas* describe as "*Samhāramūrtis*" are to Sundarar the various forms of Śiva blessing the sinners and the down-trodden, after reforming them all. In hymn 6, verse 1, he says, "You burnt the castles ; you were ferocious with them; but that day you showered your grace on the demons".[90]

84. 7: 1: 6.
85. 7: 57: 5.
86. 7: 10: 8; 7: 27: 3; 7: 52: 3.
87. 7: 1: 6.
88. 7: 77: 6.
89. 7: 9: 4.
90. See 7: 70: 3 also.

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In the famous "*Tiruvāvṭuturai* hymn",[91] where he confesses that the *purāṇic* stories inspired him to see God, he states: "You burnt the three castles altogether and the three pondered over your greatness and took refuge in you and you made them rule the world of gold or svarga. Having learnt this fame of yours, I have come to you".[92] He refers to this showering of His grace at the same time when the castles were burnt in hymn No. 70, verse 3. He describes this grace of Śiva in a more detailed manner in another verse.[93] "Of the three demons saved by the Saviour, our God, at the time of the burning of the castles and after their taking refuge in Him, two became the guards at the palace door or temple door of Śiva".[94] The *Dvārapālakas* of the Pallava age as given in *Pallava Architecture* by *Rea* and *Longhurst* clearly bring out the cruel aspect of these demons. The third demon was given the duty of playing upon the drum whenever the Lord dance at the burning ghat in the company of Pārvatī perhaps he was a soul more culturally evolved and interested in dance and music.

XV

The mythology is a special vehicle for mystic thoughts. Tirumūlar's explanation,[95] has become a classic and it is his poem that has once for all settle the problem of mythology in Hindu Religion and Philosophy. The direct meaning of these stories is for folks and children who also in time learn and realise the truth.

"*Appaṇi ceñcaṭai āti purātaṉaṉ*
Muppuram cerraṉaṉ eṉparkaḷ mūṭarkaḷ
Muppuram āvatu mummala kāriyam
Appuram eitamai yār aṟivārē!"

"Fools say, 'The very old ancient Man of ruddy braided hair adorned with water, destroyed the three castles!' The three castles are the combined effect of the three '*malas*' (*Egotism*' *Karma* and *Māya*). Who knows the destruction of these castles?.'' Sundarar also feels that these stories have an esoteric meaning. He asks, "What is this setting fire to the castles?".[96]

91. H: 66.
92. 7: 66: 5.
93. 7: 55: 8.
94. 7: 55: 8.
95. *Tirumantiram*, 343,
96. 7: 99: 8:

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Chapter II

DAKṢĀRI

I

Next to the legend of the three castles, which has established the title of *Mahādēva* to Śiva, the legend of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice throws light on the slow and steady growth of Śaivism in India. *Tiruvuntiyār* in *Tiruvācakam*, because of this importance refers at length to these two legends emphasizing the most dramatic situations therein.

This conflict of Śiva with *Dakṣa* throws a flood of light on verious references in *Tēvāram*. It is, therefore, best to trace the history of this story, as a sort of ready reference. We may conveniently summarize what we know of *Rudra mythology* from the *Vēdas* following *Keith* [1]

First, for his appearance, *Rudra* has braided hair, beautiful lips, firm limbs; he is brown and multiform, radiant (*Śuci*) bright as Sun or gold — the *Asura* of heaven — wearing gold ornaments and sitting on a chariot seat. His belly is blue, his back red, his neck blue; he has mouth and teeth;[2] he is copper coloured and red with blue-black neck though the throat is white. He is clothed in a skin, and dwells in the mountain.[3] Coming to his formidable character, we find, he, as an archer, wields the lightning and thunderbolt but with no onslaughts on demons; though this ruddy boar of heaven is destructive and terrible, unassailable and therewithal a young unaging ruler and father of the world, therefore wise, beneficent, bountiful, easily invoked and auspicious (*Śiva*) full of healing remedies. He drinks with the mad muni, poison, from a cup, with dishevelled hair. In spite of these many passages deprecate his wrath and pray that his shafts — his cow and-man-slaying weapons — may not fall upon the worshipper and his family and wealth. He is the Father of *Maruts*, the *Raudriyas* and is *Tryambaka* (having three sisters or mothers) a reference to the three divisions of the Universe, and he is *Agni*.

1. pp. 142-150
2. *A.Y.*, XV. 1.7, 8; XI, 2.6.
3. *V.S.*, XVI, 7, 51, 2-4.

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By the time of the *Brāhmaṇas*, he is one of the two great gods, *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*. He is there the lord of the cattle with a prescribed offering to save the cattle; for, he is the patron of robbers, highwaymen, cheats and swindlers followed by wide mouthed howling dogs, swallowing unchewed, their prey, and he is said to attack with fever, cough and poison.

Agni, *Paśupati*, *Bhāva*, *Sarva*, *Mahaṇḍēva*, *Īśāna* and *Ugradēva* are the forms of *Agni*. *Ambikā* is the sister, later the mother of *Rudra*. *Umā*, *Haimavatī* or *Pārvatī* is his wife.[4] Even gods are afraid of him; his origin is traced to the evil deed of Prajāpati consorting with his own daughter; the gods in their anger make up this most appalling of beings piercing Prajāpati. According to *Aitarēga Brāhmaṇa*, Prajāpati is *Mṛgaśira*, is Rudra, the *Mṛgavyādhā*; Prajāpati's daughter is the constellation *Rōhiṇi*; and the arrow is, the *Īsu Tirkaṇḍa* in the sky. He appears once as a black being, claiming all that is over there, on the sacrifice as his own which claim, Nabhanediṣtha's father admits. In the ritual he is marked out emphatically from the gods; and at the end of a sacrifice a handful of strew or at the end of a meal what is left over, is offered. His abode is in the north and not in the east where reside other gods. Snakes are conceived as his servants. *Rudra* was left behind when the *Dēvas* went to heaven.

The tendency to generalize his operations, credits him with the activity in almost every aspect of nature — mountains, woods, paths and streams receiving offerings in manifold places on varied occasions (snake infested places, mount of manure, waters, roads and trees), so much so, cowherds and maidens get a glimpse of him whilst drawing water in lonely haunts — a deliberate tendency to see in him a god with a comprehensive control over all nature. A formula must be altered in order to avoid the direct mention of his name. In *Sūtra* literature he is called *Hara*, *Mṛḍa*, *Śiva* and *Śaṅkara*.

After discussing the various theories about *Rudra*, Keith concludes: "What is obvious is that the great god absorbs, as other great gods have done, a mass of Sondergotter, though in the *Satarudrīya* form we have priestly extending and amplifying Sondergotter in the best manner of the Roman Indigitamenta. It is probably to syncretism, again, that we owe the connexion of

4. *Taittiriya Araṇyaka*.

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Rudra with thieves, robbers, and highwaymen, whose patron he seems to have been, and from whom, therefore, he is expected to protect his votaries, and we need not press the suggestion that he was regarded himself as tricky, or connect this aspect with the uncertain character of the lightning. Nor, in the *Vēdic* texts does he ever become a snake god; his connection with snakes is only incipient and it becomes much more marked in the epic, showing us clearly the process of identification in its advance. On the other hand, it is probable that some of his characteristics in the later *Vēdic* period come from a god of death; this may primarily be due to identification with *Sarva* and *Bhāva*, and it is suggested in his connexion with birds of evil omen and howling dogs; for such birds and dogs are closely connected with *Yama* as a god of the dead.

II

Whatever might be the historical fact, what counts in the history of religion is how that fact came to be looked upon by the later ages. The word *Rudra* is explained by *Sāyana* as follows: "*Rud*" means suffering or sin etc., which causes suffering. "Thou art the God so called who drives this away."[5] "*Śiva*" is explained by *Sabdhakalpadruma* as one who attenuates *aśubha* or sin, tracing it from the root '*Śo*', to attenuate. "*Rudra*" is, therefore equated with "*Śiva*". The destruction effected by *Rudra* is destruction of Sin. There is no malevolence but punishment. He thus becomes the embodiment of propriety. Since in the eyes of the worshipper, respect was due only to the performer of the greatest number of sacrifices, *Rudra*, the respectful, was called *Upavīta*.[6] Punishment and dispensation of justice are the duties of kings and *Rudra* is King *Bhāva*. Nothing escapes his thousand eyes. He is associated with the *muni* in the *Ṛg Vēda* and *kēśins* in the *Atharva Vēda* — the long haired *muni* — a mortal becoming godlike — thanks to his austerities; perhaps the *munis* are the followers of the path of *Bhakti* and *Yoga*,[7] and the knowledge of the imperishable man. A story in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa*[8] confirms this suggestion.

5. Commentary on *R. V* II, 1: 6.
6. *Upavīta* is worn by the performer of the sacrifice.
7. Cf. *Śaivism in South India*, by Narayana Aiyar, p. 13.
8. VII, 4. Note.

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Note :

It is stated therein that a golden bird flew up to *Kēśin Darbhya* who had sat down, not being consecrated (i.e., not having gone through the ceremonies needed to entitle one to perform the sacrific). The bird said, "Thou hast not been consecrated; I know the consecration; let me tell it to thee; I have sacrificed once; I am afraid of it perishing; thou dost know the imperishableness of that which once has been offered; it, do thou (tell) me." Toe Brāhmaṇa proceeds thus: "He said, yes". They two discussed together ..... He said, "the bodies are consecrated by that sacrifice; but the man is consecrated indeed whose gods within are consecrated." ..... Now the imperishableness of what has once been offered is faith; he who sacrifices with faith, his sacrifice perishes not. Imperishableness is the waters, both those which are in these worlds, and those which are about the self. He, who, knowing, "In me there is imperishableness; sacrifices, his sacrifice perishes not. This imperishableness of what has once been offered Kēsin Darbhya proclaimed to the golden bird".[9]

Many of these followers of Śiva, because of their disapproval of *Vēdic* rites came to be called *Vrātyas*, who however were glorified in *Atharva Vēda*.[10] Here begins the cosmopolitanism or freedom from castes of Śaivism, caring more for the salvation of the off-scourings of society[11] — prodigal sons of God. Coming to the *Upaniṣads* we pass from the ancient *Bṛhad Araṇyaka* mentioning all the *Vēdic* gods,[12] and the sacrificial rites, through *Chāndōgya* laying no such emphasis on these gods, and *Taittiriya* mentioning their names only in its invocatory verse, *Aitarēya* and *Kauṣītaka* to *Kēna*, which gives a story of their ignorance.[13] Brahma appeared before the *Dēvas* in the form of a wonderful being. Ignorant of Brahman, Agni, Vāyu and Indra tried their skill with 'It' only to accept defeat. Brahman disappeared and Umā Haimavatī appeared to explain that It was Brahman. Gods were no more to be dreaded by the Ātmajñānis of *tapas*, *śraddha* and *śānta* and *virāga*. *Mundaka Upaniṣad*, adumberates the theory "*Avaṉaruīāle avaṉ tāḷ vaṇaṅki*"[15] 'He is to be obtained only by the one whom

9. *Keith, Ṛg. Vēda Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 385-6, quoted from p. 14, *Śaivism in South India* by Narayana Aiyar.
10. *Whitney, A.V.*, pp. 778-79.
11. *Whitney, A.V.*, p. 769.
12. T. 4, 11-17.
13. *Kēna*, IV.
14. III; 2.3.
15. *Tiruvācakam-Civapurāṇam*—1: 18

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He chooses; to such a one, that *Ātman* reveals His own person. *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* speaks of God's prasāda. *Śvētāśvatara* is still more clear: "*Tapah prabhavat dēva prasādīca brahmō ha śvētāśvataro thē vidvān*—"By the greatness of austerity and by the God's Grace the wise *śvētāśvatara* in proper manner declared Brahman'. *Śvētāśvatara* is the name of a Guru. *Guru śiṣya paramapara* thus commences. The *Upaniṣad* speaks of the Lord of *Kāla, Svabhāva, Niyata* releasing from fetters of the two unborn as the knowing Lord and the unknowing individual. It thus brings about the harmony of *Bhakti* and *Jñāna*. It identifies the well-known *Rudra* with the unknowable *Brahman*.

Śaivite sects multiply, not at all in a desirable way, as is referred to in *Maitri Upāniṣad*.[16] "Verily, the source of the net of delusion (*Mōha*) is the fact of the association of one who is worthy of heaven with those who are not. Now, there are those who are continually living upon handicraft; moreover, there are others who are twin-beggers, who perform the sacrfices for the unworthy, who are disciples of *Śūdras* and who though *Śūdras*, know the scriptures. And moreover, there are others who are rogues, who wear ther hair in a twisted knot. And moreover there are others who falsely wear the red robe, ear-rings and skulls. with these one should not associate". This *Upaniṣad* has Vaiṣṇavite leanings;[17] thus starting the age-long conflict between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, though this *Upaniṣad* stands for the harmony of *Trimūrtis* and the three paths of *Karma, Bhakti* and *Jñānam* and identifies *Bharga* of *Gāyatri* with *Rudra*.

III

As the conflict against Śaivites of Śiva had already started, the significance of *Mahādēva* burning the three castles is clear indeed. *Dakṣa's* sacrifice may be studied a little more closely from this point of view. The story is told in the *Śānti Parva* of *Mahā Bhārata*: *Dakṣa* performed a sacrifice, attended by all gods except *Rudra*, who was not invited. The conversation between *Dakṣa* glorifying *Viṣṇu* and *Dadīci* glorifying Śiva reveals this conflict.[18]

Dakṣa: We have many *Rudras*, armed with tridents and wearing spirally-braided hair, who occupy eleven places. I know not Mahēśvara.

16. VII, 8.
17. V, 2; VII, 3.
18. *Muir*, IV, 374 ff.

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Dadīci: This is a pre-concerted plan of all the gods that *Mahādēva* has not been invited. Since I perceive *Śaṅkara*, and no other deity, to be supreme, therefore, this sacrifice of *Dakṣa* shall not be prosperous.

Dakṣa: I offer to the Lord of sacrifice (*Viṣṇu.*), in a golden Vessel, this entire oblation purified by rites and by texts, the share of the incomparable *Viṣṇu*. He is the Lord, the all-pervading god of the sacrificial fire.

Dēvi, the wife of Śiva feels the insult and Śiva creates *Virabhadra* who goes and destroys the sacrifice when *Dakṣa* praises *Mahādēva* and completes the sacrifice.

IV

The story as told in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*[19] brings out this rivalry very clearly. When *Dakṣa* came to the sarifice, all stood up except Brahma and Mahādēva. *Dakṣa* addressed at this insolence of Śiva, ',Hear me, ye *Brahman Ṛṣis*, with gods and Agnis, while I, neither from ignorance nor from passion, describe what is the practice of virtuous persons. But this shameless being (Śiva) detracts from the reputation of the guardians of the world (Prajāpati), he, by whom, stubborn as he is, the course pursued by the good is transgressed. He assumed the position of my disciple, inasmuch as, like a virtuous person, in the face of the Brahmans and of fire, he took the hand of my daughter. This monkey-eyed (god) after having taken the hand of (my) fawn-eyed (daughter), has not even by word shown suitable respect to me whom he ought to have risen and saluted. Though unwilling, I yet gave my daughter to this *impure and proud abōlisher of rites and demolisher of barriers, like the word of the* Vēda *to a* Śūdra. He roams about in dreadful cemeteries, attended by hosts of ghosts and spirits, like a mad man, naked with dishevelled hair, laughing, weeping, bathed in the ashes of funeral piles, wearing garland of dead men's skulls, and ornaments of human bones, pretending to be *Śiva* (*auspicious*), but in reality *Aśiva* (*inauspicious*), *insane*, the lord of *Prāmathas* and *Bhūtas*, beings whose nature is essentially darkness. To this wicked-hearted lord of the infuriate, whose purity has perished, I have, alas, given my virtuous daughter, at the instigation of Brahma". He follows up this speech by a curse, "Let this *Bhava* (*Śiva*) lowest of the gods, never, at the worship

19 . IV, Chapters 2-7.

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of the gods, receive any portion along with the gods, Indra, Upēndra (Viṣṇu) and others." Then he departed. This action roused the fury of *Nandīśvara*, the chief follower of Śiva. He cursed in return: "May the ignorant being, who, from regard to this mortal (*Dakṣa*), and considering (Śiva) as distinct (from the supreme spirit), hates the deity who does not return hatred, be averse to truth. Devoted to domestic life in which frauds are prevalent, let him from a desire of vulgar passions, practise the round of ceremonies, with an understanding degraded by *Vēdic* prescriptions. Forgetting the nature of the soul, with a mind which contemplates other things, let *Dakṣa*, brutal, be excessively devoted to women, and have speedily the face of a goat. Let this stupid being, who has a conceit of knowledge, and all those who follow this contemner of Sarva (Siva), continue to exist in this world in ceremonial ignorance. Let the enemies of Hara (Siva) whose minds are disturbed by the strong spirituous odour and the excitement of the flowery words of the *Vēda*, become deluded. Let those Brahmans, eating all sorts of food, professing knowledge and practising austerities and ceremonies (merely) for subsistence, delighting in riches and in corporeal and sensual enjoyments, wander about as beggars": This curse rouses the anger of *Bhṛgu* who delivers in his turn the following curse: "Let those who practise the rites of *Bhava* and all their followers be heretics and opponents of the true scriptures. Having lost their purity, deluded in understanding, wearing matted hair, and ashes and bones, let them undergo the initiation of Śiva, in which spirituous liquor is the deity. Since ye revile the *Vēda* (*Brahma*) and the *Brāhmaṇas*, the barriers by which men are restrained, ye have embraced heresy. For this (*Vēḍa*) is the auspicious (*Śiva*), enternal path of the virtuous, follow the heresy in which your god is the king of the goblins." This was a curse by a Brahman, which could not be avoided, and so, according to the story, Śiva went away with his followers and *Dakṣa* and the other *Prajapatis* celebrated for a thousand years the sacrifiice in which Viṣṇu was the object of adoration.[20] It was this humiliation and disgrace of Śiva that apparently made *Dakṣa* neglect Śiva, when he invited all the gods to sacrifice which he individually celebrated.

20. *Muir*, IV, 382.

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V

The story of the sacrifice, as narrated here, differs from the *Mahābhārata* account, and since this account throws some light upon the development of Śaivism in that remote period, it may be taken notice of. *Satī* (*Umā*) requests her husband to permit her to go to the sacrifice performed by *Dakṣa*. Śiva warns her that she would be insulted. In spite of this warning, she goes and is slighted by her father. Remonstrating in vain with *Dakṣa* to change his attitude towards Śiva, she gives up the ghost. Siva's followers, who had accompanied *Satī*, were prevented by a *mantra* of Bhṛgu from destroying the sacrifice. They returned to narrate the tale to Śiva, who, in his wrath, created out of a lock of his hair a terrible spirit who led Śiva's followers to the scene of sacri fice and destroyed it. The story is, that later, Śiva himself went to the place, plucked out the beard of *Bhṛgu*, who was pouring oblations into the fire, tore out the eyes of *Bhaga* and knocked out the teeth of *Pusan*, for all these had been partisans of *Dakṣa*. *Dakṣa's* head was cut off.[21]

VI

The *Varāhapurāṇa* gives a different version. *Rudra* born of Brahma's anger was asked in vain to create beings, whereupon, Brahma created *Dakṣa* and six other *Prajāpatis*, who begot Indra and other children, who in their turn performed sacrifices to please *Dakṣa*. Inactive *Rudra*, hearing of their voices, bestirred himself into activity and became angry with the creation effected by others, the fiery anger shooting up in the form of demons rushing against *Dēvas*. *Dakṣa* prayed to *Rudra* to appease himself and gave Gaurī in marriage.

VII

Kūrma Purāṇa story gives a third version. *Dakṣa* paying a visit to Śiva, his father-in-law was not pleased with the respect shown. When Śiva's wife *Satī* went to her father *Dakṣa's* house, *Dakṣa* reviled Śiva and abused *Śatī*. At this insult, she burnt herself to death but was born as Haimavatī or Pārvatī. Śiva hearing the death of *Satī* cursed *Dakṣa* to be born as a Kṣatriya Pracheti committing incest with his own daughter. This Pracheti

21. Nārāyana Aiyar's *Saivism in South India*—pp. 65-67.

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performed a *yāga* at Gaṅgādvara but refused any offerings to Śiva. *Dadīci* alone remonstrated and cursed all those present to become heterodox and prayed to Śiva. At the request of Pārvatī, Śiva created *Vīrabhadra* with thousand heads, eyes and arms resembling in the brightness "*vaṭavāmukhāgni*' having side tusks, carrying *śaṅkha*, *cakra* and bow and besmeared with ashes. Pārvatī created *Bhadrakālī*. The sacrifice was destroyed. He plucked out the tooth of *Śūrya*, putting out his eyes. Hands and tongue of *Agni* were cut off. *Indra's* arm, lifted to strike, remained stiff. *Candra* was crushed by the toe. *Garuḍa* fled for life. *Dakṣa* came to his senses and prayed.

VIII

The story prevalent in South India is given at length in the Tamil *Kanta Purāṅa*, *Dākṣakāṇṭam*, with some variation.

The image of *Vīrabhadra* is described in the *Kāraṇāgama* The terrific image indicating anger has four arms carrying sword, shield, bow and arrow, three eyes, fire emitting *jaṭā*, side tusks, garlands of bells and skulls and scorpions; a *yajñōpavīta* of serpents, beautiful anklets, pair of sandals and short drawers.

Sri Tattvanidhi replaced the shield by a club which along with the bow is said to be on the right, whilst the rest are held in the left arms. This speaks of *Bhadrakālī* by his side, whilst *Dakṣa* with a goat's head and *añjali* pose is on the right.

Pāñcarātrāgama, gives him sword, arrow, bow and club. *Śilparatna* give him eight hands and makes him ride on a '*vētāḷa*', surrounded by *gaṇās*. *Śilpasaṇgraha* mentions three varieties: *sāttvic*, *tāmasic* and *rājasic* forms with two, four and eight arms respectively. Seated figures represent *yōga vīra*; standing figures, *bhōga vīra*; walking figures, *vīravīra*.

In Tanjore, a panel shows Śiva putting the head into the fire whilst a woman (the wife of *Dakṣa*) and the priest with the ladle run away.[22]

22. *Gods and goddesses*, Fig. 100.

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IX

Coming to the sculpture of Ārūrar's age,[23] pl. XXXVI of *Rea* represents this story. This is Rea's description of panel No. 18, in the Kailāsanātha Temple: "Śiva kills a double headed *Rākṣaśa* with his trident. A figure on Śiva's left — midway up the panel — has a tiger's legs and probably represent *Vyāgrapāda*. On the upper portion of the panel, Śiva is seen seated with his wife Pārvatī, soaring through the sky."[24] There is no two headed asura, known to my-thology. The figures are all *Dēvas*. The *Dēvas* are running for their iife, some holding their hands in *añjali* pose; some have fallen down, probably, *Dakṣa* and *Yajña*. The serpent *Yajñōpavīta*, the anklets, wristlets and armlets, the flowing cloth, the necklace, the girdle of serpent, the dishevelled back portion of the *jaṭā* dancing up and down in two halves, the ring-like ear ornament of the right ear and a bell-like pendant ear-ring on the left ear are all there. There are four arms: the right back is holding the trident; the right front is held up as though supporting something. The left front arm is held in *catura* pose; the back left arm is not clear.

Every heroic act of Śiva was in ancient times shown as a drama and as a dance. Perhaps to witness this dance, *Patañjali* and *Vyāghrapāda* had also come. Śiva and Pārvatī on the bull had come on the scene at the end, as described in *Kantapurāṇam*.

X

The speech of *Dakṣa* as quoted from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and as found in *Tamil Kantapurāṇam* breathes fire against Śiva. It is this vituperation against Śiva and Pārvatī, that comes to the mind of Ārūrar, as it did to Campantar.[25] *Dakṣa* had no regard for Śiva or his daughter "*Pēṇā muṇivaṉ*."[26] *Dakṣa* had not honoured Śiva — "*Paḻikkum peruntakkaṉ*;"[27] not honouring Śiva, he had refused offerings to Him — "*Koṇṭāṭutal puriyā varu Takkaṉ peruvēḷvi*"[28] — in the great sacrifice of *Dakṣa*. The *purāṇas* describe the sacrifice in glowing terms where all the *Dēvas* were assembled.

23. Fig. 1 of *Rea*.
24. P. 32.
25. *Camp*. 1: 20: 3.
26. 7: 93: 9.
27. 7: 9: 7.
28. 7: 82: 9.

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Ārurar calls it again and again '*Peru vēḷi*'' —'the great sacrifice.'[29] The people who attended this sacrifice were all great *Dēvas* — "*Peruntēvar.*"[30] There came there innumerable *Dēvas* — "*Pala Dēvar.*"[31]

The performer of this sacrifice is again referred to as great— "*Peruntahkaṉ.*"[32] He was full of all that should bless man — wealth, knowledge and perhaps pride etc. — "*Nirampiya Takkaṉ.*[33] He was a *Ṛṣi*, being the veritable Prajāpati — "*Munivaṉ.*[34] He was one who never thinks of the Lord — "*Karutātavar.*"[35] Ārūrar describes the sacrifice by the Tamil term '*Vēḷvi*'[36] and by the Sanskrit term '*Eccam*',[37] a corruption of '*Yajña*', the last term suggesting a slur on it by its association with the word in Tamil '*eccam*'. *Dakṣa* does not know any propriety — "*Perṟimai ōṉṟu aṟiyāta Takkaṉ*,[38] where Ārūrar uses '*Perṟimai*' in the sense in which '*perṟi*' is used in *Nālaṭiyār*,[39] '*Perṟi piḻaiyā toruṇaṭai yār.*" The important events of the *purāṇic* episode are suggested by these descriptive titles of *Dakṣia*. It was this intoxiation of spiritual power, knowledge and wealth that sent *Dakṣa* on the path of arrogance and unrighteous acts. This brought down its own retribution. The whole programme of his sacrifice went to pieces— "*Uṭaittāy vēḷvi taṉai.*"[40] The whole sacrifice failed to achieve its greatness; God saw to it that it ended in disrepute — "*Māṇāmai ceytāṉ.*[41]

The Lord made the sacrifice without any intervening space there, heaping up and huddling all the *Dēvas* together — *Nirantaram ceyta.*"[42] The whole field of sacrifice was clearly packed up with their remains. In this, the Lord had no obstruction, he was free from enemies, dangers or any nuisance whatsoever —

29. 7: 61: 9; 7: 88: 9; 7: 93: 9.
30. 7: 16: 6.
31. 7: 9: 7.
32. 7: 9: 7.
33. 7: 61: 9.
34. 7: 93: 9.
35. 7: 97: 5.
36. 7: 93: 9.
37. 7: 9: 7.
38. 7: 16: 6.
39. V. 343.
40. 7: 23: 8.
41. 7: 93: 9.
42. 7: 61: 9.

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"*Nirantaram ceyta niṭkaṇṭakaṉ.*" '*Nirantaram*' is however interpreted as destruction by the Tamil Lexicon. The *Dēvas* tried to run away for their lives: the Lord made them flee — "*Aṟrimaiyōrai iritta Nambi.*"[44] He enjoyed kicking the *Dēvas* and making them roll on the ground — "*Imaiyavarai uruṇṭōṭa utait-tukantu.*"[45] They had done the dangerous act of eating away the offerings of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice and it looked as though the Lord rolled them, so that they might vomit the poison.[46] The idea of kicking and making them roll suggests that the Lord played the game of balls or '*ceṇṭu*'. The sound of the verse echoes the sense — "*Koṇṭāṭuṭal puriyā varu Takkaṉ peru vēḷvi ceṇṭāṭutāl purintāṉ.*"[47] The Lord first drove all the *Dēvas* by shouting and uttering threats — "*Pala dēvaraiyum teḻittiṭṭu.*"[48] They ran pell mell huddling together as explained above. Their organs were mangled and cut away. 'The great gods lost their heads, shoulders, teeth, hands and eyes along with their greatness.'[49] The poet gives further particulars of this destruction. The god, whose shoulders were worsted and broken was Indra.[50] The proud Sun it was, who lost his eyes[50a] and his teeth.[51] *Dakṣa* and the *Yajña Puruṣa* lost their heads whilst *Agni* lost his hands according to *Tiruvācakam*, though Ārūrar does not give these details. The moon was rubbed away by the Lord's toe and all his rays were shattered.[52] The sacrifice was completely destroyed.[53] This was all an act of Grace,[54] making them gorge out the poison. The Poet exclaims, "The Lord has conquered the *Dēvas* in the sacrifice."[55] Is it not the import of the whole story?

XI

Though the references seem to know of the tradition preserved in *Kūrmapurāṇa* and *Tamil Kantapurāṇa*, they suggest as in *Varā-*

43. 7: 61: 9.
44. 7: 63: 6
45. 7: 97: 5
46. 7: 97: 5.
47. 7: 82: 9.
48. 7: 9: 7.
49. 7: 16: 6.
50. 7: 16: 2; 7: 17: 5.
50a. 7: 17: 5.
51. 7: 26: 3.
52. 7:16: 6.
53. 7: 53: 9.
54. 7: 9: 7; 16: 6.
55. 7: 45: 5.

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hapurāṅa, that Śiva himself did this heroic act. The term *Vīrabhadra* is never used. *Ñāṉacampantar* even speaks of the cutting of *Sarasvatī's* nose, which is ascribed in the *Puṟāṇas* to *Bhadrakāḷī*,[56] to Śiva himself. The worship of *Vīrabhadra* and other awe inspiring forms came into South India, thanks to the Northern influence; In *Ciṟuttoṇṭar Purāṇam*, this *Mahābhairava* is said to have come from the North.[57] But these awe inspiring forms are not often met with in South Indian Temples. *Vīrabhadra* cult with its *Tāntric* elaborations became prominent in later times so as to deserve a '*Paraṇi*', the *Takka Yāka-p paraṇi*, from the pen of Oṭṭakkūttar the court poet and teacher of the Śaivite Cōḷas, Kulōttuṅga II, Rajarāja II and Rājādhi Rāja II of the 12th century. Even after this though the temples and images of *Vīrabhadra* are very common in the Telugu and Kannada countries, such images and temples are very rare in Tamil land. In the age of *Tēvāram*, probably this cult has not developed in the Tamil country. Like the burning away of the three castles, the supperssion of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice is attributed to Śiva Himself directly. The Sanskrit Lexicon *Amarakōśa* also directly calls Śiva, the destroyer of the Sacrifice, *Kratu-dhvamsin*.

XII

The poet is conscious that there is here an esotcric significance He asks "What is the gracious act of destroying the organs of the *Dēvas* in *Dakṣa' Sacrifice*?"[58]

Tirumūlar speaks of this *Tirumantiram*,[59]

"Kolaiyiṟ piḻaitta piracā paṭiyai-t
Talaiyai-t taṭintiṭṭu-t tāṉaṅki iṭṭu
Nilaiyula kukkivaṉ vēṇṭumeṉ ṟeṇṇi-t
Talaiyai yarintiṭṭu-c cānticey tāṉē".

"The Lord cut away the head of *Dakṣa Prajāpati*, who was guilty of murder (as causing the death of *Satī*) and offered it to the sacrificial fire. The Lord thought that he was required for this world wherein stands fire (where reigns the Law of conservation of matter and energy). He cut the goat's head and fixed it on to *Dakṣa*"—a wonderful way of converting the proud murderer into a meek lamb. Thus the heroic act is a symbol of God's Grace.

56. 3: 118: 5.
57. *Ciṟuttoṇṭar Purāṇam*, 40.
58. 7: 9: 7.
59. V. 340.

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Tirumūlar further explains this in *Tirumantiram*,[60] where his idea seems to be that the inner principle always with us in this sacrifificial pit of a body seems to be hostile as long as we are up against the law, but when we get submerged and take refuge in Him, He saves us from all obstacles.[61] "Even those who have realized clearly like the Dēvas, may get confused but you do not get confused. *Dakṣa* is dead; God showed His displeasure and then showed His Grace, This is the unsullied message given there for us, that, it is He who is to be reached when we become tender and loving."[62]

"Teḷintār kalaṅkiṉum nakalaṅ kātē
Aḷintāṅ kaṭaivaten āti-p pirāṉai
Viḷintā ṉatutakkaṉ vēḷiviyai vīya-c
Cuḷintāṅ karuḷceyta tūymoḻi yāṉē."

60. VV. 353 to 361.
61. *Ibid.*, V. 360.
62. *Ibid.*, V. 361.

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Chapter III

KĀMĀNTAKA MŪRTI

I

The story of *Kāma* or *Manmata* going to kindle the passion of love in Śiva and meeting his death in that attempt is very popular in India. Kāḷidāsa's Kumārasambhava has made this episode immortal. In the Tamil country, Kacciappar's *Kanta purāṇam* gives the same story at great length. But this *purāṇam* is later than Tēvāram.

II

The Buddhists speak of *Māra* and *Kāma* conquered by Buddha, and *Maṇimēkalai* praises Buddha's feat as "*Māraṇai vellum vīra*"[1], *Kāmarkaṭanta Vāma*".[2] Śiva in his form of a *yōgi* or *jñāni*, or Buddha, burns to ashes *Māra* — this time it is *Cupid*: he is the son of Viṣṇu. After the destruction of Dakṣa's sacrifice, Śiva's consort, in the form of Dakṣa's daughter, gives up that form in disgust. She is born again as the daughter of Himavān or the god of Himālayas. Śiva, in the forests of the Himālayas, remains an ascetic *yogi*, initiating the great *Ṛṣis* in that mystic art. The daughter of the Mountain went to perform Tapas for winning the hand of Śiva. The demon *Tāraka*, according to *Kumārasambhava* and the *Liṅga purāṇa*, but *Tāraka*, *Simhamukhāsūra* and *Sūrapadma* according to the Tamil *Kantapurāṇam*, should be killed if the universe were to be saved. This can be done only by the son of Śiva. How is the child to be born if the *yōgi* of a Śiva and the daughter of Himavān do not come together? The impatient *Dēvas* request the Lord of erotic passions, *Kāma*, to aim at Śiva his flower arrows, which usually kindle the passions in the hearts of flower arrows, which usually kindle the passions in the hearts of *Dēvas* and men. Knowing the danger, he protests, but ultimately yields to their entreaties. Darkness or night is his elephant; the fish is his flag; the parrot is his horse; the zephyr is his chariot; the spring is his ally. *Rati* or Love is his consort; the moon is his

1. XI, l. 61.
2. V, l. 77.

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royal umbrella; the cuckoo is his trumpet; the sea is his drum; the sugar-cane is his bow; bees are bow-string and five flowers are his arrows (the flowers are: lotus, *aśōka*, mango, jasmine and blue lily, producing the *unmattam*, *matanam*, *mōhanam*, *santāpam* and *vaśīkaraṇam* respectively according to *Tivākaram* in Tamil; whilst *Kāraṇāgama* however gives the names of the arrows as *Tāpini*, *Dāhani*, *Viśvamōhini*, *Viśvamardini* and *Mādini*). It will be seen all these paraphernalia of Cupid are notorious for kindling thoughts of Love. When Kāma aimed his blooming arrows, Śiva opened his eye of the forehead and Cupid was burnt to ashes. Rati was promised by the Lord that her husband would become alive, but only be visible to her. Campantar refers to this boon.[3]

III

The cult of Cupid or Kāma was popular in the Tamil land. There was a temple near the mouth of Kāviri.[4] Cilappatikāram speaks of this festival of victorious bow of Cupid occurring in the month of Paṅkuṉi. His five arrows are also known.[5] The spring is spoken of as Cupid's prince, having jurisdiction over all the living beings of the world. The Chapter VIII,[6] therein is a glorification of Cupid and as such is an interesting exposition of this cult: "The king *Māra* of great fame reigns supreme alike in Madura, Uṟantai, Vañci and Pukār".

This is explained by Aṭiyārkkunallār. Kāma's chariot is the zephyr; his horse is the parrot; his elephant is the evening twilight; his army is the womenfolk. Therefore, Cupid's chariot is under the protection of Pāṇḍya of Madura; his horse under the Cōḻa of Uṟantai; his elephant under the Cēra of Vañci whilst he himself along with his army remains at Pukār.

"Cupid's friend Spring has come. This information is brought by the envoy, Zephyr. 'The army (women) of this Lord of the victorious flag of *makara* will get itself ready in its beautiful forms'. — so proclaimed the trumpet bearer of a cuckoo — these words of the envoy": Thus begins this chapter before describing the forlorn Mātavi writing her famous love letter to Kōvalaṉ describing the suffering of her solitude.

3. 1: 66: 3.
4. *Cilap.*, 9: 60.
5. *Cilap.*, 28: 43.
6. *Vēṉiṟkātai*.

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IV

A further development—a sublimation of this idea of *Kāma* may also be noted. As Keith observes: There is a real affinity between the process by which *Buddhi* and *Ahaṅkāra* are deemed to produce the world of experience and older myths of *Prajāpati* and his desire, *Kāma* as playing their parts in the creation of the world, while still further back we have the picture of *Puruṣa* as at once the material and spiritual source of the world".[7] These form the rudiments of the *Sāṁkhya Philosophy* which has been adopted in a way by Śaivism. Kāma is said to be born in the form of *Pradyumna*, which is one of the three or four '*vyūhas*' or divine manifestations of Viṣṇu. This particular manifestation is referred in the *Caṅkam* Anthology—*Paripāṭal* as '*Paccai*'.[8] When this is remembered, Ārūrar's statement, that *Kāma* was burnt by Śiva in the very presence of Viṣṇu assumes a greater importance.

In this connection, the Vēdic conception of Kāma, which is equivalent to the Tamil word '*Vēḷ*' may be studied for understanding the growth and development of this idea in the religion and philosophy of India. Keith writes, "In the *Atharva Vēda* is found the conception of Kāma, 'desire' or love. He is described as the first to be born and he has arrows which pierced all hearts. He is not, however, as far as appears from the scanty notices we have of him a god primarily of human love though that side of his character may have existed from the first or have been attributed soon to him. In his cosmic aspect which is in accordance with the theosophic tone of the *Atharva Vēda*, the one in which he is described in it, he is probably derived from the mention of *Kāṃa* in one of the most important cosmogonic hymns of the *Ṛg Vēda* as the first seed of mind regarded also as cosmic. It is not until the later literature in the last strata of the epic that we meet with the Indian Cupid with his arrows, who is described as the disturber of the hearts of men whom he vexes with pangs of love."[9]

V

The conquest of *Kāma* is one of the eight acts of Śiva's heroism as remembered and cherished in the Tamil Country. The

7. Religion and Philosophy of the *Vēdas* and *Upaniṣads*, p. 542.
8. 3: 82.
9. Religion and Philosophy of the *Vēdas* and *Upaniṣads*, p. 210.

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Tamilian tradition is that this act took place at *Kuṟukkai* in the Tanjore Disirict. It is, therefore, called *Kuṟukkai Vīraṭṭāṇam*. Appar refers to this *Vīraṭṭāṇam* and Tirumūlar also in his usual way gives his mystic interpretation of this story. He mentions this as the last of the heroic acts of Śiva.

VI

According to the *Āgamas*, the form of this *Kāmāri*,[10] is exactly like that of *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti* with the addition of *Manmata* sculptured as fallen down with his bow and arrows on the left hand and on the right hand respectively accompanied by *Rati* and *Vasanta*. Campantar refers to the *Yōgic* form as *Kāmāri*.[11] The *Pūrva kāraṇāgama* assigns four arms and three eyes and a terrific look, one arm carrying a snake, the other arm *akṣamāla*, the third and the fourth being kept in the *patākahasta* pose and *sūcī* pose respectively. The *Kāmāri* is found sculptured on one of the pillars near the tank in the Ēkāmparēśvara temple in Conjīvaram but it is very modern. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is separately discussed by us.

VII

The Pallava architecture of the 7th century as embodied in the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjīvaram, has many panels describing the various episodes of this story. The following descriptions seem to refer to the representations of Pārvatī's Tapas.[12] "Returning along the South wall, the space between the south-east corner recess and No. 4 cell, has Pārvatī, seated under a banyan tree; one large and two small elephants are on the left side. A *Yōgi* sits with his knees bound on the back of a large animal. A female attendant is on the right".[13] Between 7 and 8: "Pārvatī is seated under a tree; a deer is on her left and two are underneath; a bird, probably a peacock is on a branch of the tree; a female attendant is on her right". Similarly we have between 9 and 10 between 10 and 11, 12 and 13, 13 and 14, and 15 and 16. The scheme adopted seems to be this: the cells portray Siva's acts whilst recesses between the cells portray Pārvatī's or Śakti's acts.

10. The destroyer of *Kāma*.
11. 3: 103: 2.
12. *Rea.*, p. 30.
13. Perhaps this represents the story of Siva appearing to Pārvatī in the form of an old man—*Ṛṣi*.

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There are various forms of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. Rea speaks of a few of such forms, preaching war to his disciples seated in the opposite panel.[14] Śiva is said to have eight hands, the upper and left supporting an elephant's skin over his head, in his right arm carrying a drum, a club and a trident, whilst one of the left touches his crown, the other holds what Rea calls a noose which probably is *Akṣamāla* and the lowest is empty. Possibly this is *Kāmāri*.

VIII

Ārūrar uses the beautiful compound *Kāmakōpa*, one who is infuriated against *Kāma*. Ārūrar mentions the names '*Kāmaṉ*',[15] '*Māraṉār*'.[16] The Tamil word is '*Vēḷ*' (desire and therefore the Lord of passions) and Ārūrar uses the compound "*Kāmaveḷ*"[17] and "*Vēḷāḷiya kāmaṉ*"[18] (*Kāma*, the lord of erotic passions). His bow of sugar-cane is referred to by Ārūrar.[19]. So are the arrows of flowers;[20] these are fragrant,[21] they are full of honey.[22] He gives the number as given in many places.[23]

Why Kāma came is also explained. "You assumed a great form of penance. The *Dēvas* begged of him. He came to destroy this penance.[24] He came very near erasing the well established great penance and meditation. He was very haugty.[25] Śiva's eye was opened;[26] only the very end of the eye opened.[27] The eye had become completely reddened.[28] It was a beautiful eye of red.[29] It was a mere twinkling of the eye '*Imaitta*"[30] It was an eye of fire, the eye on the forehead—"*Kaṇṇutal*".[31] and "*Naya-*

14. P. 26: p. 28.
15. 7: 2: 9.
16. 7: 57: 5.
17. 7: 6: 2.
18. 7: 2: 9.
19. 7: 9: 4; 7: 16: 9.
20. 7: 9: 4; 7: 10: 1; 7: 16: 9; 7: 51: 2; 7: 53: 4.
21. 7: 9: 4.
22. 7: 53: 4.
23 7: 10: 1; 7: 51: 2; 7: 53: 4.
24. 7: 6; 2.
25. 7: 99: 7 & 9.
26. 7: 6: 2.
27. 7: 9: 4.
28. 7: 75: 9.
29. 7: 51: 2.
30. 7: 94: 8.
31. 7: 89: 6.

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naṭṭī",[32] "*Kaṇ aḻal*".[33] The fire of the eye burnt his body.[34] He is thus the very fire unto Cupid.[35] Here comes a beautiful idea. Śiva is engaged in a great penance and this burning of the passions is a great sacrifice. It is a great sea of '*Hōma*' or sacrifice.[36] In that fire Śiva danced.[37] This was done in the presence of the very father of *Kāma*, that great Viṣṇu.[38] "What a victory! Like the paper doll burnt retaining its form only to be wafted away by any small puff of breath, Cupid remained only to be dissolved into air by the breath of *Rati*". That is how Kālidāsa describes the final dissolution of *Kama*. Ārūrar suggests the very same idea when he speaks of Śiva making the body of *Kāma* become burnt and shattered—"*Kāmaṉākam kaḷaintāṉ*". Kāma lay there a heap of ashes.[39]

IX

Reference has been already made to Tirumūlar's *Tirumantiram*. The esoteric meaning of this mythological story lies on the very surface; it is the conquest of the passions.

> "*Irunta maṉattai icaiya irutti*
> *Porunti iliṅka vaḻiyatu pōkkit*
> *Tiruntiya kāmaṉ ceyalaḻit taṅkaṇ*
> *Aruntava yōkam koṟukkai amarntatē*".[40]

"This mind is made to co-operate and to be in communion. It is sent through the path of *Liṅga* (or, it is made to get away from the phallic way). The action of Cupid is destroyed. The great meditation of rare penance becomes established at *Kuṟukkai*". Ārūrar also feels that story connotes a great mystic truth. He does not express it himself but asks of God, "What is the import ? What is the significance of this victory of staring at *Kāma*?"[41] Why was he baked to be reduced to ashes?"[43]

32. 7: 53: 4.
33. 7: 45: 3.
34. 7. 16: 9.
35. 7: 70: 1.
36. 7: 94: 8.
37 7: 10: 1.
38. 7: 6: 2.
39. 7: 9: 4; 7: 53: 4; 7: 57: 5; 7: 94: 8; 7: 99: 7; 7: 99: 9.
40. *Tirumantiram*, V. 346,
41. 7: 6: 2.
42. 7: 9: 4.

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Chapter IV

GAJĀHA MŪRTI

I

In *Cilappatikāram*, there is a description of *Durgā*, whom the hunters worship in the deserts. That is curious inasmuch as the description seems to be that of *Śiva*, transferred wholesale to *Durgā*, the *Śakti* of *Śiva*, evidently because of the identity of Śiva and *Ṣakti*, roughly the static and the dynamic aspects of Godhead:

"Matiyiṉ veṇṭōṭu cūṭum ceṉṉi
Nutal kiḻittu viḻitta imaiyā nāṭṭattu-p
Pavaḷa vāycci tavaḷavāḷ nakaicci
Ñañcuṇṭu karutta kaṇṭi veñciṉattu
Aravunāṇ pūṭṭi neṭumalai vaḷaittōḷ
Tuḷaieyiṟ ṟurakak kaccuṭai mulaicci
Vaḷaiyuṭaik kaiyiṟ cūla mēnti
Kariyiṉ urivai pōrttaṇaṅ kākiya
Ariyiṉ urivai mēkalai yāṭṭi
(Cilampuṅ kaḻalum pulampum cīraṭi
Valampaṭu koṟṟattu vāyvāḷ koṟṟavai
Iraṇṭu uēṟvruvil tiraṇṭatōḷ avuṇaṉ
Talaimicai niṉṟa taiyal)".[1]

"On her crown she adorns herself with the white blade of he moon. Tearing the forehead as it were, looks out for once the never opening eye. The mouth is the very coral. Her smile is of white radiance. Her throat has become black with the poison drunk. Fitting up the furious snake as the bow-string, she bends the huge mountain of a bow. She wears the serpents as her breast band. She holds up the trident in her bangled hand. She covers herself with the skin of the elephant; the lion-skin is her girdle thereon. (The anklets, and the victorious and heroic sign of a leg-ring, jingle on her feet. She is *Koṟṟavai* (or *Durgā*) of the never failing sword and victorious courage. She stands on the head of the demon of two forms.)

1. *Cilap., Vēṭṭuvar vari*, XII, ll. 54ff.

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II

It is the *line underlined* that is important for the present. It refers to the flaying of an elephant and wearing its skin as a shawl. The story is thus seen to be popular even among the hunters of the age of the epic. Apart from the heroic deed of flaying the elephant, there is also the greatness involved in wearing the skin. The ancients believed the very touch of the flayed skin of an elephant will bring death; to escape this death is itself a divine act.[2] The *Kūrmapurāṇa* states that when a demon assumed the form of an elephant for interfering with and frightening the Saints in contemplation near the *Kṛttivāsēśvara liṇga* in Benares, Śiva came out and killed him.

The *Purāṇas* including the *Suprabhēdāgama* describe how the *Ṛsis* of *Daṇḍakāraṇya*' enraged at Śiva's sport with their wives as *Bikṣāṭana*, performed a destructive sacrifice for killing Śiva, when from the sacrificial fire came many fatal objects, including an elephant which, along with the other objects were neutralized. Śiva wore the flayed skin of the elephant in this case. This is probably what Ārūrar refers to. This will be described and discussed later on.

The third story occurs in the *Varāhapurāṇa*. A great demon *Gajāsuṛa* by name, was like the other demons of the *purāṇas* giving endless trouble to *Dēvas*; and Śiva fought and flayed him. The heroic act according to the Tamilian tradition, took place in *Vaḻuvūr* in the Tanjore District.

III

The important point is killing the elephant and wearing its skin. The form of the Lord is called *Gajāsurasaṁhāra mūrti* or if it is merely the killing of the elephant sent by the *Ṛsis*, *Gajāhamūrti*. *The Āgamas* describe this form. Śiva appears with either four or eight arms holding in the former case, the noose and the skin of the elephant with the right hands, and the tusk and skin with the left, whilst holding in the latter case of eight arms, the trident, the drum, the noose and the elephant's skin with the right hands and the skull, the tusk, the skin and the *vismaya* pose with the left. Śiva's left leg is planted straight on the elephant's

2. See: *Cināṭmaṇi*, V. No. 2787 — commentary — *"yāṉaiyiṉ pacuntōl piṟar nṭampiṟ paṭṭāl kollum eṉṟu uṇarka"*.

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head; His bent up right leg is lifted above to the left thigh. The tail of the animal is seen as coming over Śiva's crown, whilst the skin appears like a halo round the image of Śiva with legs hanging as artistically arranged. *Dēvī* stands by, terrified, holding Subrahmaṇya in her hands. It appears that the *Pērūr* image answers to this description, and not the image of *Vaḷuvūr*, the place famous for this heroic act,[3] because here the legs take a contrary position.

Another description of the *Āgama*, places the trident, the sword, the tusk and the skin in the right hands and a skull, a shield, a ball and the skin in the left; the right leg is bent and held as in *utkuṭikāsana*. *Kāraṇāgama* gives *ṭaṅka*, deer and *sūcī* pose as in *Tirutturaippūṇḍi* image,[4] which however has ten arms and not the *Āgamic* eight or four hands.

IV

Coming to the sculpture of the age of *Tēvāram*, Rea describes the panel of the back of the last but one *ratha* on the north, among the eight *rathas* at the entrance of Kailāsanātha Temple. "The group has Śiva on an elephant; the death noose is in His left hand; His right foot is uplifted on the elephant's head; He holds in the lower right hand a trident and in the lower left a *nāga*. He is represented as stripping the elephant's skin which he waves aloft in his two upper hands. At His sides are a standing figure of a devotee on the left, and two *gandharvas* on the right. The panelled back of the seventh (going to the South) *ratha* is similar to that just described but in this case Śiva has six hands".[5] *Rea* described Fig. 1 in his plate CXXIII as follows: "*Śiva* with the usual weapons sits on back of an elephant. A woman is in front."[6] A reference to the figure leaves no doubt that it is the *Gajāhamūrti*. Śiva is standing on the elephant with His straight right leg, whilst the left leg is lifted and bent, straight above its head. The trident of the right hand is piercing the elephant. The front left hand and the back right hand are holding up the skin. Perhaps, there are eight hands. *Pārvatī* is frightened and

3. *Madras Archaelogical Survey Report* for 1911-12: Plate IX, fig. 2; Plate XXXI, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. 1.

4. Fig. 83, *Gods and Goddesses of South India*.

5. *Rea.*, p. 24.

6. P. 32.

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this fright is very well expressed by her bends of the legs and body — so frightened as almost run away without seeing the cruel act. In plate LVII, the top panel gives the representation of the *Gajāhamūrti*. *Śiva* has six hands. The elephant is being pierced by the trident held in the right middle arm. The back right arm and the front left arm are holding up the elephant's skin, high above the *jaṭāmakuṭa*, which is in a peculiar form of three semi circles. The right leg is on the ground with a slight bent; the left is raised up to the thigh, the feet resting on the head of the elephant — a *talasamsphōṭita* mode of dance. The curves and bends express the victorious fight. *Pārvatī* as in the previous figure expresses fear. These sculptures show that the *Āgamic* rules have not as yet become crystallized.

V

The frequent representation of this story may be better understood and appreciated with reference to the following: In the Paṇamalai Temple inscription, Rājasiṁha, describes himself as 'the Rājasiṁha, the vanquisher of the elephants.' The Pallava kings of the Siṁhaviṣṇu line specialized in the lion pillars. Rājasiṁha portrays therein lions standing on their hind legs in the act of springing forward. "Under the feet of lions", says Longhurst in describing the Paṇamalai temple, "are the heads of small recumbent elephants portrayed as being crushed by the lions. Thus the rampant lions appear to symbolize Rājasiṁha as the lion and vanquisher of the elephants.[7] The latter refers to the enemy princes as according to tradition, the lion is the natural enemy of the elephant"[8]. Perhaps it is because of this, that this king came to be known as merely "*Ciṅkaṉ* or *Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ*". This explains the idea of the elephants being placed in the lower panels whilst Śiva is represented in various forms in the panels above, suggesting the crushing down of the elephant. Rājasiṁhēśvara is the name of the God of Kailāsanātha temple in Conjīvaram and these particular panels visualize this significance. The *Gajāsura Saṁhāra* is a more concrete and a more orthodox representation of this idea of a vanquisher of elephants by which term Rājasiṁha probably liked his God also to be praised.

7. The elephant is the symbol of the *Gaṅgas*.
8. *Pallava Architecture*, Part III, p. 8.

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VI

In that age of divine right of Kings, certain amount of identity between the king and God came also to be emphasized. We know that in the Eastern Archipelago, *liṅgas* were not only named after the patron kings, but forms of God were sculptured to represent the faces of the patron kings. *Paḷḷipaṭai* temples in Tamil land were those built on the places where the kings were burnt. *Āditteccuram* was one such built, where Āditya Cōḷa died. There might have been, however, such temples of the Pallava age. An inscription of the 8th year of Kampavaraman,[9] speaks of a temple built by one Rājāditya at the place where his father was burnt. The *Mataṅgan Paḷḷi* Temple of Satyavēḍu is considered to be a temple as the tomb of one Mataṅga.[10] But this interpretation of the *Paḷḷi* is wrong, for that will make *Tirichirappaḷḷi*, *Mayēndirappaḷḷi* etc., tomb temples which is against what we know of the *Paḷḷis* as the original temples of the Jains converted into Śaivite temples. But though *paḷḷis* are not *Pāḷḷipaṭai* temples, there were the latter kind in the Tamil country. The king is used to be called as *Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ*. *Kaṭavūr Mayāṉam* as the name itself suggests must have originally a burning ghat. The name of the God there, is *Perumāṉ Aṭikaḷ* as seen from the poems of Campantar, Appar and Ārūrar. It may not be a far fetched inference to hold that it was a *Paḷḷipaṭai* temple of a king.

Appar living in the reign of Narasiṁhavarma Pallava I, who extended the use of the pillars with squatting base who was himself called Siṁha, addresses God as '*Ciṅkamē*'.[11]

The *Gajāsura saṃhāra mūrti* as suggesting the idea of 'Siṁha' the title of the king, explains the beautiful and original pharse or compound which Ārūrar coined and applied to God so lovingly "*Tēvar ciṅkamē*" — "Lion of *Dēvas*", a pharse, "One better than Rājasiṁha".

VII

Ārūrar refers to the elephant 57 times in his hymns; Ārūrar is looked upon as a great poet. His rich active vocabulary is

9. 429 of 1902.
10. *History of Ancient Deccan*, p. 384.
11. Appar, 6: 99: 2.

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evident in his poems. Without any conscious effort, he has used nearly a dozen familiar words perhaps with different shades of meaning, to denote an elephant: '*Atti*', connoting the idea of the Tamil term, '*Kaimmā*' used by hīm, and '*Kuñcaram*' (that which has a tusk) are the two Sanskrit words used in their Tamil form.[12] Perhaps '*Kari*',[13] also may be traced to Sanskrit if it does not mean a black or huge animal, bringing out the same idea as the Tamil "*Karumāṉ*", [14] *or* "*Maimmā*',[15] which also Ārūrar has used. The other terms are '*Ṟāṉai*"[16] with its variant later form '*Āṉai*',[17] '*Vēḻam*',[18] '*Kaḻiṟu*'[19] from '*kaḷi*' which means, 'must', and '*Pakaṭu*'[20] (from which probably '*pakaṭṭu*' has come).

As a poet, he describes the elephant. Some of the descriptions explain the nature of the elephant species, whilst others specifically glorify the elephant destroyed by Siva. Ārūrar refers to "*Mata yāṉai*",[21] — the elephant of the oozing must. "*Karuṅkaṭak kaḷiṟu*",[22] gives the black colour of the oozing must; "*Kaṭamā kaḷi yāṉai*",[23] refers to the intoxication and pride of the elephant, thanks to this oozing. This animal is blessed with a crown as big as a '*kuṁpam*' or a round vessel, "*Kumpa mākaḷiṟu*".[24] It is tethered to a post, "*Kampamaruṅkari*",[25] and it is always moving its body, "*Kampa māl kaḷiṟu*",[26] (*kampam* is shaking or post). Its feet are big, "*Karuntāḷa matak kaḷiṟu*".[27] Its food is given as huge balls of food, "*Kavaḷa-k kaḷiṟṟiṉ*".[28] It is hard and firm like a mountain and therefore mighty, "*Vaṉpakaṭu*".[29] Its trunk is ser-

12. 7: 30: 1 & 7: 2: 9.
13. 7: 9: 1; 7: 28: 4.
14. 7: 38: 8; 7: 90: 5.
15. 7: 21: 5.
16. 7: 10: 1; 7: 18: 4; 7: 23: 6.
17. 7: 7. 1; 17: 19: 6.
18. 7: 6: 8; 7: 17: 10.
19. 7: 6: 6; 7: 17: 5.
20. 7: 23: 7.
21. 7: 27: 4.
22. 7: 72: 6.
23. 7: 42: 7.
24. 7: 68: 1.
25. 7: 89: 4:
26. 7: 55: 10.
27. 7: 38: 9.
28. 7 91: 3.
29. 7: 23: 7.

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ving as its hand, its chief characteristic, "*Kaimmā*".[30] As a hand, it is like a pipe with a hollow, "*Tuḷai-kkai-k kari*[31] It lives on the mountain, "*Malai mēl yāṉai*".[32]

Gajāsura is an elephant, par excellence, embodiment of evil. It has conquered — perhaps uprooted — the mountains with extensive slops with its very trunk — so fierce and cruel — conscious of its unyielding honour and pride, "*Tāḻvaraikkai veṉṟa vemmāṉa matakari*".[33] It is monstrous, fierce and big, "*Veyya mā kari*".[34] Its eyes are fierce; it is fearless, "*Veṅkaṇyāṉai*"[35] Its must does not ooze but flow like a river, "*Matam āṟupaṭa-p poḻiyum*,[36] or, it pours down while it is in the fighting mood. Its very trunk is death, "*Kolaikkai yāṉai*".[37] It rules death, "*Kōḷ āḻiya puñcaram*",[38] Its fame has spread slowly but steadily, "*Pērūrum mata kari*".[39] Nobody could prevent its onslaught on the universe, "*Taṭukka voṇṇātatōr vēlam*". It is also victory for it, "*Veṉṟi matā-kari*".[41]

It is this demon of an elephant that Lord Śiva conquered. This ruler of death was made to die.[42] Perhaps piercing it with the trident was not enough; perhaps it continued its monstrous acts. The Lord had to flay it.[43] He caught hold of it from the front and flayed its skin for becoming His cloth. The hot blood was then pouring down, "*Kuruti cōra*".[44] It was an act, giving great exercise to His body, "*Varunta aṉṟu uritta*",[45] or, rather it is the suffering of the elephant that is referred to. Every act of the so called destruction is an act of His Grace. The elephant's skin became His favourite shawl. The cow relishes all the dirts on the new born calf and Śiva relishes all the refuses of the body of

30. 7. 38: 1.
31. 7: 93. 2.
32. 7. 10: 1.
33. 7: 38: 6.
34. 7: 70: 7.
35. 7: 62: 2.
36. 7: 10: 1.
37. 7; 57: 1.
38. 7: 2: 9.
39. 7: 51: 12.
40. 7: 17: 10.
41. 7: 99: 4,
42. 7: 38: 6.
43. 7: 6: 6.
44. 7: 7: 10.
45. 7: 63: 3.

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this demon. He has covered Himself with it full of relish, "*Iṭṭamāka-p pōrttīr*",[46] "*Kuruti cōra*",[47] — with its oozing blood, still wet, "*Īruri*",[48] full of the festering odour of the carcass, "*Pulāl nāra*".[49] It covers His whole body, perhaps as a halo round His body.[50] It forms the aureola of his head, "*Tōl koṇṭa kuḻar caṭaiyan*".[51] The poet himself revelling in the act of Śiva's Grace, visualizes the beauty of this skin, "*Kōlamār kaḻiru*".[52] Anybody, seeing the representation of this in sculpture, will rcadily agree with this aesthetic judgement of our poet.

VIII

In the description of the sculptures of this form, Pārvatī is found frightened. This is referred to by Ārūrar.[53] He views it from a few poetic points of view. God was desirous of seeing the beautiful fright of Pārvatī and flayed the elephant to kindle this expression of terror in her, "*Naṭukkam kaṇṭār*".[54] In another place, he says that Pārvatī beçame frightened at seeing the demon and therefore Śiva flayed him.[55] There is a third graphic and poetic idea suggested. Pārvatī became terrified at this heroic fight with the elephant and at His terrific form; and therefore, Śiva flayed the elephant and covered His terrific form till it cooled down.[56] The poet brings out the loving fright of the woman and the terrific cruelty of the man,[57] as also the tenderness of love in the form of Pārvatī and the rank materialism of the mass of flesh in the form of the elephant, "*Pavaḷa-k kaṉivāy*",[58] and "*Kavaḷa-k kaḻirriṉ*",[59] where he contrasts the tender and beautiful lips of Pārvatī, tender like the fruit and beautifully red like the coral, or tender and frightful like the deer,[60] or, beautiful

46. 7: 6: 6.
47. 7: 7: 10.
48. 7: 21: 5.
49. 7: 23: 6.
50. 7: 19; 6; 7: 99: 4.
51. 7: 7: 10.
52. 7: 56: 10.
53. 7: 6: 8; 7: 30: 1; 7: 33; 4; 7: 69: 3; 7: 99: 4, etc.
54. 7: 17: 10.
55. 7: 9: 1.
56. 7: 41: 8.
57. 7: 6: 8; 7: 9: 1; 7: 99: 4, etc.
58. 7: 91: 3.
59. 7: 91: 3.
60. 7: 33: 4; 7: 41: 8.

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with the tender waist of a serpent,[61] with mountain of food of the mountain of an elephant.

IX

These stories are not mere objective experiences as far as Ārūrar is concerned. He very often correlates them with his own autobiographical experiences. It is again a glorification of the Grace of Śiva. The story is that an elephant was sent to carry Ārūrar to *Kailās* on his last pilgrimage. With a feeling of loving and respectful gratitude, he refers to this in his last hymn that is said to have been delivered to the sea, "He has flayed the elephant and this age long enmity of His against the elephant is dissolved along with me. Is it for this He has blessed me with this elephant, for me to ride on?".[62] Śome, it must be added, hold this hymn as apocryphal.

The whole story of the elephant has like other stories a mystical significance. Ārūrar asks, "What is the import of this flaying of the elephant?" Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of conquering the elephants of senses with the goad of knowledge.[63] The black elephant of a deceitful world, becomes in the end the white elephant of knowledge, as experienced in the last episode of Ārūrar, true to the message of "*Uṇmai viḷakkam*" that the three '*malas*' themselves become the *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda* aspects of *Mōkṣa*. Tirumūlar gives his own mystic interpretation of this story:

"Muttīk koḷuvi muḷaṅkeri vēḷviyuḷ
Atti yuriyara ṉāva tarikilar
Catti karutiya tām pala tēvarum
Attīyiṉ uḷḷeḻun taṉru kolaiyē".[64]

"The three sacrificial fires were kindled. They did not know, that the skin of the elephant is Śiva, the numerous *Dēvas* who thought of power. Murder was born out of fire". Is this, a reference to the sacrifice of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*?

61. 7; 93: 2.
62. 7: 100: 2.
63. *Kuṟaḷ*, 24.
64. *Tirumantiram*, V. 344.

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Chapter V

JALANDHARĀSURA SAMHĀRA MŪRTI

I

Another of the eight heroic feats of Śiva is the conquest of *Jalandharāsura*. This according to the Tamilian tradition took place at Tiruviṟkuṭi near Tiruvārūr in Tanjore District. According to *Śiva purāṇa*, the fire, that emanated from Śiva's forehead at the time of the burning of the three castles, when let into the sea, where the Indus joins the sea, rose up as a child *Jalandhara*, to grow up and marry a chaste woman *Bṛndā*, to conquer and plunder the *Dēvas* after knowing of their riches from the deformed *Rāhu* and finally, misled by *Nārada*, to demand of Śiva the surrender of Pārvatī herself so as to become the asura's wife. In the fight that ensued with Śiva, the demon made Śiva absorbed in the dance and music of those whom the asura created by his magic, so absorbed, that He was unconscious of His weapons dropping down. Taking this opportunity, *Jalandhara* went to Śiva's abode in the form of Śiva. Pārvatī could not be deceived and she took her revenge by sending Viṣṇu to ravish *Bṛndā*, who, unable to bear the indignity, committed suicide. When *Jalandhara* returned to the battlefield, Śiva, recovering from the spell of music, killed the asura with *Sudarśana* from the sea. But according to the tradition prevalent in the Tamil land, Śiva, drew up a circle with his toe on the earth and this became the discus *Sudarśana* for killing the demon. This is made clear by Tirumular:

> "*Eṅkum kalantumeṉ uḷḷattu eḻukiṉṟa*
> *Aṅka mutalvaṉ arumaṟai yōtipāl*
> *Poṅkum Calantaraṉ pōrceyya nīrmaiyiṉ*
> *Aṅku viraṟkuṟit tāḻicey tāṉē*".[1]

A challenge was thrown whether the demon could lift this wheel on to his head; the demon did lift it, whereupon it cut his body through.

1. *Tirumantiram*, V. 342.

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II

According to the *Āgamas*, Śiva resting on a pair of sandals has, in this form of *Jalandhra Saṁhāramūrti*, three terrific eyes but only two arms holding an umbrella on the right and water-pot on the left with a dishevelled *jaṭābhāra*, adorned with the crescent moon and the Ganges; *Jalandhara*, with a tucked up sword, is there, with two arms in *añjali* pose with the *Sudarśana* held on them. This description of *Jalandhara* seems to follow the version of the Tamil country.

The next episode is the grant of this *Sudarśana* to Viṣṇu. The form of God is known as *Cakradāna mūrti* or *Viṣṇu anugraha mūrti*. Viṣnu's original *cakra* broke to pieces when he hurled it against the *Ṛṣi Dadhīci*. Finding no weapon against the demons he had to fight, he prayed to Śiva for the *Sudarśana*, which killed *Jalandhra*. He was every day performing *pūja* or worship with one thousand lotus flowers. To test his devotion, Śiva secreted one flower but Viṣṇu, finding one missing, offered his own eye of a lotus. Is he not *Puṇḍarīkākṣa*? At once, gratified Śiva presented the *Cakra*. It is further told in Tirumantiram which deals with the story in four verses[2] in *Tantiram* II, that Viṣṇu could not bear this *Cakra*, whereupon Śiva divided Himself into parts and conferred on Viṣṇu a part of Himself.[3]

III

There were two great temples in the days of Appar and Campantar where this presentation of *Cakra* was said to have taken place. One is *Cakkarappaḷḷi* which Compantar refers to in *Kṣēttirakkōvai*.[4] as, "*Vaṉ cakkaram māl uṟaippāl aṭi pōṟṟa-k koṭutta Paḷḷiī*", 'the Paḷḷi where the big discus was given when Viṣṇu worshipped His feet'. This place is near the Aiyampēṭṟai Railway station in Tanjore. The other place is 'Tirumāl pēṟu' near Conjīvaram. Appar refers to this story in the first and the third verses of his first *Kuṟuntokai* on this temple *Tirumāṟpēṟu*.[5] Campantar also mentions Viṣṇu's worship. Of course, it is not open to us to conclude that these Saints want us to believe that these feats were performed in the particular places; for their refer

2. VV. 367-370.
3. VV. 368 & 369.
4. 2: 39: 4.
5. 5: 59: 1, 3.

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to these feats in almost all their hymns. The tradition must have grown probably, because of the first or early representation of the episode being made in stucco work before the age of stone sculptures, in the particular temples. Otherwise, it is not possible to appreciate the claim of more than one place for one and the same feat as here.

Speaking of the *Gajāha mūrti*, we referred to the tradition, that Vaḷuvūr was the place of the performance of *Gājāha*. Vaḷuvūr is not sung by the *Tēvāram* poets except by Appar who casually mentions it when enumerating the *Vīraṭṭānas*. In praising Kacci Anēkataṅkāpatam, Ārūrar, who alone had sung about it, speaks of it at one place, as the place where the elephant was flayed.[6] Probably on account of this, a tradition has grown, that this feat was performed in this area and people show the fields round about it being known even today as "*Āṉaiyurittāṉ vayal*", which may simply mean, 'fields belonging to the *Gajāha mūrti*' by which name God of that temple must have been familiar from early ages.

IV

The *Āgamas* must have framed their standard descriptions on the basis of these old stucco representations which unfortunately are not now in existence and also on the basis of the poems of *Tēvāram*, etc. The *Uttarakāraṇāgama* gives a description of the gift of the wheel. Pacific looking Śiva, with three eyes. *jaṭāmakuṭa* surrounded by a halo and *śirascakra* and four arms, carrying, on the right, the drum and the wheel and on the left, the deer and the *varada* pose, sits with the left leg bent and the right hanging down, along with Pārvatī on the left and Brahma on the right, whilst Viṣṇu with hands in *añjali* pose worships with lotuses and his eye. According to *Śrītattva nidhi*, Śiva holds the axe instead of the drum and Viṣṇu, holding conch and wheel in the back arm and keeping the other two in añjali pose, stands to the left of Śiva, in readiness to receive the boons; Śiva presents him with *pītāmbara*, *Kaustubha* and the *Cakra* along with the name *Kamalākṣa*. It is clear that the *Kāraṇāgama* gives the first part of the story that of worship and *Śrītattva nidhi* the final part, that of the gift.

6. 7: 10: 1.

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V

There are two pictures of this worship of Viṣṇu now available. They belong to the Rājasiṁha period. One is from the Kailāsanātha temple at Conjīvaram. It is in the 12th panel from the East end of the North side of the court of that temple. It is represented in plate XLII, fig. 1.[7] Rea describes it as follows: "Śiva, Pārvatī and two attendants, supported on a lotus by Viṣṇu. Śiva has Brahma's head placed on the top of his own. An attendant of Viṣṇu stands by, holding his conch and *cakra*".[8] The head in the *jaṭāmakuṭa* is not Brahma's head but *Gaṅgā's*. Śiva is not supported by a lotus of Viṣṇu who is kneeling; the lotuses in his two hands are those which are offered by him in *pūja*. With the left front arm — its fore-finger, Viṣṇu is in the act of removing the eye-ball from its socket, for offering it as flower. Śiva's right front arm is resting on the seat. The right back arm is raised up as though holding something probably the *cakra* to be presented. The left back arm is held up in *vismaya* pose. The right leg is hanging down and resting on a step. The left leg is crossed on the right. Pārvatī is on his side. There is a halo also visible. There is a photo of this,[9] in *Hindu Iconography* with a slightly different description.

The other comes from the Airavatēśvara Temple of Conjīvaram. It apears on one of the panels on the side of *Antarāḷa maṇṭapam*.[11] It has to be interpreted as two panels. The lower panel represents Viṣṇu worshiping a *liṅga*. He is in a submissive, almost in a kneeling mood. He has eight hands. The front two are in the *añjali* pose. One left hand is coming into contact with the *liṅga* in the course of this worship. Three on the right and one on the left are holding the lotus flowers to be offered. The other left hand is holding the plucked out eye, which looks like a lotus bud. The upper panel represents Śiva appearing before Viṣṇu. Śiva and Pārvatī are seated as in the Kailāsanātha temple except for the back arms which seem to have been interposed here.

7. *Rea.*
8. *Rea,* P. 34.
9. Plate LI.
10. P. 211, Vol. II, Pt. II.
11. *Rea,* Plate CXVIII, Fig. 2.

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IV

Ārūrar does not refer to *Jalandhara* separately. It is in connection with the gift of the *cakra* that the *Jalandhara* story is also casually stated. There are nearly nine references to this story of the gift in his hymns. The poet mentions the Tamil word '*Āḻi*' six times,[12] and the Sanskrit word '*Cakra*' two times.[13] It is a weapon — '*Paḷai*'.[14] It is a wheel beaming up with a flame — '*Cuṭar āḻi*'.[15] One may note in passing that Dubreuil has, on an examination of the sculptures of the Pallava age, shown one clue to their age, which Longhurst explains thus: "Sacred symbols such as '*Śaṅkha*' (conch) and '*Cakra*' (discus) are represented in early Indian art without flames of fire issuing from their sides. In later art,[16] these symbols are decorated with flames of fire".[17] In the figure of Viṣṇu's worship we find in the Kailāsanātha temple, the *cakra* is represented with flames on four sides. Perhaps the description of poets like Ārūrar has inspired the sculptors to translate their poetry into stone.

Coming back to the description of the discus, it is "*Aṭal āḻi*" — 'murderous or victorious *cakra*',[18] full of fighting excellence — "*Poṟu viṟal*".[19]

It is in connection with the description of this discus the story of *Jalandhara saṁhāra* is given, by referring to the discus as the one which killed the asura. The name *Jalandhara* is mentioned twice.[20] *Jalandhara* was on the battle-field and the *cakra* hacked him into two — "*Ceru mēvu Calantaraṉai-p piḷanta cuṭar āḻi*".[21] *Jalandhara* was possessed of immense strength; his mouth was deep like a cavern (ready to swallow everything); this discus split his body into two parts. "*Pilautaru vāyiṉoṭu peritum vali mikkuṭaiya Calaniaraṉ ākvmiru piḷavākkiya cakkaram*".[22] Another event of this war is described without the name of *Jalandhara* being mentioned.

12. 7: 9: 2; 7: 16: 2; 7: 53: 9; 7: 70: 7; 7: 75: 10; 7: 97; 5.
13. 7: 66: 3; 7: 98: 5.
14. 7: 97: 5.
15. 7: 16: 2.
16. After 800 A.D.
17. *Pallava Architecture*, Part I, Page 10.
18. 7: 70: 7.
19. 7: 9: 2.
20. 7: 16: 2; 7: 98: 5.
21. 7: 16: 2.
22. 7: 98: 5.

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This is a discus which is not the result of action—thus sings the creation by Śiva's *saṅkalpa*. Śiva created this weapon of a discus-*Paṇṇar kariyatōru paṭai āḻi taṉai-p paṭaittu*".[23] How it was created is not given here but from the reference from Tirumūlar cited above we know Śiva created it by simply tracing a circle on the ground with his toe, which on being carried by *Jalandhara*, cut him in twain. There is a head with the discus on it, in one of the panels of Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple.[24] It is not clear whether Viṣṇu was also considered to have fought with *Jalandhara* and killed him with the discus.

VII

Ārūrar's description of Viṣṇu in this connection may be noti ced. He is '*Māl*',[25] a word which suggests his immensity and omnipresence as Viṣṇu, his dark colour and also his divine magic deluding all. He is '*Neṭumāl*',[26] the towering tall one, suggesting the '*Trivikrama*' form measuring the world, often represented in the sculptures of this age.[27] He is the resplendent "*Māl*"—beautiful and grand—"*Tikaḻum malavāṉ*".[28] He is *Hari*.[29] He is *Kaṅṇan*, a word said to be a corruption of thc Sanskrit word Kṛṣṇa, with an underlying suggestion because of its association with the Tamil root '*kaṇ*', that he is the very eye and the dear one.[30] He is the Lord of the great Lady of the Earth—*Bhūdēvināyaka*—"*Nilantaru māmakaḷ kōṉ*.[31] He is the Lord of the Lady of wealth Śri—"*Tiṟumakaḷ kōṉ*",[32] "*Tiruviṉ Nāyakāṉ*".[33] He is the Lord of the *Cakra*—"*Āḻiyāṉ*".[34] This shows that he had a discus already; if he wanted another the old one must have been destroyed when he fought with *Dadhīci*. That was why Hari wanted a new discus.[35] Viṣṇu is spoken of as one great with his eyes as lotus.[36]

23. 7: 97: 5.
24. Plate LXXXIV, Fig. 3, *Rea*.
25. 7: 57: 6.
26. 7: 9: 2.
27. Plate LXXXI, Fig. 2, in *Rea*,
28. 7: 66: 3.
29. 7: 53: 9; 7: 70: 7.
30. 7: 97: 5.
31. 7: 98: 5.
32. 7:9: 2.
33. 7: 57: 6.
34. 7: 75: 10.
35. 7: 70: 7.
36. 7: 16: 2.

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Viṣṇu's worship is also described. The story must have developed when the *Sahasra nāma* came into vogue. God has therefore come to be called the Lord of Thousand names. The worship is described in some detail in two verses.[37] Viṣṇu worshipped with 1000 flowers. This was going on for many days—"*Pala nāḷ*".[38] It was an excellent pūja—"*Ciṟappākiya pūcaṉai.*"[39] He was offering the flowers and praising God with *mantras.*[40] During one such worship he found, out of thousand flowers, one was missing. For making up the deficiency—"*Kuṟaivāṉ uiṟaivāka*",[41] he scooped out his eye "*Kaṇṇiṭantu*"[42] and offered adorning the Lord with it.[43] This is indeed a famous act.[44] God was move and pleased—"*Purintu*",[45] he offered the discus he prayed for. The *purāṇas* narrate that the Lord gave the title "*Kamalāksa*". Ārūrar states that Viṣṇu has become great with the flower of ruddy eye becoming the lotus—"*Ceṅkaṇ malar paṅkayamā-c ciṟantāṉ*".[46]

VIII

This is an act of God's Grace,[47] a message of hope to all. Ārūrar says that he himself was moved and inspired by the story so much that he immediately took refuge in Śiva.[48] It is because this story has some such mystic significance that Tīrumūlar deals with it specifically at some length as already noted.

37. 7: 9: 2; 7: 66: 3.
38. 7: 9: 2.
39. 7: 9: 2.
40. 7: 66: 3.
41. 7: 9: 2.
42. 7: 66: 3.
43. 7: 9: 2.
44. 7: 66: 3.
45. 7: 9: 2; 7; 66: 3.
46. 7: 16: 2.
47. 7: 57: 6; 7: 70: 7.
48. 7: 66: 3.

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Chapter VI

KĀLASAMHĀRA MŪRTI

I

Conquest of death is the dream of man. Śaivites represent this as realized in the Sage *Mārkkaṇḍēya*. There are two sides to every act of God. From one point of view it is destruction and punishment; from another point of view it is purification and grace. *Mārkkaṇḍēya's* eternity is the Death of Death. *Kālasaṁhāra Mūrti* of *Kālāri Mūrti* is the embodiment of this heroic act of Śiva. The story of *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is very popular in Tamil. There was a poet of his name in *Caṇkam* age singing the ephemeral nature of this world.[1] It is assumed by all, that the Saint Tiruvaḷḷuvar refers to this story of *Mārkkaṇḍēya*.[2] According to the *purāṇas*, he was the son of *Mṛkaṇḍu*, who performed austerities for being blessed with a child. Śiva, according to the former's choice, gave only one child to live for 16 years, rather than useless children who might live up to an old age. This was *Mārkkaṇḍēya*, and when he was about to reach his 16th year, sorrow clouded his parents' brows, and the boy went to worship Śiva. *Yama's* servants failed to carry him to *Yamalōkā*, whereupon, *Yama* himself came. Whilst about to bind him, *Mārkkaṇḍēya* embraced the *Liṅga* and Śiva sprang forth from there, kicking *Yama* to death. However, *Yama* was revived, and *Mārkkaṇḍēya* was ever sixteen years of age. This heroic feat, according to Tamilian tradition, took place at Tirukkaṭavūr — the city of ambrosial pot, in the Tanjore District, of the eight *Viraṭṭāṉams*.

II

The Āgamas describe the image of this *mūrti*. He stands with his right foot on a seat of lotus, whilst the left is raised up, so that its toe may hit against *Yama's* chest.[3] He has three eyes, lateral tusks, *jaṭāmakuṭa*, four or eight arms the right hands in the former case carrying the trident lifted up to the ear and the hatchet or

1. Peruṅ Kāñci in *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 365.
2. *Kuṟ.*, 262.
3. 7: 27: 9; 7: 68: 4.

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varada pose, the left hands being in *sūcī* pose near the naval and *vismaya* pose near the crown.

In the latter case of eight arms, the right hands carry trident, hatchet, *vajrāyudha* and the sword; whilst the left hands carry a shield, a rope, *vismaya* pose, and *sūcī* pose. *Yama*, with *karaṇḍa-makuṭa* and with a look pleading for mercy, is nearby with two arms, holding *pāśa* in one and raising the other in *añjali*. Instead of *sūcī* pose, there may be *varadā* pose holding the skull and instead of *vismaya* pose, the deer may be held. *Śilpasaṅgraha* places the trident and the kettle drum in the right hands and the *varada* pose and the hatchet in the left hands. *Kāmikāgama* places the left leg on the ground whilst the other leg kicks. Trident and hatchet are in the right hands, whilst a serpent-noose and *sūcī* pose are in the left hands. Śiva's eyes and His *śula* are turned towards the neck of *Yama* who has fallen down. This *Āgama* describes another form in which *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is found worshipping and where *Yama* is seen to have falled down, while Śiva in the *Liṅga* looks like the *Liṅgōdbhava Mūrti*.[4] According to *Kāraṇāgama*, Pārvati also is there.[5]

III

In a sculpture of the *Daśāvatāra* cave, Ellora,[6] Śiva kicks *Yama* near his navel; in another,[7] He kicks on *Yama's* chest.[8]

In the Chandragiri image,[9] *Mārkkaṇḍēya* is found with a noose round his neck, embracing the *Liṅga*, from which Śiva rushes out to attack *Yama*:

The forms found in the Tamil Country are like the one described in *Kāmikāgama*. The Tamilian representation of this form is really dance on *Yama* as found in Tirukkaṭavūr, just like those of Paṭṭīśvaram and Tiruccenkāṭṭaṅkuṭi,[10] where Śiva, with hatchet, deer, skull and the prominent trident with its head turned down on *Yama*, is standing with His right or left leg on the fallen *Yama* and kicking him with the other leg on his chest.

4. 7: 69: 9.
5. 7: 30: 2.
6. Plate XXXIV, *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.
7. Kailāsa temple, Ellora.
8. Plate XXXV, Fig. 1.
9. Fig. 89, *Gods and Goddesses of South India*.
10. *Pl. XXXV, XXXVI, Hindu Iconography*.

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IV

Coming to the sculptures in the age of Ārūrar, we find fig. 2, in Pl. XXXVIII in Rea's *Pallava Architecture*, reminding us of the modern images of the Tamil land described above. In this basrelief, Śiva has eight hands with the left leg lifted up as in Tirucceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi image. The hatchet, the noose, the sword, the serpent, the *viśmaya* and *sūcī* poses are there. The most important thing is that the trident is not there. *Mārkkaṇḍēya* also is not there. Joveau Dubreuil,[11] refers to fig. 2, Pl. XXXV of *Rea*, as a representation of *Kālāri mūrti*. Here, Śiva holds the trident upwards in His right hand. The right arm is held up in *vismaya* pose. Of the middle right arms, one is holding a club, whilst it is not clear what the other is holding. The left upper hand holds the bow; the middle left has the noose; the lower one is held in a pose where two fingers are raised up.

Viṣṇu is on the left with his hands in *añjali* pose. There is a figure in front, on the left, holding its right hand to the height of its crown and the left hand to its chest as though preventing in a prayerful mood, full of emotion of fright. This must be *Yama*. There is a figure on the right hand bottom corner, with five cobra heads up above the head. In between these two figures is a smaller figure—perhaps a boy—and this must be *Mārkkaṇḍēya*. Perhaps Viṣṇu represents the Higher regions and *Nāga* the nether regions. The form of Śiva appears in a diamond-like rhombus, of which the lower angle alone is visible. This reminds us of the *Liṇgōdbhava mūrti*.[12] If so, this is very much like the second form given above in *Kāmikāgama*, to this extent.

V

There is another representation of this episode on the panel on the north side of the shrine at the N. W. corner of *Vimāṇa*, in plate LIV. Śiva holds a *pāśa* on the left upper hand and hitting down with a trident held up in the raised up right hand. The right lower arm is not seen. A small face is seen between the right arm and Śiva's hip. It is holding a weapon with a long pole-like handle. Or, is it the *pāśā* thrown round *Mārkkaṇḍēya* on *Liṅga*, from which Śiva has leapt up? Śiva is in *Atibhaṅga* form full of motion. There is another figure with a club which

11. Dravid-Architecture.
12. See Plate XII in *Rea*,

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suggests that it is *Yama*. The central panel may suggest the dance of victory on *Yama*, like the one in plate xxxviii, with this difference, that *Yama* is lying here one his chest and not on his back.

VI

The idea, in referring to these details in the *Āgamas* and the sculptures, is to show that the images described in the *Āgamas* are of a later date and even then they were not authoritative prescriptions but only illustrative descriptions, that the images grew out of the dramatic poses seen in the sculptures which were in turn inspired by the poetry of the *Purāṇas* generally and more specially by the poetry of *Tēvāram*. These episodes of *purāṇas* must have been enacted as proved by quotations given by us under other forms of Śiva from *Cilappatikāram* and *Nāṭaka Sūtras*. The striking scenes from these poems were shown in basreliefs by the sculptures; for, till very lately, there was nothing but the *Liṅga* as image in Śaivite temples. Rājasiṁha it was, who first introduced the *Sōmāskanda* form as a basrelief on the interior side of the back wall of the shrine. It was in his age that the forms of the various so called later images came to be sculptured. It will be shown later on, that Ārūrar belonged to this age. This comparison is necessary for showing the inter-relation of his poetry and those sculptures.

VII

There are two important parties in this drama of *Yama*. Śiva is the centre of this circle of a drama, with *Yama* and *Mārkkaṇḍēya* as two poles. *Mārkkāṇḍēya* is a *vedic* Brahmin "*Maṟaiyōṉ*"[13] and its other form is "*Maṟaiyavaṉ*".[14] He is a saint of loving heart —"*Antaṇāḷaṉ*"[15] as interpreted by Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[16] He is a '*māṇi*"[17] —a Brahmacāri—an unmarried boy. To increase the effect of contrast between the powerful *Yama* and the boy, the poet calls him a '*Bāla*'.[18] But he is a great boy, "*Perumpāḷaṉ*"[19] as is proved

13. 7: 28: 3.
14. 7: 66: 1,
15. 7: 55: 1.
16. *Kuṟ.*, 30.
17. 7: 69: 9.
18. 7: 27: 9; 7: 68: 4: 7: 99: 3.
19. 7: 27: 9.

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by his act. He was well-versed and perfect in the *Vēdas*, "*Maṟaiyōṉ*",[20] and the various *śāstras* or arts. The import of these inspired him to worship at the feet of the Lord with all care and devotion—"*Nirampu pāl kalayiṉ poruḷālē pōṟṟit taṉ kaḻal toḻumavaṉ*".[21] 'What is the use of learning, if the learned worship not at the feet of the Lord of pure knowledge?' asks Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[22] "You are my only refuge"—so saying he fell at the feet of the Lord—"*Tañcam eṉṟu taṉ tāḷatu aṭainta pālaṉ*".[23] He is therefore "*Aṭiyāṉ*"—the man of his feet; He is a servant; a saint. When one takes refuge in the Lord, he has no egotism; no selfish interest; he is submerged in Him; it is all thereafter God's work, whatever he may do. God becomes his beloved—"*Vāramāy*".[24] He worshiped God's feet in the traditional way with fresh flowers bubbling with honey; the Lord is fond of this flower-offering, of beauty, love and self-sacrifice; for, the worship is born of subdued and conquered mind; volcanic passions become peaceful and calm in love towards God—"*Ārum aṉpār*".[25] These lovers are happy in offering themselves and their love—"*Iṭṭukantār*".[26] It is the worship of such that Lord likes most, "*Ukāntar malar-p pūcai iccikkum iṟaivar*".[27] He is a "*muṉivar*", a saint.[28]

VIII

According to ancient Tamil literature, man's marriageable age is sixteen; he becomes then a man, whilst he remains a youth or *pālaṉ*, "*Māṇi*" or Brahmachari, till then. *Mārkkaṇḍēya* was in that age of the limit of boyhood. He was the cream of the culture of his day, spiritually and intellectually. He was performing worship at the feet of the Lord. To him came *Yama*. He was "*Kūṟṟam*"[29] one who divides the life from the body on the appointed day. The forms "*Kūṟṟam*",[30] "*Kūṟṟu*",[31] "*Kūṟṟaṉ*",[32] are

20. 7: 28: 3.
21. 7: 62: 6.
22. *Kuṟ.*, 2.
23. 7: 68: 4.
24. 7: 66; 1.
25. 7: 19: 8.
26. 7: 19: 8.
27. 7: 19: 8.
28. 7: 63: 4.
29. 7: 57: 1: 7: 61: 4; 7: 62: 6.
30. 7: 5: 8.
31. 7: 57: 1; 7: 61: 4; 7: 62: 6; 7: 63: 4; 7: 93: 10.
32. 7: 30: 2.

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found. He is pre-eminent and great that way—"*Aruṅkūrru*".[33] not like others bringing life to an end. The other word used by the poet is—"*Maṭaṅkalāṉ*"[34]—a word as old as the *Caṅkam* literature.[35] It means one making life go back; one who brings out involution; one who brings about absorption.[36] The secondary meanings of end, lion, thunderbolt, and the submarine fire bringing out the end of an aeon suggest the cruel strength of *Yama*. He is the Lord of time—the lord of life, coming like an unfailing clock —"*Kuṟiyil vaḻuvāk koṭuṅ kūṟṟu*",[37] correct to the second, He is '*kālaṉ*'.[38] He is an angry hard-hearted adamantine—"*Veṅkālan*".[39] "*Kaṭiya vaṉkālaṉ*"[40] and cruel *Kāla*. But all the same, there is *Dharma* in his act, giving no room for any partiality working like a law of nature; he is *Dharma* meting out even-handed justice—"*Tarumaṉ*".[41] *Yama* is used in the Tamilian form—"*Namaṉ*".[42] He carries the *Daṇḍa* or the Club: it is his sign—"*Taṇṭamuṭait tarumāṉ*".[43] He spreads his net of a *pāca* or rope—"*Valaiyam vaitta kūṟṟam*".[44] He carries the spear (*śūla*) with blots or stains of blood—"*Kaṟai koḷ vēluṭaik kālaṉ*".[45] With all these paraphernalia he went on *Mārkkaṇḍēya*. He knew not what would follow or what should follow—"*Viḷaipaṟiyāta veṅkālaṉ*".[46] Intoxicated by his irresistibly hard and crushing victories, he came on him who had taken refuge in the feet of God with no interest or thought or act of his own—on one submerged in His feet. The poet contrasts the child and Death with effective assonance—"*Pālaṉ mēl vanta kalaṉ*".[47] The same idea of the contrast between the boy who has not reached manhood and the Lord of the very end of times, is again emphasised—"*Māṇi taṉ*

33. 7: 63: 4.
34. 7: 6: 1.
35. Kali., 2.
36. *Paripāṭal*—1: 44
37. 7: 93: 10.
38. 7: 43: 4.
39. 7: 43: 4.
40. 7: 22: 6.
41. 7: 10: 6.
42. 7: 55: 1.
43. 7: 10: 6.
44. 7: 5: 8.
45. 7: 66: 1.
46. 7: 43: 4.
47. 7: 68: 4.

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mēl vanta Kālaṉ".[48] It was not only intoxication of power, blinding his eyes to the future, but the cruel-heartedness knowing no sympathy that egged *Yama* on to rush with bubbling anger on this innocent child — "*Pālaṉatāruyir mēl pariyātu pakaitteḻunta Kālaṉ*"[49] unable to brook an obstacle on his way. Whilst the innocent youth was forgetting himself — in his self-surrender to God, *Yama*, regardless of this, came to bind him with his rope—"*Matiyātē kaṭṭuvāṉ vanta Kālaṉ*",[50] to remove his life — "*Toḻumavaṉāruyiraip pōkkuvāṉ*".[51]

There was nothing more to be done by the boy. This intoxication of power, recklessness about the future, diabolical disregard for childish innocence and complete absence of love on the part of Dharma or executor of the law of Nature demanded divine intervention. God stood between Yama and the boy Saint — "*Vilaṅkalāṉ*"[52] the loving God. His eyes became red with anger— "*Kaṇ-civappāṉ*".[53] The eyes turned blue with increased rage and hatred of this unrighteousness — "*Kaṟuttāṉ*".[54] He was burning with rage against him — "*Kālaṇṭaṇṇai-k kaṟuttāṉ*".[55] The anger expressed itself in a kick "*Kālaṉ-cīṟiya kāluṭāiyāṉ*".[56] God leapt up and dashed against *Yama* — *Pāynta*".[57] This fact is made impressive by assonance — "*Kālaṟcīṟiya kāluṭaiyāṉ*",[58] "*Kālaṉaik kāl koṭu vīntaviya-k kolli*".[59] This follows the pattern of the name "*Kālakāla*", the Yama unto Yama, the Lord of Time for the Lord of Time himself. There is an underlying meaning of *Kāl*. The anger did not pass beyond the leg. The kick was on the heart — "*Neñcilōr utai koṇṭa*".[60] The beautiful and tender toe but touched him — "*Tirumelviralāl*".[61] The chest gave way with a tear — "*Uram kiḻiya*".[61a] The revulsion felt by His feet of many past

48. 7: 69: 9.
49. 7: 99: 3.
50. 7: 69: 9.
51. 7: 62: 6.
52. 7: 12: 1.
53. 7: 75: 9.
54. 7: 22: 6.
55. 7: 22: 6.
56. 7: 59: 2.
57. 7: 12: 1; 7: 45: 3.
58. 7: 59: 2
59. 7: 10: 8.
60. 7: 68: 4.
61. 7: 27: 9.
61a. 7: 51: 7.

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victories against the diabolical act of *Yama* was indeed so great— "*Muṉ cayamār pātattāl muṉintukanta*".[62] There was a happy satisfaction at this inborn revulsion — "*Ukanta*". The kick was a terrible feat — "*Utaitta koṭuntoḻil*".[63] This description of the kick on the chest must have inspired the *Āgamas* to describe this pose as mentioned above. *Yama* was confused — "*Kalaṅga*".[64] God smashed him — "*Kumaittāṉ*."[65] Yama fell down — *Vīḻa*"[66] on the ground perhaps like a heap of feathers — '*Paṭṭukum pāriṭai*'.[67] The life was as it were hacked to bits — "*Cekutta*".[68] The light of *Yama* was put out — "*Vīntaviya*".[69] The measurer of time had his own life measured out and cut — *Kālaṉ kālamaṟuttāṉ*".[70] The poet revels in this pun and oxymoron. *Yama* who came to snatch away the life of the boy, his great life itself was snatched away by God — "*Vanta kālaṉtaṉ āruyir ataṉai vavviṉāy*".[71] His life went back — "*Maṭiya*"[72] to involute. This *Yama* was famous for separating the life from the body but his life itself was now thus separated.[73] He came to make the life depart from the worshipping Saint, and God thrust aside the very life of *Yama*.[74] He who destroyed others' lives, had his own life destroyed — "*Uyir vīṭṭiṉīr*".[75] He was killed. God was this great executioner. Thus did the Lord punish — "*Kaṭintiṭṭa*";[76] this worst suffering was inflicted on *Yama* with the legs.[77] God was victorious in this straight fight without any trickery of military stratagem — "*Kālaṉaik kālāl kaṭanta*".[78] Verily He is "*Kālakāla*.[79]

62. 7: 51: 7.
63. 7: 61: 4.
64. 7: 75: 9.
65. 7: 56: 3.
66. 7: 12: 1.
67. 7: 19: 8.
68. 7: 69: 9.
69. 7: 10: 8.
70. 7: 86: 7.
71. 7: 55: 1.
72. 7: 27: 9.
73. 7: 27: 9.
74. 7: 62: 6.
75. 7: 43: 4.
76. 7: 56: 6.
77. 7: 62: 6.
78. 7: 66: 1.
79. 7: 53: 2: 7: 61: 1; 7: 64: 8; 7: 70: 1.

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It is true it was the kick that was glorified for the heroic feat. The heroic kick appears to Ārūrar as God's creation.[80] But God carried also the murderous spear, shaped like three leaves. Its juxtāposition with the kicks[81] suggests that they were both responsible for the victory. Do not the *Āgamas* refer to this trident? He had the weapon of a hatchet or an axe, felling *Yama* down after kicking him down — "*Kūrrutaitta eriyum maḻuvāṭ paṭaiyāṉ*".[82] In the plate of *Rea*, the axe is held downward by Śiva as though in a position to use it on *Yama*.

IX

The story has, like others, a significance of its own. Every destruction of God is a constructive act. Weeding is necessary for cultivation. "*Koṉṟāy kālaṉ uyir koṭuttāy maṟaiyōṉukku*"[83] gives expression to this truth most beautifully, especially because the poet has made the one word '*Uyir*' — 'life' — to swing forward as an object of the verb '*koṉṟāy*' (killed), and swing backward as the object of the verb '*Koṭuttāy*' (gave), like the light of the central place illuminating in front and back. The doctrine of grace is the message of Ārūrar. Laws of Nature are but servants of the Lord and of those who take refuge in Him. This is one of the stories, which, the poet states, has inspired him to take refuge in God.[84]

This conquest of *Yama* has to be an ever-recurring episode. "I have myself to be saved from the messengers of *Yama*".[85] "God protects, at *Aṉēkataṅkāpatam*, my people also from the people of *Yama*".[86] In a hymn, the poet suggests indirectly that unless he worships God like *Mārkkaṇḍēya*, hearing the words that *Yama*, spreading his net, is standing just above our heads in the sky, he cannot be saved.[87] This is the significance of the eternal play of the Lord.

X

It is not *Mārkkaṇḍēya* alone who was saved; *Yama* also was purified. He also was released from ignorance and intoxication

80. 7: 94: 5.
81. 7: 56: 3.
82. 7: 93: 10.
83. 7: 28: 3.
84. 7: 55: 1; 7: 66: 1
85. 7: 55: 1.
86. 7: 10: 6.
87. 7: 5: 8.

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of power. He was purified and sublimated. *Yama* was thus released of the fetters. What is this mystery? "What is the import of all this?" asks the poet.[88] The esoteric meaning is thus emphasised. Has not Tirumūlar himself sung,

> "*Mūlat tuvārattu mūḷum oruvaṉai*
> *Mēlait tuvārattu mēluṟa nōkkimuṉ*
> *Kāluṟṟuk kālaṉaik kāyntaṅki yōkamāy*
> *Ñāṉak kaṭavūr nalamāy iruntatē*".[89]

The Saint here seems to be suggesting an explanation of Yōga: "From the *mūlādhāra* flashes forth the *One*. He should be seen up above the *Sahasrāra* also (or, the inner principle as the one of the supervening exterior should be seen). Death is conquered through breath. This is the *Yōga of Fire*. (Or, there He is well in *Yōga*). He is comfortable in *Kaṭavūr* (which means the city of the body in the world).

88. 7: 99: 3.
89. *Tirumantiram*, 345.

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Chapter VII

ANDHAKĀSURAHARA MŪRTI

I

Yama is called *Antaka*, one who brings about the end but there is an *Asura Andhaka* conquered by Śiva, according to Tamil tradition at Tirukkōvalūr, in the South Arcot District, once the capital of the Malayamāṉ kings and of Cēti Nāṭu of Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār, which is referred to as a *Vīraṭṭāna* or a place of heroic feat by both Appar and Campantar.[1] But the word *Andhaka* is written in Tamil as *Antakaṉ*. Therefore, as to the two references where Ārūrar speaks of "*Cēṟuttīr aḻaṟ cūlattil Antakaṉai*"[2] and "*Iruḷ mēvum Antakaṉmēl tiricūlam pāycci*"[3] one cannot easily decide whether the poet is referring to *Yama* or *Andhakāsura*.

II

'*Andh*' plus '*ka*' makes *Andhaka*; it means one who is blind. It is the name of an *asura*, son of *Kāsyapa* and *Ditī*. He is represented as a demon with 1000 arms and heads, 2000 eyes and feet. He was called *Andhaka*, because, he walked like a blind man though he could see very well. He was slain by Śiva when he attempted to carry off the '*Pārijāta*' tree[4] from heaven. According to *Matsya Purāṇa*, he was about to be killed by Śiva for having attempted to carry off Pārvatī. The *Upadēśa Kāṇḍam* in Tamil — a part of the *Maha Skānda Purāṇa* — makes him win blessings from Śiva after severe austerities. He went about harassing the *Dēvas* and when they fell at his feet he ordered them to assume female forms, wear ladies' garments and to depart in safety. This reminds us of the tradition in Tamil land where the heroes, to insult their enemies, made figures of them in womanly form, carrying ball and other womanly toys, and raised them up along with the flag of their kings.[5]

The *Dēvas* departed to Mount Kailās, but in spite of his promise *Andhaka* pursued them there. Śiva sent *Bhairava*. The

1. Appar, 4: 69 and Campantar, 2. 100.
2. 7: 9: 2.
3. 7: 16. 2.
4. One of the *pañca-tarus*.
5. *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu* I, ll., 67, 68.

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trident ran through his body and he was held up whilst the blood dripped into the cup of skull held by *Bhairava*. After thousands of years, at his importunity and humble supplication, his body was lowered; he was made a *gaṇa*.

III

Andhakāsura saṁhāra form, never became popular in Tamil Land, though the first act Śiva's heroism mentioned by Tirumūlar is this *Andhaka Saṁhāra*. The *Upadēṣa Kāṇḍam* confuses *Andhakāri Mūrti* with *Bhairava Mūrti*. According to the conception of '*Aṣṭa Vīraṭṭāṉam*', the heroic acts are those of Śiva and not of *Bhairava* or *Vīrabhadra*. No sculpture of *Andhakāsura Saṁhāra* comes from the Tamil Country. Nor, is there any description of it in the *Āgamas*. But sculptures from the cave temples of Bombay explain the form. *Hindu Iconography*[6] illustrates this and explains. "Śiva has eight arms in two of which *he carries a triśūla at the end of which is pinned the body af Andhakāsura and from it blood drips down.* Śiva himself bears the *Kapāla* to collect the blood. On the left, squats on the ground, *Kāli*, carrying a dagger and skull-cup to collect the blood with a *ḍākinī*, half human, half bird, sitting on her head. *Dēvi is* seated on *Padmāsana* on the left of *Kāli*",[7]

The portion underlined may explain the references in Ārūrar Though the *triśūla* is found in the hands of *Kālāri Mūrti*, his heroic act is that of his leg whereas in the references under discussion, the heroic act is spoken of as the trident's. '*Pāycci*' brings out the conception of pinning. The *triśūla* is fiery. *Andhaka* is dark. Therefore, one is correct in interpreting these references as speaking of *Aṇḍhakāśura*

IV

As already stated, Tirumūlar mentions this *Andhaka Saṁhāra* first in his enumeration of the heroic deeds of Śiva:

"*Karutturai antakaṉ taṉpoḷ acuraṉ*
Varattiṉ ulakat tuyirkaḷai ellām
Varuttāñcey tāṉ eṉru vāṉavar vēṇṭak
Kuruttuyar cūlaṅkaik koṇṭukoṉ rāṉē!"[8]

6. Vol. II, Pt. I, Plates XLV — Fig. 2, XLVI, XLVII.
7. P. 193.
8. *Tirumantiram*, 339.

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"The *Asura*, who moved like a blind man full of the pride of his imagination in which he dwelt, teased and harassed the living beings of the world, thanks to the power conferred by divine blessings; *Dēvas* complained to Śiva and prayed for his removal. The Lord took up the trident, going up like a tender shoot and killed him"—a generalized story of the suicidal policy of all who became blind with pride and power.

Śiva's destruction always end in abounding Grace. In this story also *Andhaka* is said to have become a *gaṇa*. What is more important is the story given in the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, where *Bhṛṅgin* was the name conferred by Śiva on *Andhaka* after this demon had proved himself to be a staunch devotee of Śiva. *Bhṛṅgin* represented with an emaciated body holding a staff and a rosary, with a third leg, to support the body and with eyes always directed towards Śiva. An image of this *Bhṛṅgin* with three arms and legs was set up in the Tanjore temple by a subordinate of Rāja Rāja I.

There is a terrific form with 12 hands on the 18th panel on the south side of the court in the Kailāsanātha temple.[9] The person sitting with *añjali* may be *Andhaka* after he was accepted by Śiva.

9 Plate No. XXXVIII, Fig. 1, *Rea.*

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Chapter VIII

BRAHMA ŚIRASCHĒDA MŪRTI

I

(1)

Brahman originally had five heads and one of them was cut off by Śiva as a punishment for insulting the latter. This account is given in many different ways. The *Kūrma Purāṇa* version is as follows: Once the *Ṛṣis* inquired the Creator of the basic source of this universe and Brahman proudly declared himself to be that source and origin. Śiva came on the scene disputing this claim. The *Vēdas* and the *Praṇava* walked in to assert Śiva's greatness, but to no purpose. A great pillar of light flashed forth in which was found Śiva. The haughty head of unrelenting *Brahman* was ordered by Śiva to be cut off by *Bhairava*. The Creator's intoxication of Power was thus cured.

(2)

The *Varāha Purāṇa* gives a different version. *Brahman* created *Rudra* and called upon him to protect the world, but addressed him as *Kāpāli*—an insulting term which so enraged *Rudra* that he plucked the fifth head of the Creator with his thumb nail. This head stuck to *Rudra's* hand. At the latter's request *Brahman* prescribed the *Kāpālika* penance for twelve years, wearing a sacred thread of hair, garland of bones and a *cūḷāmaṇi* (*cūḍāmaṇi*) of the skull and carrying a skull filled with blood.

(3)

Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa gives a variant story of the falling away of the skull. To put down the pride of the *Dēvas*, Indra, Viṣṇu and *Brahma*, God went about begging for the blood of self-sacrifiice, to fill up his bowl of skull. It never became full. Śiva went to Viṣṇu's place where the men at the gate especially *Viṣvaksēna*, a partial form of Viṣṇu, obstructed Śiva, only to be pierced through the chest and carried about. Viṣṇu with his nail of the finger tore his forehead to offer his blood for filling the bowl of a skull. Tens of thousands of years elapsed but the skull was not

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filled up but Viṣṇu collapsed because of this haemorrhage. The form carrying the *kaṅkāla* or skeleton of *Viṣvaksēna*, a form of Viṣṇu, is *Kaṅkālamūrti*.

According to *Kūrma Purāṇa*, when *Bhaivara* followed by an army of *Bhūtas*, went about begging, all the women of the houses he visited fell in love with him This is the *Bhikṣāṭana* form.

(4)

The *Liṅga Purāṇa* gives a different version, which is the one finding favour in Tamil tradition. The *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*, even women and children, relied, on the sacrificial fire for taking them to Heaven, even without the necessity for any God. They thus forgot the *pravṛti mārga* or worldly ways of life. Their atheistic pride had to be curbed. Śiva went about their houses, begging naked, whilst Viṣṇu in the form of a captivating woman or '*Mōhinī*' went to the place of sacrifice of the *Ṛṣis*. The *Ṛṣis* fell in love with *Mōhini* and their wives with Śiva. It is only with great difficulty the women following Śiva could be brought home. *Brahman* advised them to worship Śiva's *Liṅga* form. But there is another version given in Tamil *Kantapurāṇam* which is also found in *Śuprabhēdāgama*. The enraged *Ṛṣis*, realizing the truth, performed a sacrifice to kill Śiva; a tiger, an elephant, a lion, a black buck, an axe, a skull, the moon, a bull, snakes and an *apasmāra* came from the fire; the *Ṛṣis* sent them one after another to kill Śiva. Śiva took the axe, the black buck and snakes as his playthings; *apasmāra* was trampled down under his feet; lion, tiger and elephant were flayed and their skins were worn by Śiva; the skull and the moon became his *cūḷāmaṇi*.

(5)

With reference to the '*kaṅkāla*' also, there is a different version. When probably the conflict between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism became intense, the Śaivites for every one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, had a feat of Śiva putting down Viṣṇu's intoxication of power. When Viṣṇu took the *Trivikrama* form and sent down *Mahābali* to the nether-worlds, his intoxication of power was so fatal to the universe, that Śiva had to knock him down on his chest with a *Vajra daṇḍa*; Śiva flayed him and put on Viṣṇu's skin as a robe and carried the backbone as a club. Similarly the tusk of the bear in *Varāhāvatāra*, the shell of the tortoise in *Kūrmāvatāra*, the skin of the lion in *Narasiṁhāvatāra* and the eyes of the

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fish in the *Matsyāvatāra* were taken out and worn as marks of victory. These give rise to *Varāhāri*, *Simhaghna Matsyāri* forms. It will be seen that flaying of the lion, etc., said to have been performed as against the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*, are said to have been effected at the time of some of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. In other *avatāras* of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu is conceived as worshipping Śiva.

(6)

The story of the cutting away of the head of *Brahman* shows the superiority of Śīva amidst the Trinity of Gods. The Tamil tradition is preserved in a verse:

> "*Pūmaṉ ciram Kaṇṭi, Antakaṉ Kōval; Puram Atikai;*
> *Māmaṉ Paṟiyal; Calantaraṉ Viṟkuṭi; Mā Vaḻuvūr;*
> *Kāmaṉ Kuṟukkai; Yamaṉ Kaṭavūr; Intak kāciṉiyil*
> *Tēmaṉṉum koṉṟaiyum tiṇkaḷum cūṭitaṉ cēvakamē.*"

"These are in this world the heroic feats of Him, who adorns Himself with honeyed *koṉṟai* and the moon (destroying the following): The head of the *Lord of the flower* at *Kaṇṭiyūr*; *Andhaka* at *Kōvalūr*, *Tripura* at *Atikai*; the father-in-law (*Dakṣa*) at *Paṟiyal*; *Jalandhara* at *Viṟkuṭi*; the *elephant* at *Vaḻuvūr*; *Kāma* at *Kuṟukkai* and *Yama* at *Kaṭavūr*.

According to this verse this feat took place at *Kaṇṭiyūr* in the Tanjore District.

II

Ārūrar refers to this story. He saya that it took once upon a time in that far off day — *Aṉṟu*'.[1] *Brahma* is referred to as '*Piramaṉ*[2] the Great', or '*Ayaṉ*'[3], a variant form in Tamil of the Sanskrit word '*Aja*' (the unborn). He is described in relation to his seat as "*Arumalarōṉ*"—the Lord of the rare flower or the precious Lord of the flower'.[4] In the absence of any epithet, the flower means the lotus: *Pū eṉappaṭuvatu poṟi vāḻ pūvē*; and Ārūrar makes this clear by specially mentioning the lotus and speaking of

1. 7: 62: 7.
2. 7: 4: 8.
3. 7: 28: 9.
4. 7: 9: 2.

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Brahma elsewhere as '*Tāmaraiyōṉ*',[5] 'the Lord of the lotus'. He is also described in relation to his function in the universe as Creator. Ārūrar refers to him as "*Pār paṭaittaṉ*",[6] 'the Creator of this world'. *Brahman* is a Brahmin—'*Antaṇan*'.[7]

The reason for inflicting this punishment of cutting away the head is suggested by the epithet '*Ēṉṟa*' attached to the word '*Āntaṇaṉ*' above mentioned. '*Ēṉṟa*' is 'one who has taken up' — here, 'one who has assumed the offensive or the disputation'.[8] *Ēṉṟa antaṇaṉ*" is a contradiction in terms, the hot offensive attitude being inappropriate to the beautiful and cool loving attitude of a Saint. God was magnanimous in that, only one head was cut off. For, *Brahman* had five heads — "*Talai aintu*";[9] "*Ciram añcu*"[10]— it is thus seen the poet uses both the words the Tamil '*talai*', and the Sanskrit '*śiras*' in its Tamil form '*ciram*'. One of these heads was cut away — '*aṟutta*'.[11] It was done indeed so quickly — in the twinkling of an eye — "*Kaṭuka ... aṟuttāy*".[12] The skull according to the story became attached to Śiva's hand. Ārūrar states that the Lord, of His own accord, had the skull attached to His hand:[13] *Cērttavar*'. There is another reading '*Cēttavar*' which means "One who has put down' but in this reading there is no assonance.

III

The description of this form known as the *Brahma Ṣiraschēda mūrti* is given in the *Śrītattva nidhi*. Śiva is white and has three eyes, four arms and a *jaṭamakuṭa*, *patrakuṇḍala* in the right ear and *nakrakuṇḍala* in the left ear, carrying *vajra* and the axe in the two right hands and the skull of *Brahma* and *śūla* in the left. Various forms of *Bhairavas* are also given.

Rea gives a description in page 31 of a panel in the Kailāsanātha temple in which he identifies this form. "Cell No. 14 shows Śiva cutting off one of the heads of *Brahma* and holding it

5. 7: 16: 11.
6. 7: 19: 6.
7. 7: 67: 10.
8. 7: 67: 10.
9. 7: 4: 8.
10. 7: 19: 6.
11. 7: 4: 8; 7: 9: 2; 7: 53: 9; 7: 62: 7; 7: 67: 10.
12. 7: 4: 8.
13. 7: 19: 6.

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in one of his left hands. *Brahma* sits in a dejected attitude on the left. A devotee with arms crossed in amazement, sits under Śiva on *Bṛahma's* right. In Śiva's right hands are sword, trident, snake and noose; in his left, are *Brahma's* head and broken symbols. There is not much plaster on the panel and the deep and bold cutting is seen to advantage, giving fine effects or light and shade".[14]

In this representation, the head is held by the tuft; it does not stick on to the palm with the skull downwards. This reminds us of the representation found in Tanjore of *Vīrabhadra* holding the head of *Dakṣa* over the fire.[15] The similarity may suggest that what Rea describes also is a representation of the cutting away of the head of *Dakṣa*. The number of hands also are more than what is ascribed to this *Brahma śiraschēda mūrti*. But the statements of the *Āgamas* are never followed especially with reference to the hands; and that is one reason why we have been holding that these statements are not prescriptions but illustrative descrip tions. As for the holding of the head by the tuft it is very doubtful whether Ārūrar is thinking of the cutting away of *Brahma's* head with nail or the thumb. Ārūrar does not make mention of the thumb in connection with Brahma, even as he makes mention of the toe in connection with *Rāvaṇa*. The root of the verb used is '*aṟu*., to cut—a word used for cutting away the paddy with a sickle held in one hand whilst holding up the top portion, with the other hand. Some such thing is intended here as well: holding the head's tuft with one hand and cutting it away with '*khaḍga*' or sword as represented here.

IV

(1)

Kāpālika Penance:

In this story, it has already been stated that the head of Brahman stuck to the hand of *Bhairava* and for getting rid of the mark of *Brahmahatya, Kāpālika* penance for twelve years was prescribed. It will be seen that the penance prescribed is as pointed already by Mr. Gopinatha Rao, almost the same as the one prescribed by the *Āpastmba Sūtra* for the murder of a *bhrūṇa*

14. Plate No. XXXIV, Fig. 1 gives this picture.
15. *Gods and Goddesses of South India*, Fig. 100.

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or a Brahman of great learning and good conduct by another Brahman.

"*Atha bhrūṇahāśvājinam kharājinam vā bahirlōma*
paridhāya puruśaśirah pratipānārtham ūdāya | |
Khaṭvāṅgam daṇḍārthē karmanāmadhēyam prabruvāṇaś
caṁkramyēta ko bhrūnaghnē bhikṣamiti | |
Arāṇyē kuṭīm Kṛtvā vāgyatah śavaśirā
dhvajō ardhaṣāṇīpakṣam adhōnābhi uparijānvā
ācchādya".[16]

"The murderer of a learned and good brahmin, wears as an upper cloth an animal's skin—ass's or horse's (dog's?) — with its hairy side appearing outside; he carries the skull as a cup to drink with (and as a bowl to eat with) and the bones as a stick. He begs (only in seven houses a day) saying: 'Who will offer alms to the murderer?' He himself constructs a hut in the forest with a skull flag and wears hemp cloth not going below the knees".[17] As already stated, *Varāhapurāṇa* describes the *Kāpālika* penance as wearing *yajñōpavīta* of hair, garland of bones, *ṣirōmaṇi* of a skull and carrying in hand the cup of a skull.

(2)

[a]

The Skull:

In the *mahāvrata*, the skull adorns the head as a crest jewel and the garland of skulls is worn as the garland of beads. Ārūrar often refers to this idea of skulls forming ornaments—"*Ōṭuṭaiyaṉ kalaṉa.*"[18] 'He has the skull as his ornament'. His ornament is the head or skull, "*Ciram eṉṉum kalaṉāṉ.*"[19] He has a crest where fits in as an ornament a foulsmelling head, adorned by rushing kites— "*Pāṟaṇi muṭai talai kalaṉ eṉa maruviya..... muṭiyiṉāṉ*".[20] He places the crest jewel of a head on his head, "*Talaikkalaṉ talaimēl*

16. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 300.
17. *Ap. Dh. SŪ., Har, Com.* 1, 10, 29.
18. 7: 97: 4.
19. 7: 86: 5.
20. 7: 72: 8.

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tarittāṉ".[21] The garland of beads also comes in, "*Talaikku-t talai mālai aṇinta teṉṉē*"[22]— 'Why have you adorned your head with the garland of beads of skulls'?

[b]

This '*vrata*' is also called '*Kāpālika vrata*' because of the skull held as a bowl and a cup. Was not *Kāpāli*, the term of abuse resented by Śiva — the very starting point of this feat ? As such, this term becomes full with the meaning of this divine feat. It has become a beloved name of the lord. Is there not a sect of Ṣaivites calling themselves *Kāpālikas*? Ārūrar refers to Śiva as '*Kapāli*",[23] and '*Kāpāli*';[24] "*Muṇṭam tarittīr*",[25]—'You hold or adorn yourself with the skull or the head.

[c]

The serpents also beautify the Lord on the occasion of this special feat. Ārūrar refers to the serpents and the skull both together, "*Aravam parri..... Kapālam ēnti*",[26]—'He catches hold of the serpent and holds the skull'. This skull is that of *Brahma* and it is in this the begging has to be done. What is a punishment for others is a glory unto the Lord. There is no Law above Him but He Himself places Himself under the Law to prove its omnipotence. "*Ayaṉ ciram arin tatil palikoṇṭu amararukku aruḷ veḷippaṭuttāṉ*"[27] —'He made His Grace manifest unto the *Dēvas* by begging in the very skull of the head He had cut off from *Brahma*'. 'He begs in the skull of the head of Brahma'—"*Piramaṉ talaiyir palikoḷ*"[23] The skull, under the circumstances explained above, may be a bowl for others; it is a jewel, a sign of divinity as far as the Lord is concerned because of His act of Grace, "*Ōṭu naṅkalaṉā uṇ palikku uḻālvāṉē*"[29]— 'He who roams about for the alms with the precious jewel of a skull'. It is not only "*naṅkalaṉ*"—the crest jewel. "*Tāmaraiyōṉ talai kalaṉā-k kāmaram muṉ pāṭi uṇpali koṇtuḻal*

21. 7: 57: 1
22. 7: 4: 1.
23. 7: 72: 9.
24. 7: 89: 4.
25. 7: 2: 2:
26. 7: 91: 5.
27. 7: 62: 7.
28. 7 28: 2.
29. 7: 29: 3.

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paramaṉ"[30] — 'The great Lord who wanders about begging for alms with the skull of the Lord of lotus as the jewel of jewels.' In "*Talai-k kalaṉ*", there is a pun on the word '*talai*'; it means the head or skull and also the first or the chief ornament.

[d]

Unless Brahman was dead, there was no necessity for a penance, Ārūrar therefore suggests his death and implies Brahman coming to life, thanks to the Lord's Grace — "*Vīntavar talaiyōṭu kaiyāṉ*"[31] — 'He whose mark is the hand with the skull of the head of him who died'. Brahman becomes converted and performs *pūja* or worship over-powered by this Grace of the Lord.

> "*Taṇkamala-p poykai puṭai cūḻntaḻakār talattil*
> *taṭaṅkoḷ peruṅ kōyil taṉil takka vakaiyālē*
> *vaṇkamala-t tayaṉ muṉṉāḷ vaḻipāṭu ceyya*
> *makiḻntaruḷi irunta paraṉ*".[32]

'It was a beautiful place surrounded by cool lotus ponds. Therein was the expansive great temple. Once upon a time, the Unborn (*Brahma*) of the great lotus worshipped Him in the proper way. He was pleased and stayed there out of His Grace aboundings. He is the supreme principle — '*Paraṉ*'. Fig. 2 in plate XCI in Rea's *Pallava Architecture* probably refers to the worship of Pārvatī and Śiva by *Brahma*. To befit the worship by a Lord of knowledge and ceremonies, God is with *Yōgapaṭṭayam* and rosary, though seated with Pārvatī. *Brahma* is sitting down.

[e]

We have given the references to the skull where it is specifically stated, it is *Brahma's* skull. But there are other references where the skull is mentioned as a bowl without describing it as *Brahma's Talai kai ēnti*"[33] — 'Holding the skull in the hand'; *Talai aṅkai ēnti*"[34] — 'Holding the skull in the palm of the hand'; *Talaiyiṭai-ar* pali"[35] — 'The rare alms received into the skull'. But in

30. 7: 16: 11.
31. 7: 56: 7.
32. 7: 16: 10.
33. 7: 6: 1.
34. 7: 9: 3.
35. 7: 19: 7.

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commenting on the *Āpastamba Sūtra* quoted above, Haradatta writes: "*Puruṣasya śirō yasya kasyacit mṛtasya śirah*" — 'The head it is that of the murderous one or of any dead man'. Therefore any head is sufficient. We have referred there what other heads are there to the *Pāṇṭaraṅka* dance on the ashes. This is after the destruction of the Universe when everything remains involved in Him as if for rest; God wears the dead bones and the skulls and dances. This is expressed by Māṇikkavācakar: 'What is this my dear Lady, look there He wears nerves and bones and loves the skeleton placed on His shoulders! Hark, you, to this, how this skeleton came! At the time of destruction He adorns Himself with these two so that they may in Him abide by their time; i.e., in Him they will be made alive after rest'.[36] This refers to the stage of evolution. Appar also has an explanation: 'The great ocean submerges (everything within it). There is the deluge. *Brahman* goes and dies submerged in the great dark ocean. There is the corpse of this dead man. There is also the corpse of the Lord of the hue of the blue sea. The Lord carries them all and becomes the Lord of the skeleton, Our Lord plays on the good *vīṇa* so that the ocean may recede' —

> "*Peruṅkaṭal mūṭi-p piralayaṅ koṇṭu piramaṉumpōy*
> *Iruṅkaṭal mūṭi irakkum irantāṉ kaḷēparamum*
> *Karuṅkaṭal vaṇṇaṉ kaḷēparamum koṇṭu kaṅkāḷarāy*
> *Varuṅkaṭal mīḷaniṉ remmirai nalvīṇai vācikkumē*".[37]

The *Kāpāla* dance is in one sense the dance of involution. There the skull is not that of Brahman alone.

In the light of these explanations the references to skulls in plural may be understood. It will be clear that Ārūrar, who has confessed that he is expressing only what Appar and Campantar had expressed, believes, in the same explanation.

[f]

Irantār talaiyir palikōṭal",[38]—"Receiving alms in the skulls of the dead persons'. If Śiva is the Lord of involution or destruction as it is called, *kapāla* is the emblem of this destruction; it is the capital of his trials of Divinity and it is His great penance bearing

36. *Tiruccāḷal*: 11.
37. 4: 113: 7.
38. 7: 4: 6.

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up with this for the sake of their future salvation — bearing the cross for others: "*Cettavartam talāiyiṟ palikoḷvatē celvam ākil attavam āvatu āṟintōmēl*"[39] — 'If receiving the alms when begging in the skulls of the dead persons is His wealth and if we had known that this is His penance (we would not have come to serve Him)'. On the surface, there is a humorous vein, but underneath this lies all the message of this form: in this sense, the skulls of the dead ones — dead, long ago — decayed and deteriorated. It is "*paṭu-talai*"[40] 'dead head'. The skull is spoken of as deteriorated and giving way in some part — "*Kaṭuvāy-t talai*",[41] or, "*Oṟuvāyt talai*".[42] The skull is a broken one and it is dried up into white colour though the old flesh is all there — "*Ūṉār uṭai veṇṭalai*".[43] This dried up white skull smells the carcass — "*Muṭai nāṟiya veṇṭalai*".[44] It is a dried up head — "*Uṇaṅkal talai*".[45] Because of the dried up flesh still on the whole skull, the kites rush on and surrounded it — "*Pārār veṇṭalai*",[46] "*Pāṟaṇi veṇṭalai*",[47] The skull is white because it is dried up and therefore whenever a skull is described, white one, it has to be imagined a dried up one.[48] In the skull the teeth will be all intact and then it looks like grinning, so much so, the poet describes it as "*Naku veṇṭa-lai*".[49] This is the first stage. The teeth fall away due to deterioration: "*Pallayar veṇṭalai*",[50] — 'the white skull from which the teeth get loosened'. This is the second stage. The teeth are then completely fallen —"*Pallai yukka paṭu talai*",[51] — 'the dead head from which the teeth had fallen away';; "*Pallil veḷḷai-t talai*"[52] — 'the white skull with no teeth'.

[g]

That the skull is taken from the cremation ground (representing the involution) is made graphic by a few suggestions.

39. 7: 18: 7.
40. 7: 33: 1.
41. 7: 41: 1.
42. 7: 55: 1.
43. 7: 93: 6.
44. 7: 2: 3.
45. 7: 9: 5.
46. 7: 26: 8.
47. 7: 83: 8.
48. 7: 33: 2; 7: 36: 1; 85: 3.
49. 7: 28: 7.
50. 7: 20: 5.
51. 7: 5: 4.
52. 7: 57: 4; 7: 81 10.

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The kites rush on the skull. The fox burrows down and removes the corpse, feasts on it and throws away the skull and the bones. "*Nari ārum cuṭalai naku veṇṭalai koṇṭavaṉē*",[53] — 'You, who had got hold of the grinning white skull from the cremation ground which is full of foxes'; "*Nari kāṉṟiṭṭa eccil veḷḷai-p paṭu taḷaiyē purintāṉ*"[54] — 'One who loves only the decayed white skull spat out and thrown out by the fox'. Since this is a reading adopted here, a word is necessary about this reading. Some editors read this passage as, "*Nāṇiyiṟ kōl aṭutalaiyēpurintāṉ ari kāṉṟiṭṭa eccil veḷḷai-p paṭutalai*" — having, *aṭutalaiyē* as the opening word of the third line, the reading *ari* is adopted so that there may be the required alliteration. "*Nāṇiyiṟ kōl aṭutal*" makes no sense. "*Nāṇiyiṟ kōl naṭutal*" — 'He planted the bow on the bow-string' is therefore better. If the line thus begins in '*nā*', alliteration will require '*narī*' and not '*ari*'.

(3)

Bones :

Bones also are the ornaments. The garland of bones forms His garland of beads. He adorns Himself with bones — "*Eṉpaṇintu*'.[55] The idea of ornaments is specifically mentioned. 'He has adorned the bones as jewels or ornaments' — "*Eṉpiṉaiyē kalaṇāka aṇintāṉ*".[56] 'You yourself have decked with the bones'— "*Pāṇṭāy elumpai*".[57] 'He is possessed of the chest, bearing bones as jewels (as a necklace) befitting His greatness, along with or as balancing the tusk of the boar and the shell of the tortoise — "*Ēṉamāeyiṟu āmaiyum elumpum īṭu tāṅkiya mārputaiyāṉ*".[58] The bones like the skulls referred to, are, of all the dead at destruction. 'He wears the bones of the dead' — "*Cettārtam elumpaṇintu*",[59] "*Cettār elumpaṇivān*",[60] It has already been pointed out that the poet attributes some of these characteristic features to the Mother and She is said to wear the skull, etc.[61] If the idea of

53. 7: 28: 7.
54. 7: 22: 4.
55. 7: 7: 7.
56. 7: 38: 10.
57. 7: 52: 3.
58. 7: 70: 9.
59. 7: 46: 1.
60. 7: 80: 1.
61. 7: 49: 9.

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the destruction is kept in mind, the significance of Ārūrar's statements that the Lord adorns Himself with all the bones—"*Eṉpelāmaṇintu*"[62] will be clearer.

(4)

[a]

Burning Ghat:

In the *mahāvrata*, one has to reside in the forest without coming into the village except for alms and were the skin with *khaṭvāṅga* held as a stick. "*Khaṭvāṇgam daṇḍārthē*"—that is what *Āpastamba* says. The very word '*khaṭvāṇga*' in its Tamil form "*Kaṭṭaṅkam*' is used by Ārūrar. The penance is clearly mentioned "*Kaiyatu kapālam kāṭuṟai vālkkai kaṭṭaṅkam ēntiya kaiyar*"[63]— "The skull is in his hand; His is the life in the forest; His hand bears or hold the *kaṭṭaṅkam*'. *Khaṭvāṅga* is described by Mr. Gopinatha Rao: "The *Khaṭvāṅga* is a curious sort of club, made up of the bone of the fore-arm or the leg, to the end of which a human skull is attached through the fore-arm".[64] This *khaṭvāṅga* became the Pallava emblem: they had the *khaṭvāṅga dhvija*.[65]

[b]

Ārūrar refers ro these, 'You live in the old burning ground'.[66] 'Your village is the forest; your garment is the skin',—"*Ūrum kāṭu uṭaiyum tōlē*";[67] 'you will never devoid of your unique attachment to the burning ground'—"*Paṭukāṭṭakattu eṉṟum paṟṟoḻiyāy*".[68] 'He has the forest as the familiar (abode)'—"*Payila-k kāṭuṭaiyān*".[69] 'Is He of the cremation ground—the charred forest'?—"*Kari kāṭaro*"?[70]

(5)

Khaṭvāṅga:

The representation of the *Kaṇkāḷa mūrti* is found in the Kailāsanātha Temple. This may be taken up along with the

62. 7: 36: 7.
63. 7: 14: 7.
64. See *Mālati Mādhava*: 5. 4. 24.
65. *S. I. I.*, II, Part II, No. 25: *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 135; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, P. 203, *ll.* 33-36.
66. 7: 2: 2.
67. 7: 5; 9.
68. 7: 42: 4,
69. 7: 97: 4.
70. 7: 33: 7.

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Bhikṣāṭana form. Here may be noted the representation of *Kaṅkāla* and *Khaṭvāṅga*. Plate XLVI, fig. 1, gives the panel in front of the second cell from the East end of the large court on the North side of the Kailāsanātha Temple. The stick is seen resting on His left shoulder. What is behind is not visible. This is visible as a chaurie in the plate LXI representing the panel on the back of the shrine at the South-west corner of the *Vimāna*. We see the *Āgamas* stating that the *Kaṅkāḷa* is tied up with probably chaurie as well. There is fig. 2, plate CXIX with a *kaṅkāḷa* which represents the South side panel on the side wall of Airavatēśvara Temple.

The *Khaṭvāṅga* has been identified in one of the panels by Dr. Mīnākṣi,[71] in the shrine.[72] It is seen in Rea's Plate XXXIX, fig. 4. His description had already been mentioned whilst describing the panels containing the Mother. This misinterpretation is due to bad touching up and white-washing. Her interpretation is this: "There are two *gaṇas* at the feet of Śiva one above the other. The lower one holds a staff at the top of which we see a skull fixed and sheltered by the hood of a fine serpent entwining the staff", because of which serpent, as she points out, "the Pallava, 'the *khaṭvāṅgabhṛt*' comes to be called "*Pāmpuṭaippallavar kōṉ*",—the chief of the Pallavas with the serpent". Ārūrar also speaks of the "*Viṭai arava-k koṭi*"—'the flag of the Bull and the Serpent'. Pallava had both these emblems—the bull and the *khaṭvāṅga*. Śiva, according to the legend here narrated, has both these flags. In fig. 1, of Plate XLIII in *Rea*, representing the panel from the north on the North side of court, there is a *gaṇa* carrying a staff with a joint at the top. What Rea represents as '*yāḷi*' is possibly the bull. What he calls a lotus is probably the skull and the hood of the serpent. This, therefore, may be taken to be a representation of the *khaṭvāṅga*.

(6)

Pāñcavaṭi (*Pañcavaṭa*):

In the *Kāpālika vrata*, it is said that the clothes of the penitent should be made of the skin and the hairs should be worn as *yajñō pavīta*. *Mahāvratas* wear this kind of sacred thread. This has

71. *Pallava Administration*, p. 44.
72. No. XXXIII, fig. 1, *Rea.*,

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has become well known in Tamil land, where Cēkkiḻār has given a pen picture of the *Mahāvratin* in his story of *Māṉakkañcāṟa Nāyaṉār*, the Saint who cuts and gives away the flowing tresses of hair of his own daughter, on the day of her marriage itself to a *Mahāvratin* who has come in there to beg for the same — it is verily Śiva who comes to test the firm resolve of the *Nāyaṉār*. "The forehead was full of the three lines of the sacred ashes. The crown was shaved except for the tuft. At the top of the tuft was the garland of beads of bones. In olden time, He bore the burden of the bones of the body of one, like the white pearl carved out of it; the *kuṇḍala* was swinging up above in His ears. He was wearing a long necklace or garland of shining beads of bones. Leaving aside the hard-hearted big serpent of hood, He had the shoulder strap for the *yōgic* postures. He wore as *yajñō-pavīta* the rope of hairs of the collyrium colour. He had the sack of sacred ashes removing the birth of His devotees of upright mind. The sūtra or string was there on one of His wrists with one single bead alone. On the waistcord of strict privacy and loin cloth (or the loin cloth of the *Vēdas*) fluttered His cloth. The beautiful feet, beyond the painter's art, were on this great earth. The five *mudras* or marks of greatness were shining on His feet. The surface of His body was besmeared with the world famous sacred ashes and He appeared like the live ember covered with ashes. Thus came the "*Mahāvrata Muni*".[73]

The term *Mahāvrata* has already been explained. The *yajñō-pavīta* is called *Pañcavaṭa*; in Tamil *Pañcavaṭi*. The Saint who come to the *Nāyaṉār*, on seeing the beautiful tresses of the bride worshipping at His feet stated, 'Her tresses will be useful for our *Pañcavaṭi*'.

Having understood the meaning of this term, one finds this very term used by Ārūrar. He says that the Lord had the *Pañcavaṭi* on His chest, "*Pañcavaṭi mārpiṉar*".[74] Ārūrar uses this, in juxtaposition with the other technical term '*Pācupatar*' wearing in profusely the sacred ashes, according to the description of the *Pāśupata vrata* of the *Atarva Śiras* and wearing the loin cloth and the waist cord. The poet's other reference to *Pāñcavaṭi* is more explanatory: 'He with the chest adorned with the *Pañcavaṭi* with grey hair interspersed amidst (black) hair' — "*Narai viraviya*

73. *Māṉakkañcāṟa Nāyaṉār Purāṇam* — Verses: 22 to 26
74. 7: 53: 6.

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mayir taṉṉoṭu pañcavaṭi mārpaṉ".[75] This may also mean He has the *Pañcavaṭi* or *yajñōpavīta* along with the grey hair possibly of the ass, whose skin had to be worn with the hair appearing on the exterior though there is no such *purāṇic* reference available.

The poet refers to *yajñōpavīta* as *Purinūl*",[76] — 'the twisted thread'; he speaks of it as the white thread of embracing darnings — "*Iḷai taḻuvu veṇṇūl*".[77] It is so characteristic that our poet speaks of it as that; it is on the body of the Lord — "*Meyyatu puri nūl*".[78] He is the Lord of the sacred thread — '*Purinūluṭai nampi*".[79] It is pure white — "*Veṇpurinūl*,"[80] "*Veṇṇūl*"[81] and it glistens — "*Viṭṭilaṅku puri nūl*".[82] Our author gives a poetic description of this beautiful sight of the sacred thread on the form of Śiva. The Lord is red like the coral mountain and the sacred thread appears to him like a stream of crystal diving into this coral mountain:

"*Paḷikkut tārai pavaḷa veṛpil*
Kuḷikkum pōl nūl".[83]

In one place the poet speaks of "*Pūṇ nāṇ āvatōr aravam*"[84] and if we compare the modern usage of "*Pūṇ nūl*" for the sacred thread we have to assume that the poet is contemplating a case of the serpent itself being the sacred thread of the Lord.

(7)

Skins:

Coming to the wearing of the skins, the *Purāṇa*s have made for Him all kinds of skins. One may point out at this place the

75. 7: 71: 4.
76. 7: 14: 7.
77. 7: 40: 8.
78. 7: 14: 7.
79. 7: 63: 3.
80. 7: 53: 2.
81. 7: 40: 8.
82. 7: 56: 7.
83. 7: 94: 4.
84. 7: 15: 1.

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great transformation effected, by the Tamilians in the horrip and terrific forms. It has already been noticed by us that these terrific forms with which Śaivism started from its early beginnings, are not so very prevalent in the Tamil Country, though believing in a federation of sects and creeds, they never said anything derogatory of any sect or any form worshipped by it. They have, on the other hand, tried to understand the inner spirit and enjoy their mystic experience giving expression to this in their own mellifluous verses, as is made clear by the suggestive descriptions of Ārūrar and Cēkkiḻār already quoted.

It is the lovable forms and the dance of Śiva that have captivated the Tamilians. More than this the Tamilians have made the terrific forms themselves beautiful and lovable. The *Kāpālika* form has already been referred to and according to the *Kāpālika vrata*, God has to go a-begging to not more than seven houses. The seven houses are the houses of the seven great *Ṛṣis* of the Great Bear. The begging at the door of the *Ṛṣis* has a similarity with another story of the Lord's feat — begging at the doors of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*, which had already been referred to. By transplanting the terrible and horrid form of *Kāpāli* to this atmosphere of love and beauty, the Tamilian has worked a miracle; one gets the sublimation and universalization of this story.

The skin worn here is not the skin of the ass but the skins of all varieties which we see in the lady's corner of a modern leather emporium — the skin of the tiger, the lion, the elephant and the deer. The enraged *Ṛṣis* performed a sacrifice from which sprang these wild beasts and rushed, at the behest of the *Ṛṣis*, to kill Śiva. We have studied the *Gajāsura Saṁhāra* but from what Ārūrar states, it is clear, the elephant, the Lord flayed, was really the one which jumped out of the sacrifice along with the other beasts of the fire rather than any other asura.

> "*Taṅkiya mātavattiṉ taḻal veḻviyiṉ niṉṟu eḻunta*
> *ciṅkamum nīḻ puliyum ceḻumāl kariyōṭu alaṟa-p*
> *poṅkiya pōr purintu piḻantu īr uri pōrttatu eṉṉē*"?[85]

'Because of their abiding great *tapas* or penance, there came out of the Sacrifice of fire, the lion, the tiger and the huge and great

85. 7: 99: 6

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elephant. You fought with them bubbling up with the spirit of war, made them shriek, split each one of them and wore their wet skins. Why was this'?

The poet makes Him wear the skins and in some places he does not specify the skin. He is satisfied that he is clothed in the skin according to *Kāpālika vrata*: "*Uṭaiyum tōlē*"[86] —'His dress is skin,; "*Tuṇivaṇṇattiṉ mēlum ōr tōluṭuttu*";[87] "*Tayaṅku tōlai yuṭutta caṅkaraṉ*",[88] "*Tōlum nūlum tutainta varai mārpaṉ*[89] — He of the mountain-like chest on which squeeze the skin and the thread, *yajñōpavīta*'.

"*Pāp pulittōl*"[90] — 'The skin of the tiger jumping on its enemy' is a favourable phrase. God wears the tiger's skin — "*Pulittōl uṭaiyāṉ*";[91] "*Vēṅkai āṭaiyiṉāy*";[92] "*Vaṉ talai vāy aṭupuli ātaiyaṉ*"[93] — The skin of the tiger is His cloth. The '*puli*' probably implies the cat family as is clear in Telugu; it may mean the leopards which are more prevalent in the Tamil Country. "*Pāy puli*" is the tiger, which jumps in one long stretch, at the victim. '*Vēṅkai*' by the suggestion of the cruelty means the tiger. "*Vaṉ ṟalai vāy aṭupuli*" is the murderous tiger with its strong head and mouth.[94] The skin is called the '*tōl*' but he has also used the word '*āṭai*'. The term '*Uri*' suggests that the skin is flayed. It becomes the '*āṭai*' (cloth)[95] and '*uṭai*' (the garment).[96]

The Tiger's skin is worn as an undergarment and is tightened at the waist — "*Pāy pulittōl araiyil vīkki*";[97] "*Araimēl puli īr urivai*";[98] "*Araiyār puli aṭaḷ*";[99] "*Pulittōlai araikkacaittu*".[100]

86. 7: 5: 9
87. 7: 2: 8.
88. 7: 49: 5.
89. 7: 57: 5.
90. 7: 2: 3.
91. 7: 57: 10: 7: 57: 11; 7: 89: 2.
92. 7: 70: 7.
93. 7: 83: 5.
94. 7: 83: 5.
95. 7: 70: 7; 7: 83: 5.
96. 7: 53: 3: 7: 57: 10; 7: 57: 11; 7: 83: 2.
97. 7: 6: 1.
98. 7: 19: 6.
99. 7: 23: 6.
100. 7: 24: 1; 7: 25: 1.

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The skin of the tiger is His cloth — "*Vēṅkai āṭaiyiṉāy*";[101] *Vāṉtalai vāy aṭupuli āṭaiyāṉ*";[102] "*Pulittōl uṭaiyān*";[103] "*Kāyum puliyiṉ aṭal uṭaiyar*".[104]

The poet suggests that He tightens the cloth of the tiger's skin with the girdle of a serpent dancing with its hood — "*Kol pulittōliṉ mēl āṭu pampatu araikkacaitta*"[105] and the poet is charmed by this beauty and exclaims, "*aḻakaṉē*"[106] — 'O, thou beautiful One.' 'You do not like the white cloth; You are fond of the skin of the tiger' — "*Veḷḷāṭai vēṇṭāy veṅkaiyiṉ tōlai virumpiṉāy*".[107]

But the tiger's skin is worn as an upper garment as well. He places it on His shoulders — "*Pulittōl piyaṟkum iṭṭu*".[108]

The skin of the deer He wears — "*Māviṉ īr uri uṭai puṉaintāṉ*"[109] — 'He adorned Himself with the wet skin garment'. The word '*mā*' may mean the deer but probably refers to the elephant which we had separately discussed. Our poet is more specific when he mentions the particular species of the deer — "*Uravamuḷḷatōr uḻaiyiṉ uri uṭaiyāṉ*"[110] — 'He has the flayed skin of the deer full of strength'. In passing, we may note that the root '*ura*' implying violence and strength becomes '*uravu*'[111] and with the suffix '*am*' assumes the form '*uravam*' in Ārūrar — a peculiarity which we find in him. It is a wet skin which He wears probably immediately after flaying the deer — "*Uḻai īr uriyum uṭaiyāṉ*".[112]

The skin of the lion comes in, in the *purāṇas* in two ways, as the skin of *Narasiṁha* and as the skin of the lion sent by the *Ṛṣis* already referred to by Ārūrar.[113] With the lion's skin the Lord covers Himself up — "*Ciṅkatturi mūṭutir*"[114] and then the gods are worship ping — "*Tēvar kaṇam toḻa nirrīr*".[115]

101. 7: 70: 7.
102. 7: 83: 5.
103 7: 57: 10; 7: 57: 11: 7: 89: 2.
104. 7: 53: 3.
105. 7: 48: 6.
106. 7: 48: 6.
107. 7: 92: 9.
108. 7: 18: 4.
109. 7: 64: 4.
110. 7: 75: 8.
111. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, V. 25.
112. 7: 94: 1.
113. 7: 96: 6.
114. 7: 2: 7.
115. *Ibid.*

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Ārūrar refers to a combination of skins — "*Ārttavar āṭaravam araimēl puli īr urivai pōrttavar āṉaiyiṉ tōl uṭai vempulāl kai akalap pārttavar iṉṉuyir pār paṭaittāṉ ciṟam añciloṉṟai-c cēṟttavar*"[116] — 'He wore the tiger's wet skin as an undergarment and tied it all with the serpent at His waist. He covered Himself up with the skin of the elephant and He holds the head of Brahma'. It is clear the reference is to the *Kāpāli* form. There is a combination of the tiger's skin and the garment of the bark of a tree. *Āpastamba*, we found, mentions the wearing of a cloth of hemp. Ārūrar mentions the bark of a tree '*maravuṟi*' instead. He covers over the tiger's skin on the waist, with the bark of a tree — "*Maravuri puli aṭal arai micai maruviṉāṉ*".[117] Ārūrar makes a combination of these three garments of skin — "*Māṉai-t tōl oṉṟai uṭuttu-p pulittōl piyaṟkum iṭṭu yaṉai-t tōl pōrppatu arintomēl nām ivarkku āṭpaṭōmē*"[118]— 'If we had known that He clothes on deer's skin, places on His shoulders the tiger's skin as upper garment and covers Himself with the elephant's skin as a shawl we would not have come to serve Him'.

We have stated that the *Kāpāli* form has been beautified. The *Āgamas* describe a fully adorned beautiful form. According to them, the Lord wears a red coloured upper garment and an under garment of silk and tiger's skin. *Uttara Kāmikāgama*[119] directs: "*Kusumāmbaramjitam kuṟyāt*" — 'the wearing of the white silk garment'. Probably this is referred to by Ārūrar when he addresses the Lord as one roaming about dressed in silk: "*Tukiloṭu poṉ tōl uṭuttu uḻalvāṉē*"[120] — "*Kōṟikamum araipiṟ kōvaṇamum ataḻum ..... paravi-k kai toḻal eṉṟu kolō*"?[121] — 'The silk and the loin cloth at waist and the skin — when am I to praise and worship these with (folded) hands'? — this probably also refers to the description given in the *Āgamas*.

116. 7: 19: 6.
117. 7: 72: 2.
118. 7: 18: 4.
119. 52 pādah, p. 18 of Grantha edition.
120. 7: 29: 9.
121. 7: 84: 4.

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V

(1)

Pāśupatas etc:

The terms *Pāśupatas*, *Kāpālikas*, *Kāḷāmukhas* and *Mahāvratas* occur as names of various sects.

It is only from the old commentaries we learn anything about these sects. *Śaivas*, *Pāśupatas*, *Kāruṇika siddhāntins* and *Kāpālikas* are mentioned by the commentaries of *Ṣaṅkara*. *Vācaspati* mentions the *Kāruṇika siddhāntins*; *Rāmānuja* mentions the *Kāḷāmukhas* in the place of *Kāruṇika siddhāntins*; *Vāyavya saṁhita* mentions *Siddhānta mārgins* in the place of *Śaivites* and *Mahāvratas* in the place of *Kāḷāmukhas*.

(2)

The *Pāśupata* cult is adumbrated in the *Mahābhārata* epic itself. *Patañjali* mentions the *Śivabhāgavatas*. Wild aspects of God were sometimes prominently emphasized. Their seclusion in the burning ghat and their pretension to be mad, wearing skull etc., must have further emphasized these aspects by some of the followers. They were probably opposed to animal sacrifice and believed in bodily mortification as leading to spiritual development. *Tāntric* aberrations must have clouded their principles, when all castes were admitted in to their fold. They had their converts and these are in existence in Nepal. *Lakuḷīśa*, before the second century, must have referred and reorganized this sect giving it a philosophical basis of the five topics: 1. The Effect in the peculiar sense of the Dependent, 2. The Cause (God and *Pradhāna* or sources of the Universe), 3. *Yōga*, 4. *Vidhi* (Primary vidhīs or vows like besmearing with the ashes, producing the sound *hum*, laughing, singing, dancing, producing the sound *huḍu* like a bull, falling down and inaudible muttering of mantras), and 5. *Duḥkhānta* or total destruction of misery. The important characteristic here is the *vidhi*. The means of attaining the *Duḥkhānta* are appearing to be sleeping when awake; shaking of the limbs as if paralyzed; walking on legs as though disabled, amorous gestures, doing things condemned by all as though devoid of discrimination and nonsensical talk—all intended to show that one is mad thus to scare away the crowd. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyar* and *Pēy Āḻvār* called themselves '*Pēy*'. *Kulasēkara* sings; "I am *a* '*pēy*' to all and all are '*pēys*' unto me". It is this which gives

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the significance of *jñani* to the words '*pittaṉ*' and '*pēyaṉ*'. The degenerations start when without the internal enlightenment, followers emphasize the outward show alone. *Bāṇa* describes the *Pāśupatas* as wearing the red clothes, Hieum Tsang mentions *Pāśupatas* at least 12 times. Nāgavardhan, the nephew of *Pulikēśin*, made provision for *Kaplēśvara* and the *Makāvratas* living in the temple. According to Rāmānuja, *Kāpālikas* believe that one attains the highest bliss on knowing, by concentrating on the soul seated in the female organ, the essence of six mudras (necklace ornament, ear ornament, crest jewel, ashes and *yajñōpavīta* through eating food in a skull, besmearing the body with the ashes of the dead body, eating the ashes, holding a club, keeping a pot of wine and worshipping God as seated therein). They wore bracelets of *Rudrākṣa*, matted hair, skull and besmeared the body with ashes. In the *Śaṅkara digvijaya*, the *Kāpālika* carries an iron trident. *Śrīsaila* is mentioned by *Bhavabhūti* as a rendezvous of the *kāpālikas*, where a woman wearing a garland of human skulls carries away males for being sacrificed. It has not been very popular in the Tamil Country. But the Tamil Country knew human sacrifices as early as *Cilappatikāram*. Mahēndravarmaṉ refers to *kāpālikas*, *kāḷāmukhas* and *pāśupatas*.

Lakuḷīśa calls all dependent things *kāryas*. Divine dispensation—free to act irrespective of *Karma Yōga* or union of soul with God is achieved by *japa* ond *dhyāna* and other such *sat-karmas* and strict control of senses. *Prabōdha cāndrōdaya* gives a ghastly description of their rites in the mouth of a *kāpālika*.

(3)

Mahēndravarmaṉ differentiates between the *Pāśupatas* and *Kāpālikas*. Appar speaks of *Śaivites*, *Pāśupatas*, *Kāpālikas*, as "*Vittaka veṅṭalaimālai viratikaḷ*". Śaivities and Śaiva siddhāntins are those who did not indulge in these out of the way practices but believed like Appar, Campantar and Ārūrar in *Caryā*' '*Kriya*, *Yoga*, and *Jñāna* paths of *Āgamas* and *Tirumantiram*. The *kāpālikas* lived inside the temple of Ēkambaranāthar in Conjīvaram as mentioned by Mahēndravarmaṉ. The Mylapore temple was known after the *kāpālikas* as *Kāpālīccurām*. *Sōmasiddhānta* is their phiiosophy. Tiruvorṟiyūr inscription speaks of this.[122] Mr. K. A. Nīlakaṇṭa Sastri thinks that *Somāsiddhānta*, bridges the gulf between the

122. 1912/61.

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Pāśupatas and the *Kāpālikas*.[122a] The *Kāḷāmukhas*, a subsect of *Pāṣupatas*, are *Lākuḷīśapāśupatins*. Lakuḷīśa is said to have been born at *Kāyārōhaṇa* and their temples, therefore, were called *Kāyārōhaṇas or Kārōhaṇas*, as sacred as the birth place of Lakuḷīśa, an avatar of Śiva. This word *Kāyāṟōhaṇam* becomes *Kārōṇam* in Tamil. Temples known as *Kārōṇam—Nākaikkārōṇam, Kuṭantaikkārōṇam* and *Kaccikkārōṇam*—must have been the temples of the *Kāḷāmukhas*. More of their mutts grew up at *Koṭumpāḷur*,[123] *Ālakkōyil*,[124] *Valaṁcuḷi*,[125] *pantaṇainallūr*,[126] and *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr*.[127]

(4)

When Śiva is said to have followed the *Kāpāla vrata, Paśupata vrata* or *Mahā vrata*, some sects must have thought that they must follow the same ritual. The besmearing of the ashes is called *Paśupata vrata* in the *Atharva Śira Upanisad*. But Ārūrar speaks of God only as "*Mā viratatta kaṅkāḷāṉ*",[128] for the poet's way of worship is different from those followed by these terrific sects of the North. The *Tēvāram* considers Śaivism as federation of sects.

Mr. Gopinatha Rao says, "The *Śivagamas* inform us that the *Śaivites* worship Śiva in the aspect of *Tāṇḍāvabhūṣaṇa*, the *Pāśupatas* Śiva smeared with ashes and wearing *jāṭāmakuṭa*, the *Mahāvratis* Śiva wearing a garland of bones" the *Kālamukhas* Śiva wearing *sphaṭika* and *putradīpa* beads, the *Vāmacārins* Śiva wearing the sacred thread and carrying fire, and the *Bhairavas* Śiva carrying *damaru* and wearing anklets".[129] According to this statement, the Tamil Country looks upon these episodes of Śiva's heroic acts as so many mystic dances of Śiva. References had been made to the *Kāpāla* dance of Śiva with *Kapāla* in His hand whilst *Pārvatī* kept time.

122a. *Cultural Heritage of India, Vol. II*, p. 29
123. A. R: E: 1908, p. 75-76.
124. 352 and 357 of 1914, A: R. E. 1912, p. 60.
125. 192/28.
126. 74/30-3.
127. 388 and 371/1911.
128. 7: 67: 10.
129. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.

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VI

Pāṇṭaraṅka Dance:

(1)

Ārūrar mentions Śiva as the dancer of *Pāṇṭaraṅka*, when he mentions him as going round with the *kapāla* to the houses of damsels. This *pāṇṭaraṅkam* has been referred to in connection with the burning of the three castles.[130] Probably it means the white hall of dance and derivatively a dance performed there, which therefore came to be called the white dance. The white dance hall is the place of asher, the place where the castles were burnt to ashes. It is because of the white ashes, the dance came to be called the white dance or *Pāṇṭaraṅka*. Aṭiyārkkunallār explains by saying that God smeared the ashes white in colour and danced this dance.[131] Therefore any dance on the ashes—or the burning ghat—may be called the *Pāṇṭaraṅka* without reference to *Tripura*. It is in this sense that Ārūrar speaks of God with a *kapāla* as the dancer, *Pāṇṭaraṅkaṉ*—"*Talaiyiṟ kaṭaitōrum pali paṇṇiyal meṉmoḻiyār iṭam koṇṭulal pāṇṭaraṅkaṉ*"[132] — 'The Dancer of *Pāṇṭaraṅka* roaming about the places of the ladies of soft words and sweet tunes and receiving alms at every door in His (bowl of a skull)'.

(2)

But the interpretation given by Aṭiyārkkunallār may, to a certain extent, stand in the way of this interpretation. The words in *Cilappatikāram* are, *Tērmuṉ niṉṟa ticaimukaṉ kāṇa..... Pārati āṭiya viyaṉ pāṇṭaraṅkam*".[133] It is the 'great expansive white dance' because he danced all round the place of the ashes 'It was seen by Brahma standing in front of the chariot of the Lord. It was a *Bhāratī dance*'. The commentator interprets, "the *Bhāratī* dance", in view of the preceding line, "in the presence of *Brahma* as a dance which Śiva danced in the form of *Bhāratī*, the wife of Brahman, probably to please Brahma and egg him on to drive the chariot fearlessly". It is not clear whereform this idea was got by Aṭiyārkkunallār. *Bhāratī* has the meaning of *Bhairavī* or *Durga* and her hall of dance is the burning ghat or

130. *Tripurāntaka Mūrti*.
131. *Cilap.*, VI, l. 45.
132. 7: 98: 1.
133. *Cilap.*, VI, 11. 44-45.

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burning pyre.[134] *Pārati* in the phrase "*Pārati āṭiya*" as distinguished from "p*ārati araṅkam*" refers to one of the *vṛtis* — modes of dramatic style. Aṭiyārkkunallār himself mentions the four modes — *Cāttuvati* (*Sātvatī*), *Ārapaṭi* (*Āraphaṭī*), *Kaiciki* (*Kaisikhī*) and *Pārati* (*Bhāratī*). In *Cāttuvati*, the subject matter is virtue, and the heroes are *Dēvas* and men. In *Ārapaṭi*, the subject matter is *artha*,[135] the heroes are men. In *Kaiciki*, the subject matter is love, and lustful persons are the important characters. In *Bhāratī*, the subject matter is about the actors and the actor is the hero. A note in *Taṇḍava Lakṣaṇa*[136] explains these. "*Kaisikhī* is the most polished performance without any bustle or tumult. The dancer of *Kaisikhī* should be neatly and modestly dressed; women alone are fit to expound this type of dance. *Bhāratī* is characterised by rhetorical flourish. *Sātvatī* expresses emotion; and *Ārabhaṭī* is used to indicate tumultous situations.

It will be seen from the explanations given by Aṭiyārkkunallār, that in the modes other than *Bhāratī*, the actors enact the drama or an episode from some hero's life, past or present. In *Bhāratī* alone there is no enactment of other's life; it is his own life that the dancer dances. In actual life when a man or a woman expresesses his or her activity, according to *Nāṭya Śāstra*, it is to be looked upon as a dance in the *Bhāratī* mode. In actual life we are slaves to our passions; in a drama or dance when the actor enacts the same episode of ours he is no slave; he is a master of the situation; his performance becomes art. So, when even in trying situations one has complete control of oneself and one's passions, and acts one's part in real life, one is a saint like Yājñavalkya and every one of his activities is a dance of the *Bhāratī* mode.

Aṭiyārkkunallār himself makes this distinction patent and clear: "In these four modes described here, unlike the other three modes, *Bhāratī* does not give expression to some other subject matter or the acts of some other heroes. If *Koṭukoṭṭi* and *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* are considered the hero, Śiva is not enacting any other past story of any other hero. It is His own act, where He is the subject matter, the hero and actor, It is not even a representa-

134. *Bhārati Araṅkvm*: *Cilap.*, VI, 1. 39, See notes in the old *Arumpataurai*.
135. Society and Government-*Pārthivar*.
136. Edited by Dr. B. V, Naidu and P. Srinivasulu Naidu, P. 4., n,c.

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tion of His act elsewhere. This shows His divine self control. Therefore, these two dances belong to the *Bhāratī vrtti* and *Iḷaṅkō*, the author, draws our pointed attention to this by stating '*Pārati āṭiyā koṭukoṭṭi*' and '*Pāṇṭaraṅkam*'. Similarly this, *Kāpāla* dance or *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* should also belong to *Bhāratī vṛtti*. The mystic and saintly non-entanglement and mastery over the passions are expressed by our poets and sculptors of the Tamil land when they represent every feat of the Lord as a memorable dance".

VII

Pēy pūtam & *pāritam*:

(1)

The burning ghat is associated with ghosts in the minds of primitive people and Śiva is said to be surrounded by *Bhūta gaṇas*. The *Bhūta gaṇas* come from the sacrificial fire of the *Ṛṣis* which the Lord made His own army of followers. The *Bhūta gaṇas* were with *Rudra*, from the time of the *Vēdas*. The *Kēsin* and the *Munis* were looked upon as mad and diabolical. This tradition persists and devotees call themselves as '*Pēys*'.[137] '*Pēy* and *Pittaṉ*' come to denote the *Jñāni*. Have not the erratic critics mistaken Prophet's divine trance for epilepsy? At the final dance of Śiva, these Saints who have attained Salvation are there, witnessing it singing, "*Aham annam Aham annam*" as told in the *Chāndōgya*. There are in a sense the *Bhūta gaṇas*. Has not, according to *Periapūrāṇam*, Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār prayed for remaining under the feet of the Lord when He dances: "*Aravā nī āṭumpōṭu niṉ aṭiyiṉ kīḻ irukka eṉṟār*".[138] It is in this way the devil dance has been sublimated into the mystic divine dance of joy.

(2)

Ārūrar coming after Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār, knows the significance of this so called madness and devilry. Has not he himself started addressing God as '*Pittā*,,[139] the mad? The poet however differentiates amongst the *gaṇas*; he speaks of the three varieties: the *pēy*, the *pūtam* and the *pāriṭam*. '*Pēy* from '*pēm*' meaning fear, is the frightful one — *paicāca* or the ghost of the cremation

137. The devil, like '*Pēyālvar*' and '*Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār*',
138. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār Purāṇam*, V. 60.
139. 7: 1: 1.

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ground. '*Pūtam*' is *Bhūta gaṇa*. '*Pāriṭam*' is traced by the Tamil Lexicon to '*Pāriṣada*', an attendant of God; perhaps, it is better to trace to the form '*pārṣa*' connected with '*parṣada*', '*pārṣatī* (*Durgā*) in which case the derivation can be easily explained on the analogy of '*Ārṣa*' becoming '*Āriṭam*' in Tamil. The meaning of goblin or a demon is clear in the Sanskrit word. It may also be a Tamil word but the derivation is not clear. Ārūrar mentions all the three in one verse and, therefore, must be taken to differentiate them — "*Mūṭāya muyalakaṉ, mūkka-p pāmpu muṭai nāriya veṇṭalai moytta palpēy pāṭā varu pūtaṅkaḷ pāy pulittōl paricoṉṟa-ṟiyāta pāriṭaṅkaḷ*"[140] — thus he enumerates the surroundings of the Lord: — 'the idiotic epileptic; the furious and obstinate serpent; the pale skull smelling carcass, the innumerable and crowding '*pēy*'; the *Bhūtas* coming singing; the skin of the pouncing tiger; the *pāriṭams* knowing not any manners'.

(3)

From this it would be seen the *pūtams* are made singers at the dance. "*Teṉṉā-t teṉā-t tet teṉaveṉṟu pāṭi-c cila pūtamum nīrum ticai ticaiyaṉa paṉṉāḷ maṟai pāṭutir*"[141] — 'You sing for many days the four Vēdas with a few *pūtams* in all the main points of the compass to the tune', '*Teṉṉa-t teṉā-t tet teṉā*'. This phrase "*Cila pūtamum nīrum ticai ticaiyaṉa*" — 'a few of *Bhūtas* and yourself are in every direction', occurs in the first verse of this hymn as well.[142] They seem to be all pervasive like the Lord. The poet again sings of the singing of the *Bhūtas* — "*Pūtam pāṭa-p purintu naṭṭam puvaṉi ētta āṭa vallīr*"[143] — 'You are capable of dancing so well that the whole world praises you, performing your dance with all heart whilst *Bhutas* sing'. Again, "*Eṟiṉai ēṟuvar ēṟi*", or, "*ēṟuvatu ēṟi ōr pūtam tampāl pāṭṭi-k koṇṭu uṇpavar*"[144] — 'He rides on the the bull-thus riding, He makes one *Bhūtam* on His side to sing whilst He eats the alms thus got'. In this verse, we cannot interpret this to mean that the Lord riding on the *Pūtam* sings Himself, because of the force of the phrase, '*tampāl*' which is not at all brought out then. Going on the bull to dance with the *Bhūtas* is very often referred to: "*Ilavitaḻ vāy umaiyōṭu erutēri-p pūtam icai*

140. 7: 2: 3
141. 7: 2: 6.
142. 7: 2: 1.
143. 7: 6: 7.
144. 7: 18: 5:

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pāṭa iṭu piccaikku ..... uḷitaruvīr[145] — 'You roam about for alms riding on the bull along with Umā of the lips red and soft like the silk cotton, whilst the *Bhūtas* sing music'.

(4)

But the '*pēy*' also is said to sing. "*Paṟaikkaṇ neṭum pēy-k kaṇam pāṭal ceyya-kuṟaḷ pāriṭaṅkaḷ paraitām muḷakka-p piṟaikkoḷ caṭai tāḷa-p peyarntu naṭṭam peruṅkā ṭaraṅkā niṉṟāṭal eṉṉē*"[146] — 'What is the significance of your abiding dance taking the cremation ground as your hall of dance when the braids, studded with the crescent, are unfurled and flown whilst the army of tall '*pēys*' of the drum-like eyes, sing and the dwarfish *pāriṭams* make the drum resound'. "*Pāṭal ceyya*" may mean composing verses. In the '*Paraṇi*' the *pēys* describe and sing the battlefield where they feast on the blood and flesh. This then, will be the natural characteristic of the *pēy* even according to tradition. Perhaps the *pēys* in the ecstasy of the dance forget the propriety; there is a higher harmony of love and Grace even in this impropriety.

(5)

In the same way, '*pāriṭam*' also is made to sing. "*Patti ceytu pāritaṅkaḷ pāṭi āṭa-p pali koḷḷum pittar*"[147] — 'The mad man who receives the alms whilst the '*pāriṭams*' out of love to Him sing and dance': Thus sings Ārūrar. This may simply refer to the *Pāśupata* act of worship without any reference to music. It is only with reference to the '*Pūtam*' and 'a few' — '*cila*' chosen '*pūtams*' — that are made to sing the *Vēdas* and give a performance of music in terms of tunes.[148] There are about nine references to the *Bhūtas* and of them in five places they are made to sing.

(6)

Considering the other four cases, one of them may refer to the *Bhūtas* or the living beings — '*Bhūta nāthan*',[149] the Lord of the *Bhūtas*, or the Lord of beings.[150] The other reference[151] speaks

145. 7: 46: 6.
146. 7: 9: 8.
147. 7 53: 5.
148. 7: 2: 6; 7: 46: 6.
149. 7: 62: 1.
150. c.f. *Āsvalāyāna Gṛhya Sūtra*, iii-4,
151. 7: 53: 1.

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of the Lord coming on the bull along with the damsel surrounded by the *Bhūtas* dancing and singing in their intoxication of love — "*Varuvār viṭaimēl mātōṭu makiḻntu pūta-p paṭai cūḻa*" — '*makiḻcci*" corresponding to '*makiḻntu*' used here, is the dance of intoxication, though it has come to mean merely to be happy. '*Kaḷittal*' and '*makiḻtal*' are differentiated by Tiruvaḷḷuvar in *Kuṟaḷ* 1281. Parimēlaḻakar explains that in '*kaḷittal*', the first stage of intoxication, the drunkard is still conscious, whereas in '*makiḻtal*', the second stage, he is not conscious of himself. There he dances and signs and prattles. Taken in that sense the *Bhūtas* may be said to sing as well. '*Makiḻcci*' here denotes the effacement of the self and the divine bliss. It may mean merely the joy of God's presence. Or, the joy may be the joy of the Lord in the presence of the damsel of divine Grace. In the third reference, "*Cila pūtamum nīrum ticai ticaiyaṉa*",[152] their all pervasiveness with the Lord standing alone is mentioned, as already noted; but the same words are repeated in the 6th verse of the hymn where what they do is explained at length — they are singing a tune and reciting the *Vēdas*.[153] As the poet, though in one place, speaks of the army of *Bhūtas* often speaks of a few *Bhūtas*, the word '*pala*' or many has to be taken along with '*Pēy*' — "*pal pēy*" — which alone are said to crowd and swarm.

(7)

The '*pāriṭams*' are mentioned in eight places. '*Paricoṉṟariyā-taṉa pāriṭaṅkaḷ*"[154] — The '*pāriṭams*' which do not know any dignity, or way of doing things or any order (*paricu*) — all suggesting the effacement of self — a non-worldly behaviour of the saints. They are made dwarfish as contrasted with the tall giant-like '*pēys*,. "*Nēṭum, pēykkaṇam pāṭal ceyya, kuṟaṭ pāriṭaṅkal paṟaitām muḻakka*"[155] — this refers to their '*naicyānusandhāna*' — 'The group of giant-like tall '*pēys*' compose verses and sing whilst the dwarfish '*pāriṭaṅkaḷ*' beat the drum'. In another place, Ārūrar speaks of the army of dwarfs. Though tradition knows '*kuṟaḷ pūtam*' and '*kuṟaṭ pāriṭam*', in view of the above reference,[156] this army of dwarfs has to be interpreted as the army of dwarfish '*pāriṭam*. In

152. 7: 2: 1.
153. 7: 2: 6.
154. 7: 2: 3.
155. 7: 9: 8.
156. 7: 9: 8.

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this verse the poet speaks of his wonder at seeing God coming on the way to Kūṭalalaiyāṟṟūr accompained by the *Dēvas* of *Vēdas*, Viṣṇu, Brahma, Indra, in the company of the damsel of crescent forehead, surrounded by the crowd of '*pēys*' and the army of dwarfs.[157] He being followed by gods is as important as His being followed by '*pāriṭam*' and '*pēy*', in the eyes of Ārūrar. All the supernatural beings are around Him — 'The many *pāriṭams*' surround Him when He dances on the cremation ground' — "*Mayānattu-pāriṭaṅkaḷ pala cūḻa-p payiṉṟāṭum paramēṭṭi*"[158] But their rendezvous is not the cremation ground as it is for the '*pēys*'. They follow the Lord wherever He goes. The poet sings, "*paranta pāriṭam ūr iṭai-p pali paṟṟi-p paṟṟuṇum cuṟṟam āyiṉīr*"[159] — 'The *pāriṭams* spread themselves out in villages; they clutch at the alms; they eat glancing this side and that; you have become the near and dear relative of these surrounding you, these encircling relatives'. '*Cuṟṟam*' may mean the constant attendants. 'They spread out and come always surrounding Him', *paranta pāriṭam cūla varuvar*".[160] They are His devotees too, worshipping Him, with Bhakti or love, singing and dancing (as *Pāśupatas* do, if we may say so); 'whilst they come, all concentrated on Him singing and dancing (perhaps as His attendants submerged in Him and doing His work as their work), the Mad Lord, receives the alms' —"*Patti ceyṭu pāriṭaṅkaḷ pāṭiyāṭa-p palikoḷḷum pittar*".[161] These dwarfs — goblins — suggest the errand boys of all duties. They play the part of a drummer as already mentioned.[162] These carry (His) weapons and praise His feet (i.e., keep themselves ready to do His errands) 'whilst the Lord with the damsel speaking no truth goes about clothed in one single loin cloth' — "*Mātum nīrum uṭaiyōr kōvaṇattarāki uṇmai collīr*".[163]

(8)

The '*pēy*' is mentioned fourteen times; that is, more frequently than the *pāriṭam* and *putam*, because it is the good old Tamilian word and a Tamilian conception. The '*pēys*' were imagined in the

157. 7: 85: 8.
158. 7: 89: 8.
159. 7: 88: 8.
160. 7: 76: 6.
161. 7: 23: 5.
162. 7: 9: 8.
163. 7: 6: 3.

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Caṅkam age to dance round the chariot of the hero on the battle field—'*muṉtēr-k kuravai*' and '*piṉtēr-k kuravai*' of *Tolkāppiyam*.[164] They were thought of as ghosts, approaching with avidity the carcass of the dying hero, for, the heroes were a delicacy to these *pēys*. Theys conceptions lay at the bottom of '*Toṭākkāñci* and *Pēykkāñci* of *Tolkāppiyam*.[165] Even these cannibals are moved by the dying hero who cannot be taken care of in the thick of the battle by his colleagues or his family. There is here thus the humanizing of the ghost— a way of sublimating the idea of the devil as the embodiment of love.[166] They are even according to the *Vēdas*, '*kravyad*'—the eaters of raw fiesh[167] and of the flesh of a sick man.[168]

Matura-ki kāñci and other *Caṅkam* poems speak of '*Kaḷa-vēḷvi*'—the cooking of the feast of the blood-curdling battlefield[169] developed into the *Paraṇis* of later days. Nakkīrar in his *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* describes the dance of the *pēy*—the '*tuṇaṅkai*' dance in praise of Murukaṉ—another way of sublimating the devil dance into a dance of love. Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār uses this conception of '*Pēy*' for explaining the inexplicable stage of the Saints. She called herself a '*pēy*'.[170] The Saint is in a sense out of the ordinary. His values are different from those of the ordinary men. He yearns for the unknown, looking upon the ordinary men hankering after their passions and material pleasures as mad people.[171] "He sleeps where others are awake; he is awake where others are asleep"—so says the *Gītā*. He is almost dead here to be alive there. What the world throws out and abhors, he gathers and cherishes. Is it not exactly what the '*pēy*' is said to do? It haunts the burning ghat and feasts on the thrown out refuse of the bone and the carcass; the cremation ground is its hall of dance, where, by its very devil dance, it besmears its whole form with the dust of the burning ashes—"*Pūccoḻiyīr*".[172] Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār gives a realistic colour to this allegorical ghost world,

164. *Tol.*, 1021.
165. *Tol.*, 1024:
166. *Tol.*, 1024.
167. *Atarva Vēda*, V. 29: 9.
168. *Atarva* Vēda, 1V, 36: 8 etc.
169. *Tol.*, 1021.
170. 11*th Tirumuṟai*, *Aṟputat tiruvantāti*, V. 101.
171. *Kulasēkara Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, III, 1
172. 7: 2: 5.

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by speaking of the babe ghost and mother ghost and all their loving acts.[173] "*Pēyōṭāṭi*" has, therefore, become the name of Śiva in *Piṇkalantai*.

(9)

Ārūrar comes, after all these developments have taken place, and it is the underlying idea of an allegory that makes him and other poets to sing of the '*pēy*' without any revulsion whatever. The Lord according to Ārūrar dances in the graveyard—so much He loves it and the corpses which the '*pēys*' do not leave—the graveyard which is ever they abode—"*Pēy mārāp piṇam iṭu kāṭū ukantu aṭuvāy*".[174] He is again the king of the cremation ground where live the *pēys*—"*Pēykaḷ vāḻum mayāṉattu-p periya pērumāṉ aṭikaḷē*".[175] He, in the eyes of our poet, loves or performs the dance with the '*pēy*' in the outside forest of cremation—*Īma-p puraṅkāṭṭil peyōṭu āṭal purivānē*".[176] The idea of the group dance is here suggested. This is the sublimation of the devil dance These '*pēys*' are cruel and bad— from the point of view of the world—and He dances surrounded by them—"*Tuṭṭarāyiṉa pēykaḷ cūḻa naṭamāti*".[177] There is a more graphic description of the graveyard. It is a midnight revel and a dance. It is the dark forest. The fox stealthily catches hold of a skull. The wolf raises the alarm. The '*pēys*' with flaming heads surround Him on all sides—is it in *kuravai* dance?—"*Nari talai-k kavva niṉṟu ōri kūppiṭa naḷ iruḷ eri talai-p pēy cūḻa ār iruḷ kāṭṭiṭai*".[178] This reminds us of Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's *Mūtta tiruppatikam*. The omnipotent God can never do two things. He can never renounce, being surrounded by the '*pēys*' whilst riding on the bull. He can never forget the cremation ground. He accepts it as His abode and dances always there—"*Peṟṟam, ēṟi-p pēy cūḻtal tuṟavāy maṟavāy cuṭukāṭu eṉṟum iṭamā-k koṇṭu naṭamāṭi*".[179] This seems to be something intrinsic about His Divinity, about His divine Grace. The damsels to whom the Lord goes to beg entreat Him to leave off this devil dance. 'Your eyes, your mouth (words), your form are pure. Your cloth is made of stitched up rags. Leave off

173. *Mūtta Tirupatikam*, I, V. 5 ff.
174. 7: 96: 3.
175. 7: 53: 3.
176. 7: 52: 9.
177. 7: 46: 4.
178. 7: 44: 4.
179. 7: 41: 6;

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this dancing with the '*pēys*' in the cremation ground. Are you mad?' "*Tūyavar kaṇṇum vāyum mēṉiyum tuṉṉavīṭāi cuṭalaiyil pēyōṭu āṭalai-tavirum nīr oru pittarō*"?[180] Here is thus an attempt to connect this dance with *Bhikṣāṭana* form. This midnight dance, He dances with the many *Bhūtas* and the '*pēys*' of the clear (vision) — "*Teḷḷiya pēy pala pūtam avaṟṟoṭu naḷḷiruḷ naṭṭamatu āṭal naviṉṟōr*".[181] The description "*teḷḷiya pēy*" is a tell-tale phrase where the allegory is almost non-existent. The *Yōga Narasiṁha* is called by Tirumaṅkai Āḻvar of the Pallava Age, "*Teḷḷiya Cīyam*" where this word '*Teḷḷiya*' is itself used.

The old ideas about the '*pēy*' are not absent in this verse. The *pēys*' eyes are like the kettle drum—"*Paṟaikkaṇ*".[182] They are giant-like, unlike the dwarfish *pāriṭams*: they compose verses or sing as already explained.[183] The *pēy's* mouth is full of flesh — "*Pulāl vāyāṉa pēy*'.[184] The Lord dances on the ashes and gets besmeared with ashes. This besmearing He will never leave — "*Pulāl vāyaṉa pēyoṭu pūccoḷiyīr*".[185] Or, this may mean, 'He can get rid of making commotions with them'. The immensity of form is again emphasized: 'The Lord stands in the great forest of cremation along with the group of huge and giant-like *peys*' — "*Peruṅkāṭṭakattīr perumpēyum nīrum.....nirrīr*".[186] This *pēy* is one of the *gaṇas*. The poet speaks of the '*peykkaṇam*'.[187] Here the idea is not so much the *gaṇa* as the crowding of these around the Lord, "*Moytta pal pēy*"[188] — 'the *pēys* which swarm round you' — the verb '*moytta*, suggests the simile of the bees swarming in the honey.

(10)

This survey reveals three gradation. '*Bhūtas*' almost identifying with God, represent the few great souls, the *siddhas*; the *pēys* as revealed by the phrase, '*teḷḷiya pēy*' represent the *yōgis*; the '*pāriṭams*' are the attendants doing all service and all worship —

180. 7: 36: 3.
181. 7: 11: 3.
182. 7: 9: 8.
183. 7: 9: 8.
184. 7: 2: 5.
185. 7: 2: 5.
186. 7: 2: 8.
187. 7: 9: 8; 7: 85: 8.
188. 7: 2: 3.

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the '*toṇṭar*' and '*bhaktas*' of the path of *caryā gaṇas* and *kriyā gaṇas* usually grouped together.[189] Ārūrar enumerated in one place[190] three kinds of followers of Śiva — the '*aṉputaiyār*', '*toṇṭar*' and '*pattar*'. He calls upon the '*aṉpar*' to dance, the '*pattar*' to sing and '*toṇṭar*' to adorn their heads with Śiva's feet. This classification seems to agree with the description of the '*pēy*'; as dancers — the *Aṉpar*; the *Pūtam* as singers — the '*Pattar*'; and the *Pāriṭam* as followers — the *Toṇṭar*. In other places, he groups the worshippers under the two heads of '*Pattar*' and '*Cittar*' — the '*cittar*' or *Siddhas* are those who have achieved the *jīvanmukta* stage and the '*pattar*' or *Bhaktas* are on the way to *jīvanmukta* stage — "*Pattar cittar*".[191] In this verse he speaks of the many (*palar*) and one may argue that this group refers to the third group of '*Toṇṭar*' but in another place he speaks of '*Pattar*' and '*Cittar*' uses the word '*pala*' as qualifying '*Pattar*'— "*pala pattar*"[192] suggesting that such an interpretation is not correct.

189. *Tiruvācakam*, 46: 2.
190. 7: 22: 3.
191. 7: 52: 10.
192. 7: 88: 7.

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Part IV

Chapter I

BHIKṢĀṬANA MŪRTI

I

The *Brahmaśiraschēda Mūrti* introduces the *Bhikṣāṭana Mūrti* form and this may be now studied separately. We have already emphasized the revolution effected in making the horrid and terrific form, one of love. This is connected with the *Kaṅkāla* and *Kāpāli* forms.

Kaṅkālamūrti and *Bhikṣāṭana* :

The description of the *Kaṅkālamūrti* is found in the *Āgamas* which we have been mentioning — *Kāmika*, *Kāraṇa* and *Amśumadbhēda*. *Kaṅkālamūrti* with *yajñōpavīta*, a red *uttarīya* and a cloth of skin is standing with the left straight and right leg slighltly bent and forward as though in the act of walking. There is the *jaṭāmakuṭa* with '*ūmattam*'[1] flowers, the crescent moon and the snake. His beaming face with half visible pearly teeth and ears of *kuṇḍalas* suggest that he is merrily smiling and singing. He has four hands. There is, in the right front hand, a short stick probably resined, to rub and vibrate the drum held on the left front hand. The back right arm holds the deer and the left the horizontal *kaṅkāla daṇḍa* — the bone of the arms and legs of the murdered person, tied up together with rope and adorned with peacock feathers and a flag, all of which hang on the left shoulder. There is a gold dagger with a silver handle tucked up in the girdle. He wears a pair of sandals and a number of snakes. *Bhūtas* romp, dance and sing whilst one carries a receptacle for alms. Women appear around him full of passionate love for him giving alms, blessing him and yearning for his embrace, with their clothes slipping down. Other dēvas and *ṛṣis* are there in *añjali* pose or doing services such as sweeping of the path by *Vāyu*, sprinkling of water by *Varuṇa*, carrying of the umbrellas by the Sun and the Moon and recitation of the *Vedās* by *ṛṣis*. *Bhikṣāṭana* form is similar. Instead of the *bāṇa* stick he holds the *kapāla*. He

1. *Datura*.

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has *jaṭābhāra*[2] or *jaṭāmaṇḍala*. There is an ornamental band on the forehead. There are ornaments all over the body but with no clothing whatever except a snake coming as a waist string. Instead of the *Kaṇkāla daṇḍa* he carries the *Triśula*, similarly adorned.

Ārūrar refers to this episode in one verse:

"*Māl utirattiṉai ēṟṟut tōṉṟu tōḷmicai kaḷēparantaṉṉaic cumanta māviratatta kaṅkāḷaṉ*".[3]

'He received the blood of Viṣṇu (in his bowl) and bore the burden of the dead body on his prominent shoulder — He of the *kaṅkāla* of the great penance,'.

II

In the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple there are many representations of *Bhikṣāṭana* and *Kaṅkāla Mūrti* which are always found with two hands. In fig. 1 of Plate XLVI (*Rea*), we find a beautiful figure of Śiva with two hands as against four hands of the *Āgamas*. The matted lock is divided at the centre of the crown and flows on either side freely downwards in eight parts on each side reminding us Ārūrar's description — '*Cāṭai eṭṭu*".[4] He is holding on His shoulder a stick with what appears to be a handle at the lower end, on which He rests His left hand with three bends, one at the shoulder, the other at the elbow and the third at the wrist. The right arm crosses His chest with a right-angle-bend at the elbow and the palm and the fingers are above the left shoulders held in the *sūcī mudra* pose. Whilst the face, the chest and the trunk present the front view, the legs are twisted to the left showing their hind view, whilst their front portion faces the women opposite. The left leg stands as required by the *Āgamas* straight on a wooden sandal with the knob between the toes. The right leg also wears this sandal but the leg is bent showing a forward motion. The cloth as a ribbon or a sash is knotted round the waist in front, one end of which reaches the left toe whilst the other end remains as a loop and a free end, hanging on the right thigh. Probably there is also a girdle of gems or bones. There is a *yajñōpavīta* hanging cross-wise from the left shoulder and going over the hind part of the left knee. This is probably a serpent. Before Him sit kneeling, two women with

2. dishevelled hair.
3. 7: 67: 10.
4. 7: 19: 7.

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ear-rings, bangles, armlets and necklace. A third is behind them. The other two are holding their hands across their chests crossed one over the other. Perhaps the expression is to reveal their love for this form which is naked. What appears to be a stick has already been explained to be the *kaṅkāla* and what seems to be a handle is probably the joint of the bones.

Rea's plate LXI represents another *kaṅkāla mūrti*. The matted locks are parted as in the previous case, but there is a crown on the head with rims artistically shaped as '*paṭṭam*' above the forehead as mentioned in the *Āgamas*. The crown is conical with a lotus bud-like ending at the top. The portion below this bud appears to be shaped like the '*arinellikkāy*' —a kind of gooseberry. The matted-locks escape through openings on either side of this crown. There is a curious weapon with a handle, the hatchet portion in the middle and the trident spears at the top. It appears to be a combination of a '*triśūla*' and a '*paraśu*'. This hangs as though in the air above His right shoulder. On the left is a round ring; if it is not representing the begging bowl, it must be taken to represent one of the '*vaḷaiyams*' found in abundance in these sculptures. The pose is very much similar to the other one except that the twist is to the right, and the left leg, as against the *Āgamas*, is bent and held up in forward motion. The *kaṅkāla* is held on the right shoulder and the palm is resting on what appears to be the handle. At the top-most portion of this handle there is again a knob representing, as already hinted, the joint of the bones. From this knob flows around it, something like a chaurie. It has already been seen that the *Āgamas* describe this *kaṅkāla* adorned at its head with peacock feathers and things similar to them. Therefore, the flowing chaurie-like thing can be taken as some such adornment of *kaṅkāḷa*. It is not a trident ascribed to *Bhikṣāṭana*. There are hanging in his person, ear-rings, neck-lace, a broader garland of rubies or bones, two armlets, on each shoulder and many bangles at the wrists. In addition to the flowing cloth of a sash, there is also a sash of serpents. The *yajñōpavīta* flows down and goes over the left knee-cap. There is at least a ring visible, in one of the fingers of the left hand, if it is not to be taken as an *akṣamāla*. A serpent with three heads is seen going round His right hand and making a loop near its neck. There is a woman standing on the left fully adorned and there is another kneeling on the right.

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Plate No. XII,[5] at its right hand corner of the top gives another representatation of *Bhikṣāṭana* form. Plate No. LXXXVI fig. 5,[6] gives this separately. The pose is like that of the figure in Plate LXI of Rea. One lady is kneeling down with an *añjali* pose, her face expressing love and joy. Her head is a little bent down to the left perhaps with a blush. Behind her is another woman who is holding up her left hand and placing her right hand on the right shoulder of the woman in front. She is holding up her hand also. There is a *ṛṣi* at the right hand top corner; perhaps he represents the *Dārukavana Ṛṣi*, coming in haste and protesting against the women. Gopinātha Rao thinks that the pole held in one of the hands of Śiva is a '*śikhi piñccha*'. The other hand according to him keeps an *akṣamāla* and is held in *cinmudra* pose. He feels that there are no clothes worn. In other respects it is very much like Rea's plate No. LXI except for the absence of the crown and the three headed serpent.

III

Coming to the later time we find an image of *Picchadēvar* set up by Rājarāja's queen Lōkamahādēvi.[7] The following is the note of the epigraphist. "It consisted of the god Śiva with four arms in a standing posture accompanied on one side by a standing goblin (called generally *Kuṇḍodara*) carrying the begging bowl on his head main with the figure *Bhikṣāṭana mūrti* which we find in Śiva temples.

"*Kāraṇāgama* describes *Bhikṣāṭana* thus:

> "*Caturbhujam triṇētram ca nagnam caiva smitānanam*
> *Bhasmadigdham vidrumābham kaṭyām pannagasamvṛtam*
> *Āvṛttālaṅkṛta bhṛṅgīpādam pādukasaṁyutam*
> *Dakṣiṇam tatkarāgram tu hariṇāsyānugam bhavēt.*
>
> "*Dakṣiṇē aparahastē tu ḍamarum caiva kārayēt*
> *Vāmē tvaparahastē tu triśūlam piñchadhāriṇam*
> *Kuñcitam dakṣiṇam pādam vāmapādam tu susthitam*
> *Samabhaṅgasthānakam ca gamanōnmukharūpakam.*

5. *Rea.*
6. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.
7. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No 9,

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"Kapālōpētahastam ca vṛṣanābhisaman bhavēt
Ēvam Bhikṣāṭanam prōktam guṇḍōdaramathō śṛṇu
"Dēvasya vāmapārśvē tu guṇḍōdaramadhaḥsthitam
Hastadvayasamāyuktam kapālam śirasi nyasēt.
"Bhūtākārasamāyuktam kuṇḍalē karṇayōrnyasēt
Damṣṭrākarālavaktram ca pūrvōktam lakṣaṇānvitam.

"In a niche on the south wall of the central shrine is a beautiful image of *Picchāṇḍār* but without the goblin and the antelope. It is worthy of note that there is a temple dedicated to *Picchāṇḍār* near Trichinopoly."

IV

On page 27, *Rea* describes what he calls a large finely carved figure of *Jīmūtakētu* or the 'cloud-bannered Śiva' in the Mahēndravarmēśvara shrine. Here is his description: "He is represented with matted hair; the right knee bent; he has a richly carved crown, and neck, arm and leg ornaments. Over his left shoulder is a garland, with rings of what seem intended for bones; another has alternate square and round ornaments on each of which is a sculptured skull: these reach down to his anklets. The waist ornament is broad, and has several bends of different ornamental designs. The anklets are in circles of balls; and on the feel are well carved and ornamental sandals (*pādarakṣa*). On each sandal, the *kumiḷ* — or small knob between the toes — is shown. On his left side is the three hooded *nāga*, with its tail twisted upwards, and resting on his hand. The cloud banner held in a left hand over the shoulder, goes behind him and drops over the right, down to the waist: on the upper portion of the same side is — apparently — a club. A worshipping female figure stands on his right; two females are on the left, one of which profusely ornamented with jewels is kneeling and worshipping: the other female on the left side supports one of Śiva's left hands. There are some other minor attendants in the group.

"This panel is remarkably striking in the arrangement and execution of the whole design, even the smallest ornaments being clearly and beautifully cut".

It will be seen that this description agrees with our description of two other representations of *Kaṅkaḷa mūrti*. In the absence of the clue given by the *Āgamas* to identify the *Kaṅkāḷa*, Mr. Rea has erred in his interpreting this form as cloud-bannered Śiva.

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Kaṅkaḷa form is not, according to the *Āgamas*, naked as these figures and *Bhikṣāṭana* form. Perhaps there is an attempt to synchronize and synthesize the various forms of *Kāpāli*, *Kaṅkaḷa* and *Bhikṣāṭana*.

V

To this important step taken about the time of *Tēvārm* we must now turn. God goes a-begging. Before this stage of the Absolute, of union or unity is realized, the world stares us in the face with the varied souls and God, then, is the Lord of all. The intimate and inter-dependent relationship between the many souls and one God has however to be expressed in words.

Mystics in this connection always think of love especially fugitive love which is true and sincere. This is taken as the symbol of intimate spiritual relationship. God is the lover, the souls are the ladies in secret love with Him, giving up every other relationship with the world and running mad after Him. The '*gōpīs*' and *Kṛṣṇa*, the *Ṛṣipatnīs* and *Bikṣāṭana* — all these are but various attempts at expressing the inexpressible truth. The *Kāpāli* and *Kaṅkaḷa* forms — horrid, terrible and revolting at first sight — are thus beautified and sublimated so as to represent this mystic form of *Bikṣāṭana*.

Ārūrar sings of this story in a dramatic way, making the women, love and speak for themselves. They have to be considered at length in connection with Ārūrar's mysticism. We may, therefore, at this stage restrict our study to the poetic way in which this *Bikṣāṭana* form is described by our poet.

The skull, the bones and the serpents,[8] and other peculiarities of this form have already been noted. It was seen that in the *Kāpālika vṛata*, one must not beg in more than seven houses. But our poet speaks of the Lord begging in ten villages.[9] In another place he speaks of the Lord going a-begging to many houses,[10] which brings out the significance of the Lord going to the doors of all. This suggests that the word ten above mentioned should be interpreted as meaning many, unless there is a pun on the word '*pattu*' to imply '*Bhakti*'. True to this, in other places, the

8. 7: 91: 5.
9. 7: 46: 1.
10. 7: 46: 6.

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poet speaks of Śiva going for alms to every house in every junction of the streets.[11] Our poet also states that Śiva wanders on all the points of the compass for begging,[12] and that he begs the whole world.[13] He puns on the word 'Ārūr', which means both 'Tiruvārūr' and a village of any one, and states that the Lord begs entering any village of any one.[14] He goes to all and sundry, not only to the devotees; and, therefore, one love-sick woman sings, 'Why roam about in all directions and receive alms? Pray, receive it only at the hands of the devotees who give with love and reverence'.[15]

The Lord goes with the shining garment of skin and sings *Sāmadēva* , whilst begging.[16] In addition to the *Sāmadēva*, He is said to sing many hymns. The word which is used is '*patikam*' or a hymn of ten verses, a word which we have already discussed. The poet seems to suggest that even as the Saints of Tamil land as himself were going about in singing *patikams*, God also goes about singing '*patikams*' probably in Tamil.[17] That He sings Tamil songs is emphasized by the question, "*Centamiḻ-t tiṟam vallirō*?".[18]

Śiva carries on a conversation with the women telling them all sorts of fibs (*kiṟi*) and indulges in the play of deceit (*paṭiru*).[19] The '*pāṇas*' of the low caste were the go-betweens; they were the messengers of love, bringing back the lover to the harlot or pacifying the rightful indignation of the truthful wife. All this kind of lustful talk is known as '*pāṇ*' after the '*pāṇas*' and the Lord according to the poet indulges in such talks of flattery, humility and lust with the women.[20]

The '*pūtam*' goes singing with him.[20a] '*Pāriṭam*' also follows him.[21] We have suggested that the '*pūtam*' etc., refer really to the ardent devotees of God. In keeping with this interpretation,

11. 7: 6: 6; 7: 43: 5; 7: 43: 8.
12. 7: 43: 10.
13. 7: 77: 7.
14. 7: 83: 5.
15. 7: 43: 10.
16. 7: 49: 5.
17. 7: 46: 1.
18. 7: 36: 4.
19. 7: 46: 1.
20. 7: 46: 3.
20a. 7: 46: 6.
21. 7: 88: 8.

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we find the poet describing the Lord going to the doors of *Ṛṣi-patnīs* in the company of *aṭiyārs* or followers.[22] Probably he differentiates the worshippers from the followers though he calls them both the '*aṭiyār*' because he asks why the Lord is going for alms when there are worshippers who intoxicated with his love, madly prattle, worshipping Him with sweet-smelling flowers and praising Him, do all that is good for Him.[23] If these are not differentiated as worshippers and followers, we must hold in some cases that the Lord goes a-begging without the *aṭiyārs*.[24]

VI

The poet speaks of the Lord going on the back of the bull,[25] spurring it on.[26] What is more curious is that He goes along with His wife on this escapade of love and this shows that it is not any pastime of the libertine that is hinted at but some mystic characteristic feature of God. The mother aspect is indivisible from Śiva. She is a creeper-like damsel who is but a moiety of Him, "*Kuṟupaṭṭa koṭi*", and along with this partitioned better-half of a creeper, He goes a begging.[27] This suggests the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, something which cannot be thought of, for a libertine's way of life. In another hymn also the poet suggests our Lord coming with half of His form appearing with the damsel of the long, eyes.[28] The Lord is also said to come with jingling '*cilampu*' and resounding '*Kaḻal*' where the '*cilampu*, the anklet, refers to the feminine half and the '*kaḻal*' or the heroic-ring on the leg refers to the masculine half, thus suggesting once again the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.[29] 'With the lady of the mountain on the side the Lord begs the whole world' — thus sings another hymn.[30] The poet further groups together the bull, the *pūtam* and the lady of the red lips, red like the flower of the silk-cotton along with the Lord on his begging march.[31] One of the women refuses alms

22. 7: 43: 5; 7: 43: 8.
23. 7: 41: 9.
24. 7: 41: 9.
25. 7: 6: 3; 7: 6: 6; 7; 46: 6.
26. 7: 6: 6.
27. 7: 6: 6.
28. 7: 36: 5.
29. 7: 41: 2.
30. 7: 77: 7.
31. 7: 46: 6.

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because of this very fact of his coming with his wife,[32] even as another refuses because of the serpent he wears.[33]

Here again it must be noted that He does not always go on his begging pilgrimage accompanied by his wife. 'There is the *Kamakkōṭṭam*, the temple of your love and why then do you go for common alms?', asks one woman.[34] 'That form of parsimony, the lady-love of yours in every village cooks for charitable distribution. Why then do you wait at every door for alms?' asks another.[35] Here is a word '*ceṭṭi*' which has been interpreted above as one who is parsimonious and as referring to the mother. Otherwise it must refer to Śiva as a '*vaisya*'. Murukaṉ is described as a *ceṭṭi's* son, taking the form of '*Uruttiracaṉmaṉār*', son of '*Uppūrikuṭi kiḻār*'. No such story is told of Śiva. It may be that the speaker is referring to the miserly nature of Śiva in begging for alms whilst there is the lady-love feeding all. Another woman asks the Lord, 'Are all this wealth amassed as a result of begging for alms at every door along with your followers, for your wife Umā'?[36] What is important here is that the women are referring to the lady-love not as standing before them but remaining elsewhere as the lady of wealth and charity.

VII

The poet gives some interesting particulars. He speaks of the Lord going at dusk—'*Anti*'.[37] In another place, he speaks of the Lord coming for alms at mid-day when the sun is at the zenith of the heaven—'*Ucci*'.[38] In the common place of the women companions, He goes for begging and the ferocious dogs probably frightened at His sight go into the house and bark.[39] The word for the woman companion is '*cēṭicci*'.[40] '*Cēṭi*' means a woman-companion and also a servant and the word '*cēṭicci*' must have been formed with an additional feminine suffix. Or, we may trace it to the word '*cēṭi*' meaning the *Vidhyādhara* world. Perhaps

32. 7: 36: 5.
33. 7: 36: 2.
34. 7: 5: 6.
35. 7: 43: 9.
36. 7: 43: 5.
37. 7: 43: 8.
38. 7: 41: 2.
39. 7: 43: 7.
40. 7: 43: 7.

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by calling them denizens of *Vidhyādhara* world, the poet wants to emphasize their superhuman aspect and their present lite of love. The common place is made still more realistic. It is the place where the fruits of the palmyra fall down producing a '*caṭacaṭa*' noise.[41] The alms given is mixed with the eatable '*vaṭakam*'.[42] It is not clear that the word '*vaṭakam*'[43] was used in this sense in the age of Ārūrar; it may also mean small balls of food. The meaning obtaining at the time of *Cilappatikāram*[44] and *Cintāmaṇi*[45] is that of a valuable cloth, and the words in this hymn can be interpreted so as to mean that the Lord came with a variety of clothes or skins.[46] In another place the poet speaks of the Lord knocking away the dried food, the women gave as alms—'*Uṇaṅkal*', and this seems to suggest that '*vaṭakam*' as a dried preparation might have been known in Ārūrar's age. If this is so, the Tamil Lexicon is evidently wrong in giving ordinary cooked food as the meaning for '*Uṇaṅkal*' in this verse, as the meaning of dried food material seems to be more appropriate.[47]

VIII

The Tamilians are in mortal fear of begging. Tiruvaḷḷuvar comes down with a curse on God or the maker of the state, if he were responsible for the state of affairs in a society in which man has to drag on his existence by begging.[48] To give is to live and our hand has to be always above that of others as it is in the act of giving; therefore, if such giving is not possible, the frightful death is more welcome.[49] That is Tiruvaḷḷuvar's ideal. The poet, therefore, asks the Lord, 'Why are you alive here if you are to live by begging for the crumbs thrown out?'.[50] Propriety is spoken of in Tamil as the beauty of the moral grandeur. The women feel at first sight the impropriety of this begging of the Lord and they ask, 'Is this in keeping with the beauty of your

41. 7: 72: 9.
42. 7: 72: 9.
43. 7: 72: 9.
44. *Cilap.*, XIV, l. 108.
45. V. 462.
46. *Piṅkalantai.*
47. 7: 91; 5.
48. *Kuṟaḷ*, 1062.
49. *Kuṟaḷ*, 230.
50. 7: 49; 6.

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moral grandeur — *Aḻaku*'?.[51] Or, 'Is this in keeping with your characteristic feature — *paṉmai*'?.[52] Or, 'Is this the life worth the name — *vāḻkkaiyē*?.[53] Or, 'Is this proper and just — *takkatē*'?.[54] 'Will not your followers cry over pathetic sight of your wandering through many villages?', cries one.[55] Or, 'What will others say?'.[56] This line of thought is, therefore, valid as far as it goes and the poet concludes, the Lord reveals himself as the true principle to those who supplicate to Him saying, 'Why have you received alms'?[57] One pathetically exclaims, 'Will not your followers cry over this sight of your wandering through many villages'?.[58]

But this is only a *prima facie* view. The other hymns reveal the true essence of this picture. If this begging is not an occasional activity this must be so if its mystic significance is understood. 'He will never leave off going for alms', says one to the Lord.[59] It is, therefore, a never ending activity till the last soul is saved. He loves this eating of the alms and, therefore, He dances all through the night in the fire.[60] The dance and cosmic activity are thus connected with this begging of souls. The Lord goes for alms dancing.[61] Is not any act of His, a dance of the *Bhāratī* variety? The begging in the skull of the dead is His wealth and His great Tapas or Sacrifice — His crucifixion for us.[62] He revels in this. He goes to every door saying, 'Give me alms'.[63] He loves with all His heart the alms thrown at the door.[64] One who receives the alms, is the beggar — that is His name, and our poet has coined a phrase for this, "*Pali koḷḷi*".[65] He has no other food; His hunger for the love of souls is indeed so very much. He has no food except the common alms of the village for Him-

51. 7: 41: 9.
52. 7: 43: 3.
53. 7: 43: 7.
54. 7: 43: 8.
55. 7; 41: 2.
56. 7: 43: 10.
57. 7: 88: 9.
58. 7: 41: 2.
59. 7: 9: 1.
60. 7: 72: 2.
61. 7: 6: 3,
62. 7: 18: 7.
63. 7: 11: 5.
64. 7: 57: 2.
65. 7: 83: 5.

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self to eat and for others to distribute.[66] But He begs and distributes the alms received.[67] God comes in quest of love and once He finds it, it is repaid a thousand-fold. 'You receive the alms but you do not know any way of eating it', so says a woman.[68] That is because He does not know to withhold the love for Himself but He repays it all and more. Taken in this light, this form is no pretension but the true characteristic form of God. 'Oh! our prince of the true form assumed at every door merely for the remnants of the alms', so sings the poet.[69]

Therefore, the poet calls him, 'He whose characteristic feature is to go in quest of alms and eat whatever He gets'.[70] The word used here is '*Paṇpu*' — '*Paṇpuṭaiyāṉ*' and this word '*Paṇpu*' has a peculiar meaning of behaving befittingly after knowing the characteristic features of all those with whom one meets. The begging of love is thus a befitting act, befitting Him and befitting the environment of souls. This itself thus becomes the true test of divinity. The poet calls the Lord, "*Pali tērum Paramēṭṭi*[71] — 'Thou, Great Lord in quest of alms'. He is sure that the Lord who begs for alms at every door is the Lord, our master. There he sings in the hymn, 'I shall not deride you for this characteristic of begging which is after all befitting the world'.[72]

IX

It is now clear that this begging form has an esoteric significance and, therefore, the woman asks the Lord to explain this mystery. 'What is the significance of receiving alms'.[73] 'Why is this wandering on the bull for alms from house to house'?[74] 'What is this wandering, where you are so very much transformed'?[75] This transformation is that of the Lord becoming a beggar.

66. 7: 18: 5.
67. 7: 19: 8.
68. 7: 49: 5.
69. 7: 63: 8.
70. 7: 97: 4.
71. 7: 15: 3.
72. 7: 15: 8.
73. 7: 5: 6.
74. 7: 6: 3.
75. 7: 6: 6.

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CHAPTHR II

DAKSIṆĀMŪRTHI

I

Silence is the limit of true knowledge — "*Mōṉameṉpatu ñāṉa varampu*". This silence expresses the supreme peacefulness. It is a negation of all the worries and frenzied activities of the world. The Absolute is characterised by this supreme calmness and the *Vēdas* always wind up crying in joy: "*Ōm Śānti! Śānti! Śāntih!*". The Seers of India have visualized this form of supreme peacefulness and have given to it a concrete form, a form which has moved the hearts of great philosophers like Śaṇkara. He exclaims, "What a wonder of wonders! The Teacher is young; the students are hoary old men, and His teaching is but silence, and lo! all their doubts are cleared." This refers to the form of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, found in every Śiva temple in a niche on the southern wall. It is because He faces the south, He is known as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* or in Tamil, "*Teṉ mukam koṇṭa kaṭavuḷ*." As the Tamil Country including Ceylon where Tamil was spoken, was the southernmost Country then known, the Tamilians looked upon *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* — and *Naṭarāja*, who also faces south—as the Deity of their own.

II

The *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is traced to the Mohenjo-daro-Harappa civilization. One of the engraved seals found there is described by Marshall. Because of the importance of his remarks for the History of Śaivism, they are quoted in full: "The God who is three faced is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of *yōga*, with legs bent double beneath Him, heel to heel, and toes turned downwards. His arms are outstretched, His hands with thumbs to front, resting on His knees. From wrist to shoulder the arms are covered with bangles, eight smaller and three larger; over his breast is a triangular pectoral or perhaps a series of necklaces or torques, like those on the later class of Goddess figurines from Balūchistān; and round His waist a double band. The lower limbs are bare and the *phallus* seemingly exposed, but it is possible that what oppears to be the *phallus* is in reality the end of the waist band. Crowning His head is a pair of

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horns meeting in a tall head-dress. To either side of the God are four animals, an elephant and tiger on His proper right, a rhinoceros and buffalo on His left. Beneath the throne are two deer standing with heads regardant and horns turned to the centre".[1] In continuation, he says, "At the top of the seal is an inscription of seven letters, the last of which, for lack of room at the right-hand top corner, has been placed between the elephant and the tiger. From the foregoing, it will be seen, that the attributes of the deity are peculiarly distinctive. In the first place, He is three faced (*trimukha*), and we are at once reminded that in historic times Śiva was portrayed with one, three, four, or five faces and always with three eyes, and that the familiar triad, of Śiva, Brahma and Viṣṇu, is habitually represented by a three-faced image. Of the three-faced Śiva—that is Śiva without Brahma and Viṣṇu—there is a fine example among the ruined temples of Dēvāṅgaṇa near Mount Abu, and other examples are illustrated in T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, notably one at Mēlcēri, near Kāvērippākkam in the North Arcot District, another near the Gokak Falls in the Belgaum District, and a third at Chitorgarh in Udaipur State but in historic times the type was not a common one and may have been produced under the influence of the trimukha images representing the triad. Indeed, the question presents itself whether the three-faced deity on our Mohenjo-daro seal is not a syncretic form of three deities rolled in one. I do not mean by this that the philosophic idea of a triad associated with the doctrine of the absolute had taken shape at this early period, but simply that the cult of this particular god—call him Śiva or by whatever name we like—had been amalgamated with other cults, and that the fact was signified by giving him three faces instead of one. In support of this suggestion, it is to be recalled that the conception of the triad or trinity is a vely old one in India, though it was possibly not until the historic period that it assumed a philosophic aspect, and that it was equally old in Mesopotamia, where such triads as those of Sin, Shamash, and Ishtar or of Anu, Enlil, and Ea were long antecedent to the Aryans. In this three-faced God from Mohenjo-daro. therefore, it may be that the germ of the same idea is expressed. It is more likely, however, that in the first instance the god was provided with a plurality of faces in token

1. *Moh. Ind. Civ.*, page 52.

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of his all-seeing nature; that these images afterwards suggested the *trimūrtis* of Śiva, Brahma, and Viṣṇu; and that the latter in their turn subsequently inspired such images as those referred to above.

"The second feature of this pre-Aryan god that links him with the historic Śiva is his peculiar *Yōgi*-like posture, with feet drawn up beneath him, toes turned down, and hands extended above the knees. Śiva is pre-eminently the prince of *Yōgis*, the typical ascetic and self-mortifier, whence his names *Mahātapaḥ*, *Mahāyōgin*. Primarily, the purpose of *yōga* was the attainment of union with the god by mental discipline and concentration; but it was also the means of acquiring miraculous powers, and hence in course of time the *yōgi* came to be regarded as a magician, miracle-monger, and charlatan. Like Śaivism itself, *yōga* had its origin among the pre-Aryan population, and this explains why it was not until the Epic Period that it came to play an important role in Indo-Aryan religion. Even before the discovery of this seal, Rai Bahadur Rāmaprasad Chanda had pointed out that the head of the male statue from Mohenjo-daro illustrated in Pl. XCVIII has its eyes concentrated on the tip of the nose, and had concluded — with remarkable intution — that it was portrayed in an attitude of *yōga*. Probably it is the statue of a priest or may be of a king-priest, since it lacks the horns which would naturally be expected if it were a figure of the deity himself. That it possessed a religious or quasi-religious character is suggested by the distinctive trefoil patterning of its robe — a motif which in Sumer is reserved for objects of a sacral nature: A deity in the same *yōgi* attitude is also depicted on a small faience sealing from Mohenjo-daro,[2] but in this case there is a kneeling Nāga to either side of him with hands uplifted in prayer. Whether this deity is three-faced or not, the sealing is too defaced to show, but it is noteworthy that on another seal lately found at Mohenjo-daro a deity is portrayed in the same posture with one face only. As already remarked, Śiva may be represented with one, three, four, or more faces, but that his prehistoric prototype also had a variable number of faces obviously cannot be taken for granted. It may be that the god on all three seals is one and the same, but it may also be that the *yōga* attitude was transferred to other deities as well.

2. *Ibid.*, CXVI, 29 and CXVIII, 11.

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"Śiva is not only prince of *Yōgis*; he is also lord of the beasts (*paśupati*), and it is seemingly in reference to this aspect of his nature that the four animals — the elephant, tiger, rhinoceros, and buffalo — are grouped about him. In historic times the title *paśupati* meant "lord of cattle", and by analogy *paśu* was applied to the human herds of which Śiva was the herdsman; but in the *Vēdic* hymns *paśu* signified a beast of the jungle, and it may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that at that time the deity was regarded as master of wild, no less than of tame animals. Rudra, the *Vēdic* God, whose cult was amalgamated and identified with that of Śiva, also bore the title of *paśupati*, and this may conceivably have been one of the reasons for identifying him with Śiva. An instructive parallel to this aspect of the deity is furnished by the nameless god and goddess of Minoan Crete, who are frequently figured on the monuments in company with lions or leopards and have come to be known as the master and mistress of animals. The Anatolian Cybele, too, who is analogous to the Great Mother *Mahādēvī* — the consort of Śiva — was similarly supported by lions.

"Still another attribute that helps to connect this unknown God with Śiva, though it does not amount to actual evidence of identity, is the pair of horns crowning his head. Similar horns appear on the heads of various figures at Mohenjo-daro,[3] as well as on the terra-costa masks figured in Pl. XCV, 1-3. In these cases there can be little doubt that the horns have a special sacred significance. In Pl. XII, 18 and 22, they are certainly the emblem of the deity; in other cases they seem to have been transferred to the priest or possibly to the votary. Precisely the same practice obtained at this period in Sumer and Babylonia, where horns were commonly used to denote the deity, but were also worn by kings or priests, presumably because they were regarded as incarnations or representatives of the horned gods. Such horns, therefore, must not be regarded as the attribute of any particular deity or used as an argument for associating one deity with another. On the other hand, this particular pre-Āryan emblem of divinity, although not generally adopted by the *Vēdic Āryan*, did not entirely die out. In later days it took the form of the *triśūla* or trident, and in that guise continued to be a special attribute of Śiva, though it was subsequently usurped by other

3. c.g. *Ibid.*, Pls. XII, 18, 22, and XIII, 17.

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sects as well; notably by the Buddhists, with whom it stood for the Trinity of the three jewels (*triratna*). This emblem, therefore, while of itself proving nothing definite nevertheless provides another link in the chain which connects Śiva with the pre-*Āryan* religion, and to this extent supports his identification with the deity of the seal.

"Finally, there remain the deer or ibexes beneath the seat of the god. Two deer in a like position are portrayed on many mediaeval images of Śiva, especially when he appears in the form of *Dakṣiṇamūrti* or *Yōgadakṣiṇāmūrti*; and a deer (*mṛga*) held in one of his hands is a frequent attribute of the god in other manifestations. The two deer beneath the throne recall, of course, the familiar deer beneath the Buddha's throne in the *dharmacakra* scene, where they are symbolic of the deer-park, in which the first sermon was preached; and so common, indeed, was this motif in early Buddhist India, that we might well have been excused for supposing that it was borrowed by the Śaivites from the Buddhists. It now becomes evident, however, that the motif was long anterior to Buddhism, and it seems not improbable that the Buddhists themselves adopted it, as they adopted so much else, from the popular religion of the day, as being peculiarly associated with the *Yogi* or the Teacher type already long established by the Saivites."[4]

III

The *Purāṇic* story as found in Tamil *Kantapurāṇam* based on the *Śaṅkara Saṁhita* of *Mahā Skānda Purāṇa* is as follows: The Mother Goddess, born as the daughter of *Dakṣa*, gave that form away, enraged at the insult of *Dakṣa* hurled on Her and Her husband. She lay down Herself as a child to be picked up by the Mountain-king *Himavān*. In the meantime, Śiva in *Kailās* seated Himself under a banyan tree (*Ficus dalhouseae*) *'kallaāl*. The sons of Brahma, the four great *ṛṣis Sanaka, Sananda, Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra* came to Him; and He took them to that secret place for conferring on them the highest knowledge and bliss. The teacher and the taught were realising these supreme bliss of the Absolute. The whole world remained unmoved by any rufflings of the heart or lust. It looked as though creation had stopped. No child was born. The daughter of Himavān was performing tapas for winning the hands and heart of Śiva. The *Dēvas* were

4. *Moh. Ind Civ.*, pp.53-55.

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suffering under the grinding tyranny of *Sūrapadma*. It was foretold to them that a child born to Śiva could alone kill this demon and restore peace. To bring about a union of the Mother-Goddess and Father-God, the *Dēvas* sent *Kāma* to kindle the passion in the heart of Śiva. It is before this great *Yōgi* of a God, teaching the *ṛṣis* to experience the highest bliss, that *Kāma*, much against his wish, went, only to be burnt to ashes.

IV

It is this form of the God, expounding the highest truth to the *ṛṣis*, that is called the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form. It is the form of the great teacher. It has come to be generalized thus: "Therefore we have a teacher of *Yōga*, a teacher of *Jñāna*, a teacher of Music and a teacher of *Śāstras* (*Books and Arts*)." This gives us four forms: *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, *Viṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti*.

The *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, according to the *Āgamas*, is found in three forms. In the first form, the legs are found crossed one over the other such that the soles are turned upside in what is called the *svastikāsana*. The front righ hand holds the *yōga mudrā* near the chest. The front left hand rests on the lap. The back right hand holds the *akṣamālā* and the back left hand, a lotus. The sight is fixed on the tip of the nose. A few *jāṭās* hang over the shoulders. Here, we find *ṛṣis* surrounding Him.

In the second form, the right leg hangs down, whilst the left leg is bent as in the '*utkuṭikāsana*'. The *yōgapaṭṭa* surrounds the body and the left leg. The stretched out front left arm rests by its elbow on the knee of the bent left leg. Otherwise this form is like the first.

In the third form, both the legs are bent and crossed and kept more or less vertically whilst a *yōgapaṭṭa* goes round the body and the legs to keep them in position. The front arms rest stretched out on the respective knees. The back hands hold an *akṣamālā* on the right and a water pot on the left. The *jaṭās* are disposed in the form of *jaṭāmaṇḍala* and in it are the crescent moon, a snake, and other objects.

The *Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is the same form as the *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. But here, the back right hand holds the *akṣmālā* and the back left hand a water lily, whilst the-front right hand and left hand are held in *jñānamudrā* and *abhaya* or *daṇḍa* poses respectively.

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The *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, as the teacher of music, is called *Gāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* by *Kāmikāgama*. The front hands are held *sarpākāra*, the right palm faces downwards whilst the left faces upwards. The left arm is held at a higher level and the right arm is held at a lower level. This is the pose required for holding the '*Vīṇā*' whose sound-box rests on the right thigh. The lower right hand manipulates its strings. The *vīṇā* itself is held at the top by the left hand and at the lower end by the right hand. The *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* keeps the left leg as in '*utkuṭikā*' pose. The two front hands hold the '*vīṇā*'; otherwise this form is like the *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form.

The *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is seated under a banyan tree on a set of tiger's skin or on a *padmāsana*. The right leg hangs down straight; the left leg is bent and it rests on the right thigh, as in '*vīrāsana*'. The right leg may or may not be resting on an '*apasmāra puruṣa*'. There are four hands, the front right is held in *cinmudrā* or *saṁdaṁśa* pose and the front left hand is kept in a *varada* pose resting upon the left knee. Sometimes this is held straight in the *daṇḍa* pose when the elbow rests on the left knee. In the back right hand is the *akṣamālā*. In the corresponding left hand, there is fire or snake. The hand held in *varada* pose may hold a book and the other left hand may hold a snake, fire, a lotus or a *nīlōtpala* (*blue lily*). The body is rigid, without any bend, in the upright posture of a *yōgi*. In the *jaṭā*, there are *datura* and other wild flowers, and a serpent on the left, the skull, the crescent moon and small bells on the right, whilst the smiling *Gaṅgā* is in the centre. The face shows no mental perturbation. His sight is fixed on the tip of the nose or on the tip of the toe. The *ṛṣis* are surrounding Him, eager to learn. Their names are given in many different ways: *Kāmikāgama* beginning to enumerate seven *ṛṣis* specifically refers only to five: *Kauśika*, *Kaśyapa*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Atri* and *Gautama*. Some *Āgamas* refer only to four: *Agastya*, *Pulastya*, *Viśvāmitra* and *Āṅgiraśa*. Others give the names of seven *ṛṣis*: *Nārada*, *Jamadagni*, *Vasiṣṭa*, *Bhṛgu*, *Bhāradvāja*, *Śanaka* and *Agastya*. There are *kinnaras* and *dēvas*.

In some cases, *Vīṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is found in a standing posture, as in the Madras Museum image.

V

Coming to the sculptures of the age of Ārūrar, we find various representations of this form in the Kailāsanātha temple. In the

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interior of the small court, *Rea* describes[5] two panels thus: "The panel to the right is a large one, and has a sculptured group of twelve sages, who seem to be listening to the exhortations of the philosophic Śiva (*Dakṣiṇāmūrti*), who is represented seated under a banyan tree in a panel opposite this one, on the south side wall of the central shrine in this court. The panel, with the sages, occupies a position on the south wall of the court, and the two panels exactly face each other. The ingenious arrangement is adopted on the opposite side of this court, and also on the north and the south sides of the large *vimāna*".

Lower down, in the same page,[6] he refers to a large panel opposite to the large one noted on the south side. He writes: "The subject is much the same in both cases; in this panel eleven seated sages are listening to the exhortations of Śiva, who is represented in a panel on the north side of the central shrine. He is armed with different symbolical weapons, and seems to be preaching war".

On page 28, Rea describes the exterior of the *Mahēndravarmēśvaragṛham*: "On the south side of this shrine is the large panel (before referred to), as being opposite the sculptured group of twelve sages. It represents the figure of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, or Śiva in His *yōgi* seat, under a banyan tree. He has four hands: in the upper right is a noose; and in one of the left is a serpent. His hair is matted; and His knees are bound together with a cloth. In the same panel are a male, and a female and two deer".

"Over the niche is a central figure of Gaṇapati...On each side of the large panel is a set of three small ones; in the right lower are two figures seated cross-legged; they have matted hair, and are seemingly *yōgis*; the panel over has a lion and two *gandharvas*; the top panel has a musician playing to amuse Śiva.

"The lowest of the three panels—on the left on the central one—has two figures, one of which is a *yōgi*, with beard, matted hair and crown; the upper tier of panels is similar to the right side".

5. *Pallava Architecture*, p. 26.
6. *Rea*, p. 26.

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"The north side has a design similar in its main features and grouping, to the south side. The principal figure is Śiva, but, in this case, He is shown in fierce attitude, armed with numerous symbolical weapons, and seemingly preaching war to His disciples seated in the panel directly opposite. He has eight hands; the upper right and left support an elephant's skin over His head; in the right, and drum, club and trident; one of the left touches His crown; another has a noose, and the lowest is empty. Over the figure is a row of *gandharvas*".

Describing the inner court, *Mr. Rea* notices that the central panel has Śiva as a *yōgi* with an attendant on right and left.[7]

Coming to the *Ardhamaṇḍapam*, on the south outside face of the shrine is Śiva as *yōgi* seated under a tree. He has four arms: in one of His left is a torch; beside Him are birds, two deer and a snake under. The panel is supported on an elephant's head. The side panels have *yōgis* under, with *yāḷis* and ornament on top: This is given in plate No. LXII. On the north side of the central shrine, on the north facade of the *vimāna*, is Śiva in *yōgāsana* seated over a *bhūta*: these are supported on an elephant. The lower side panels have worshipping figures of Brahma on Śiva's right, and Viṣṇu on His left. In the two upper side panels are a *yāḷi* and rider: This is given in plate No. LV, fig. 2.

Among the cell sculptures also, we have representations of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. In cell No. XVI, Śiva, according to Mr. Rea, is found in *yōgāsana* resting on the shoulders of a devotee, whilst two *yōgis* sit in meditation, on what seem to be clouds. This is found in plate No. XXXV, figure 1.

Between cells Nos. XXII and XXIII, there is a *yōgi* with four attendants. In the XXXV cell, Śiva is found seated in *yōgasana* under a banyan tree; His right leg rests on a a deer; two *gandharvas* are held up on each side in His hands; too *yōgis* kneel under: This is found in plate No. XL, figure 1. The space between cells XXXV and XXXVI represents eleven *yōgiṣ* seated in a row on a platform, on the right side of which is a panel with Pārvatī under a tree. All these three give the story of Pārvatī's tapas and Śiva's *yōga*.

7. *Rea*, p. 29.

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There is one thing very startling about *Kea's* description of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. He interprets the expression as a sermon inciting war.[8] The *Purāṇas* give nowhere any such hint. Hence Mr. Gopinatha Rao dismisses this interpretation with the remark, "Such mistakes are fairly common in Rea's publications and hence need no serious refutation".[9]

The surface of the stone wherein this form was sculptured had peeled off, leaving a disfigured sculpture. It is because of this disfiguration, *Rea* must have been misled into this kind of wrong interpretation. In addition to this, sometimes, replastering had been done in later ages by people who could not make out the exact nature of the injured sculptures. Mr. Gopinatha Rao suggests that this must have been in this way, that the lotus, required by the *Āgamas* to be in the hand of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, had been replaced by a later day artist by a torch.[10]

Plate XXXV, fig. 1, (*Rea*), gives us the picture of *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti* — the third mode of its representations as described above.

Plate LV, fig. 2, (*Rea*), is a similar *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. The description of this figure as given by Rea had already been noted.

Plate CXI, fig. 2, (*Rea*), gives a similar sculpture in a panel on the North side of the *Tripurāntakēśvara* temple. The *Saṅkha* and *Cakra* found in the hands of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* are evidently wrong.

The second form of *Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti* which may be easily recognized with the help of the *yōgapaṭṭa* surrounding the left leg is found in plate XL, fig. 1, and in plate LXII. The latter appears as plate LXXVII and the former more or less as plate LXXVIII in Hindu Iconography,[11] which Mr. Gopinatha Rao describes as follows: "In this sculpture Śiva has His left leg bent and resting vertically on the seat and this leg and the body are bound together by the *yogāpaṭṭa*. The front right hand is held in the *yōgamudrā* pose, while the front left hand is in the *abhayo* pose.

8. *Rea, p.* 26.
9. P. 288, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, V. II, pt. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 287.
11. Vol. II, Part I.

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The back right hand keeps an *akṣamālā* and the back left hand, *agni* or a lotus flower. The right leg is hanging down the seat. Śiva is as in the previous instances, seated under the shade of a banyan tree and below His seat are deer lying, with their heads lifted up to Śiva. Below His right elbow is a cobra with an uplifted hood, also gazing at the enchanting figure of Śiva. Above the head of Śiva are seen seated a pair of *bhūtas* on either side. On three niches situated on either side respectively of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* are *ṛṣis* sitting and listening to the preaching of *Dharma* or *Yōga* by Śiva. The image, whose photograph is reproduced as plate LXXVIII, is almost similar to that on plate LXXVII; the back right hand, in this instance, carries a cobra. *Dakṣināmūrti* is seen sitting here upon a *bhadrapīṭha* placed upon a hill."[12]

Plate XL, fig. 1, in *Rea*, is more or less similar to the plate LXXVIII of *Hindu Iconography*. The background of the banyan tree is visible. In *Rea*, there, *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is holding what appears to be a hatchet on the left back hand. The left front hand seems to be holding the *yōga mudra*. There is the cobra with the uplifted hood on the right side. There are two *ṛṣis* sitting under His feet; the form of the deer is also visible.

Forms of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* described by Rea as preaching to the *ṛṣis* may be taken as *Vyākhyāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti* or *Jñāna Dakṣiṇāmūrti*.

Coming to the *Viṇādhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, fortunately, we have one representation of this form in a sculpture of the Kailāsanātha temple. Plate XLIII, fig. 2, gives a drawing of this sculpture. Rea describes it as follows: "Śiva stands with his left foot raised, and resting on a pedestal; He holds a musical instrument across His body. Two devotees — one with knotted hair, and the other bearded — stand on His left. Two bulls are seen — on the left of Śiva — ascending the sky, with Śiva and Pārvatī on each".[13]

Those who are riding the bulls must be taken to be, two out of the eleven *Rudras*. There is also a third figure behind the two *ṛṣis*. All the three seem to be dancing in joy to the tune of the music played on the '*Viṇā*' by Lord Śiva. There is an umbrella above the crown of Śiva. It is not clear what the back arms are

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 287-288.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 35.

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holding. The front arms are held in the *kaṭaka* pose holding the musical instrument: the left arm is holding its upper end and the right arm is probably playing on the instrument near its sound box. Except for the standing posture, this tallies with the *Āgamic* description; and the tradition of South Indian temples seem to favour this standing posture as may be seen from the *Vīṇdhara Dakṣiṇāmūrti* found in the Madras Museum and at Vaṭaraṅkam which are all in standing posture.

IV

Marshall's suggestion that this *yōgi's* form of Śiva is probably as old as Indus valley civilization as has already been mentioned. The intimate connection of Śaivism with *yōgic* practices from the *Vēdic* age has been referred to when describing the *Dakṣa yajña* elsewhere. The *munis* and *kēsins* of *Ṛg Vēda* are associated with *Rudras*. The *Kaivalya Upaniṣad* speaks of the *yōgi*. The cult of *guru* is found developed even in *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad*, *Śvētāsvatara* being the *guru*. In the *Mahābhārata*, we see this cult taking a firm root and Kṛṣṇa is initiated into Śaivism by Upamanyu.

Dakṣiṇāmūrti as the Lord of the banyan tree is as old as the *Caṅkam* Literature. He is often connected with Muruka, the Tamil God, as His son. The *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* sings of Him as "*Āl keḻu kaṭavuḷ*.[14] "*Āl amar celvaṉ*"[15] — seems to be the popular term of the God in the *Caṅkam Age*. *Puṟam.*, 198:9 mentions, "*Ālamar kaṭavul*".

It will be seen that He is described as being rich and it is because of this that the poet of *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, *Pēricāttaṉār*, compares the wealth of his patron Pāṇṭiya Naṉmāṟaṉ to this God.[16] This tradition of peculiar wealth of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* seems to have been current during the time of Ārūrar also, who sings of Him as "*Āl niḻal kiḻ iruntaruḷum celvaṉ*".[17]

'*Āy*', one of seven Tamil patrons is remembered even today for his artistic appreciation of the form of this Lord which

14. 1. 256.
15. *Ciṟupāṇ*: 1. 97; *Kali*, vv. 81, 83; *Māṇi.*, *Cilap.*, *Kaṭṭurai kātai*, — 1. 91; *Kuṟiñjakkuravai*, 14: 3.
16. *Puṟam.*, 198.
17. 7: 70: 3.

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inspired this patron to make a gift of a costly silk presented to him by the *Nāgas* to the God.[18]

Cilappatikāram mentions a brahmin boy who bore the name *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* and who conquered others in a learned debate. He is mentioned as "*Ālmar celvaṉ peyarkoṇṭu vaḷarntōṉ*".[19] Therefore, by that time, the name of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* must have gained great currency in the land.

In the age of *Tēvāram*, this cult of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, as the cult of the great teacher of *Yōga*, *Jñāna* and of all kinds of learning and Arts, seems to have become fully developed. If *Naṭarāja* represents the bliss of the Absolute *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* represents the knowledge aspect as unperturbed peace and silence.

VII

We have' '*Ālakkōyil*",[20] of 'Kaccūr' in the Chingleput District. Ārūrar addresses the Lord, "*Kōlakkōyil kuṟaiyāk kōyil kuḻirpūṅ kaccūr vaṭapālai ālak kōyil kallāl niḻarkīḻ aṟaṅkaḷ uraitta ammāṉē*"[21]—'Oh! Thou father! who expounded the *Dharmas* under the shade of the banyan tree in the "*Ālakkāyil*" in the northern part of the cool and beautiful Kaccūr, that beautiful temple, that temple without any want". Probably in the age of Ārūrar, there was a famous representation of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form in the temple of "*Ālakkōyil*".

It looks as though that the tradition as found crystallized to day had not taken that final form in the age of *Tēvāram*. *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is found all alone without the Mother Goddess on His side. But, Campantar speaks of our Lord who expounds the Vēdas seated himself under a banyan tree along with the Lady of the crescent forehead.[22]

Plate XLI, fig, 2, in *Rea*, gives the representation of Śiva and Pārvatī. Śiva is seated there. There is *akṣamāla* in the right back hand and probably *cinmudra* in the left front hand. The left leg, instead of the right leg, is hanging down and the right leg is crossed over it. The right front arm is resting straight on

18. *Ciṟupān.*, II 96-99.
19. *Cilap., Kaṭṭurai kātai, l.* 91.
20. 7: 41.
21. 7: 41: 3.
22. 2: 85: 4

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the seat. There is Brahma beneath the seat. *Yogapaṭṭam* is seen binding the right leg on the body. It is this which makes us suspect that this is something similar to what Campantar describes in his form. Rea describes here Śiva as a *yōgi*.[23] But Ārūrar speaks of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* as '*Aṟavaṉ*'.[24] This word '*Aṟavaṉ*', thanks to *Tiruk kuraḷ*, has come to denote an ascetic or a *sanyāsin*, the '*nīttār*'—"*Antaṇar eṉpōr aṟavōr*".[25]

The number of *ṛṣis* or saints, who were taught by *Dakṣiṇāmurti*, has not reached the definiteness of the later days. In the Kailāsanātha temple sculptures, we saw in a few cases eleven *ṛṣis* and in a few others twelve *ṛṣis* undergoing spiritual training under *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. Rea's plate No. LXII has four saints, two on either side of the panel. In plate LV, fig. 2, there are only two attendants with *añjaḷi* pose. In Plate XL, fig. 1, there are only two *ṛṣis*. This number two becomes important in view of Campantar's poem[26] where he speaks of the great Lord who expounded the *Vēdas* and the path of righteousness when the two persons fell sincerely at his pair of feet beneath the shadow of the beautiful banyan tree.

In the *Āgamas*, we find the same variety of numbers. Some give the number as seven, some as four; even here, when the names are enumerated, they differ. It was stated that some *Āgamas* give the number as four; but as already pointed out, this four is not *Sanaka*, *Sananda*, *Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra*, but *Agastya*, *Pulastya*, *Viśvāmitra* and *Āṅgīraśa*.

By the time of Jñānasambandar, the number four was gaining strength. Out of the seven places in which he refers to the Lord of the teacher, he does not mention any number in four places;[27] he speaks of the saints as '*antaṇāḷar*' or '*muṉivar*' in the plural. Ārūrar also refers to them as '*antaṇar*'.[28] In one place, as already hinted, Campantar mentions the number as two.[29] But in two places, he speaks of the *ṛṣis* as four—'*nālvar*'.[30]

24. Page 34.
25. 7: 68: 7; 7: 70: 6.
25. *Kuṟaḷ*, V. 30.
26. 1: 20; 5.
27. 1: 53: 6; 1: 68: 6; 1: 131: 7; 3: 79: 3.
28. 7: 55: 7.
29. 1: 20: 5.
30. 1: 48: 1; 2: 50: 6.

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VIII

Ārūrar, in about 38 places, refers to the expounding of the *Vēdas*, etc. Ārūrar speaks of these *ṛṣis* as 'the group of great tapasvins'—"*Mātavar kuḻu*"[31] and 'great *munis* of rare *tapas*'—"*Aruntava mā muṉivar*"[32] and '*Antaṇar*'[33] giving no number in all these places. But in two places, he mentions the saints as four '*Nālvarkku*'.[34]

What he taught the saints is mentioned variously. It is because of this, we have the various forms of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. Campantar speaks of the Lord expounding the *Vēdas*, the subtle thoughts of the *Vēdas* along with the *Dharma*.[35] In another place he speaks of the Lord expounding the *Vēdas* where shines the *Dharma*;[36] in another place he is said to have expounded the *Dharma* as the *Vēda*.[37] In a fourth place, he speaks of the Lord expounding '*Aṟam nāṉku*'—'the Dharmas four' sitting along with the saints. The *Aram nāṉku*' is still further explained in another hymns.[38] '*Aṟam nāṉku*' is nothing except the '*Aṟam, Poruḷ, Iṉpam* and *Vīṭu*', the *puruṣārthas*. These were expounded to the *ṛṣis*, whose minds ever thinking of the significance of Śiva form, were no slaves to the five senses.[39] He is spoken of as the auther of all the religions and philosophies— "*Camayaṅkaḷai vakuttavaṉ*".[40]

Ārūrar speaks of the Lord as one who gave out the *Vēdas* especially *Śāmavēda*; "*Maṟaiyōti*",[41] "*Vēdamōti*",[42] "*Sāmavēda mōti*",[43] "*Māmaṟai pāṭavallān*",[44] "*Nāṉmaṟai pāṭavallāṉ*",[45] "*Śāmavēdam peritukappāṉ*,"[46] and "*Pāṭiya nāṉmaṟaiyaṉ*".[47] This may

31. 7: 65: 6.
32. 7: 99: 2.
33. 7: 55: 7.
34. 7: 28: 3; 7: 68: 7.
35. 1: 20: 5; 2: 50: 6: 3: 79: 3.
36. 1: 131: 7.
37. 1: 48: 1.
38. 1: 53: 6.
39. 1: 53: 6.
40. 3: 79: 3.
41. 7: 1: 9; 7: 15: 6; 7: 54: 9.
42. 7: 49: 7:
43. 7: 49: 5.
44. 7: 56: 4.
45. 7: 57: 10.
46. 7: 61: 6.
47. 7: 98: 4.

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refer to *Dakṣiṇamūrti* form or to the fact that the Lord is the author of the *Vēdas*. In other places, the poet makes it clear that the Lord expounded the *Vēdas* under the banyan tree—"*Maṟai nāṉkum kallāl niḻal kīḻ-p paṉṉiya eṉkaḷ pirāṉ*",[48] or that he elaborately expounded the *Vēdas*—"*Maṟai nāṉkum virittukantīr*",[49] "*Vēdantāṉ virittōtavallāṉ*"[50] and also "*Nāṉmaṟai nūl urai peruka uraittu*".[51] In these places, the reference must be to *Dakṣiṇamūrti*, the teacher because, these references assume the teacher, commenting elaborately in the subtle and fundamental principles of the *Vēdas*. Whenever the verb '*uraittal*' or '*pakartal*' or '*kūṟutal*' is found, we can assume a reference to teaching as contrasted with the verb '*ōtu*' or '*pāṭu*'. The teacher expounds not only the *Vēdas* but all the subsidiary sciences related to the *Vēdas* called its '*aṅgas*'; He is a great expert in them".[52] The Lord expounds also the *Āgamas*.[53] Here it is stated that they have been expounded to the *Dēvas*, evidently meaning the *Dēva ṛṣis*. God is great in showering grace on those who follow the path of *Āgamas*.[54] Ārūrar also refers to this great teacher expounding the *Dharma*.[55] This *Dharma* is used in a wider sense. We have seen Jñānasambandar speak of the four *puruṣarthas* as four '*aṟam*'. The Buddhists also speak of *Dharma* in a wider sense as to include the attainment of '*nirvāṇam*'. It is in that sense that Tiruvaḷḷuvar has used '*aṟam*' under which head he speaks of the true experience of '*meyyuṇarvu*', etc. In this sense, God is not only the embodiment of the *Vēdas* and the subsidiary sciences,[56] but also the embodiment of '*aṟam*'—'*aṟavaṉ*'.[57] We have seen Campantar referring to the Lord as the author of all philosophies and religions.

Ārūrar speaks of '*Aṟam*' or *Dharma* in the plural as '*Aṟaṅkaḷ*,[58] perhaps having in mind Campantar's phrase '*Aṟam nāṉku*' above

48. 7: 22: 1.
49. 7: 25: 4.
50. 7: 61: 7.
51. 7: 99: 5.
52. 7: 61: 5; 7: 63: 4; 7: 73: 3.
53. 7: 84: 8.
54. 7: 96: 6:
55. 7: 28: 3; 7: 41: 3; 7: 55: 7; 7: 65: 6; 7: 68: 7; 7: 99: 2.
56. 7: 62: 2.
57. 7: 68: 7.
58. 7: 41: 3.

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referred to. If we bear in mind such usage as Buddha *Dharma*, *Dharmōpadēsa*, etc., it will be clear that '*Aṟam*' may be used in the use of philosophy or religion, and the use of the word '*Aram*' in the plural may refer to these.

Ārūrar speaks in one place as the Lord expounding everything, the four *Vēdas*, all the other things that exist, the various paths, the various Lords of the hymns, the ancient things and all that is good.[59] Here we see *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* developing the teacher of all sciences and arts and of all that can be conceived of.

IX

The description of the saints may be next noted. They are referred to as "*Antaṇar*'—'the brahmins' or according to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 'the ascetics of the kind heart'. They are described as "*Kōtil mātavar*",[60]—'the great *tapasvins*' without any chaff or defect. We have already referred to their description as '*Antaṇar*'. In another place they are described as "*Aruntava māmuṉivar*"—"the great *munis* of rare *tapas*."[61] These '*antaṇas*' are described as "*Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar*".[62] The length of the ear may be explained as referring to their extensive learning. '*Pōrtta*' or covered ear may be interpreted to signify their concentration so keen as to shut out all other detractions as though they were keeping the ears closed. The same idea is conveyed in another verse of Ārūrar by the phrase '*Kātu pottar*'—'those who close their ears'.[63] The inscription of Rājarāja describing the image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* installed by him in his great Tanjore temple,[64] speaks of "*Karṇa prāvṛtas*". They are the '*Karṇa prāvaraṇas*' mentioned in the *Vālmīki Rāmāyana*. This word appears in the *Kiṣkinda Kāṇḍa*[65] as the name of a savage hill-tribe described by Sugrīva whilst sending the *vānaras* in search of Sīta, and in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa*,[66] as the description of some of the *Rāksasīs* guarding *Śīta* in the *Aśoka vana* as seen by Hanumān from a tree. They are said to have ears which they can close whenever

59. 7: 75: 1.
60. 7: 65: 6.
61. 7: 99: 2,
62. 7: 55: 7.
63. 7: 65: 6.
64. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, 50.
65. XL: 25.
66. XVII: 5.

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they wanted,[67] or, those whose ears are so large that they use them as a covering of the head.[68] But this name is used by Ārūrar to the worshippers concentrated in their meditation, taking the word in its *yōga* significance or in its full connotation. He speaks of '*Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar*' as '*Antaṇar*' who received the message from *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*.[69]

The God expounded and explained the truth and the verbs used in relation to this by Ārūrar are significant. The first root is '*Paṟ*',[70] which means to repeat or to speak many times. As a good teacher, the Lord must have been repeating the *Vēdas* for the clear grasp of the essentials. The next verb is '*Virittal*' or elaboration.[71] Here, the Lord is said to love or be great in this elaboration. The elaboration is necessary for clarification. As a good teacher He is not tired of it; identifying with the students, He loves it. "*Aruḷ purital*" is another verb used by the poet, emphasising the infinite grace of the Absolute taking form and shape, expounding the truth of the *Dharma*,[72] '*Uraitta*'[73] '*Uraippar*'[74] '*Uraittu*'[75]—All these come from the root '*Urai*' which as assumed a special significance in the learned world. The noun form means a commentary and therefore the verbal root means the comment. Ārūrar makes it clear in one place where he speaks of the Lord, commenting elaborately on the four *Vēdas*—"*Urai peruka uraittu*",[76] and the poet adds that the Lord enjoyed it and thus showered His grace. Another verb used by the poet is '*Kūṟu*',[77] which implies oral teaching, in the course of a conversation and the poet adds, the Lord has made the *Vēdas*, etc., crystal clear to the students. The root '*Moḻi*'[78] has the same significance.

67. See the interpretation of Govindarāja on Kiṣkinda Kāṇḍa, XL: 25—"*Ācchātita karnāh*", i.e., "*Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyar*" or "*Kātu pottar*" of Ārūrar.

68. See the interpretation of Govindaraja on *Sundara Kāṇḍa*, XVII: 5, "*Karṇau prāvvranē śirasa ācchādakau yasyāh sā karṇaprāvaraṇa tām*".

69. 7: 55: 7.

70. 7: 22: 1.

71. 7: 25: 4.

72. 7: 28: 2.

73. 7: 41: 3; 7: 68: 7.

74. 7: 53: 9.

75. 7: 99: 5:

76. 7: 99: 5.

77. 7: 63: 4.

78. 7: 84: 8.

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The root '*Pakar*'[79] has the meaning of giving and declaring and this is used by the poet and it therefore implies the solemn declaration of the fundamental principles and in this connection the poet speaks of the Lord as '*Paṭṭaṉ*'[80] or the 'learned scholar' usually famous for His commentary. The root '*Aṟai*'[81] has the same significance of a solemn announcement or an emphatic declaration, or a clear enunciation and this word is used with reference to the *Vēdas*, various arts, etc., as already referred to. The word *Ceppa*'[82] also is used which denotes answering a question. According to the *Pūṟāṇas*, the Lord dispelled the doubts which arose in the minds of the *ṛṣis* and the word '*Ceppa*' brings out the significance of an oral discussion with the students. The word '*Puri*'[83] means according to Parimēlaḻakar always saying a thing[84] and Ārūrar asks the Lord, why He has become naturalized so as to be always speaking of '*Dharma*' seated under the banyan tree to shower His blessings on the great saints.[85] The *Purāṇas* also state that apart from this kind of oral teaching, there is a much more wonderful teaching by silence and contemplation. This is probably what the poet means when he says that our Lord has Himself become the *Vēdas*, etc.[86]

X

All the authorities agree, that the Lord taught under the banyan tree especially the variety called '*Kallāl*',[87] and of the banyan tree in general.[88] All are also agreed that He is seated and our poet signifies this idea by using the verb '*Iruntu*'.[89] He is with the loin cloth and the serpent tied round.[90] The varieties of versions with reference to the number of saints who have been taught have already been referred to. The authorities also make

79. 7: 68: 9.
80. 7: 66: 9.
81. 7: 75: 1.
82. 7: 70: 3.
83. 7: 99: 2.
84. *Kuṟaḷ*, 5.
85. 7: 99: 2.
86. 7: 62: 2.
87. 7: 2: 5; 7: 22: 1; 7: 31: 7; 7: 41: 3; 7: 47: 8.
88. 7: 3: 6; 7: 28: 3; 7: 55: 7; 7: 65: 6; 7: 75: 3.
89. 7: 99: 2.
90. 7: 99: 5.

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it clear that '*Kinnaras*', '*Dēvas*' and others adore His speeches. From the time or Mohenjo-daro, we find various animals surrounding this representation of a great teacher, bringing out the force of the description of the Lord '*Paśupati*'. Our poet uses this representation for preaching his theory of Lord's grace. He speaks of his being inspired to take refuge in the Lord by the story he heard of those who had erred—people who close their ears to the world, the *kinnaras*, the tiger, the snakes that bite, the lious which could not be easily caught, the group of *tapasvins*—all those attaining happiness when the Lord under the beautiful banyan tree expounded the *Dharma* in their very hearing.[91]

XI

The *Vīṇādhara* is not mentioned with reference to the banyan tree by Ārūrar. Our poet however refers to the Lord playing on the '*Vīṇā*' in four places. In one place, he asks, 'Is He the Lord of the *Vēdas*, and *Vīṇā* alone His musical instrument?'[92] In another place he addresses the Lord as the pure one, who is possessed of a '*Vīṇā*'.[93] In a third place he enumerates all the musical instruments along with the '*Vīṇā*' and addresses the Lord as one who stands, sings and dances to their tune.[94] In the fourth reference he addresses the Lord as coming in the street with the flowing matted hair and appearing beautiful with His '*Vīṇā*'.[95] We have already referred to the Lord playing on the '*Vīṇā*' when the whole universe is involved in Him as sung by Appar. The mention of '*Koṭukoṭṭi*' in the first two references above mentioned, denotes that our poet also is referring the dance of the final destruction. The fourth reference is to the Lord coming begging in the streets.[96] Sambandar speaks of the Lord playing on the '*Vīṇā*' in the company of the Mother Goddess.[97] We have already seen when describing the *Ardhanārīśvara* form that there is a sculpture at the Kailasanātha temple where this *Ardhanārīśvara* form is found playing on the '*Vīṇā*'.

91. 7: 65: 6.
92. 7: 33: 5.
93. 7: 42: 9.
94. 7: 36: 9.
95. 7: 85: 6.
96. 7: 85: 3 & 6.
97. 2: 85: 1.

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In the third reference above mentioned the poet speaks of the Lord dancing along with the musical instruments like '*Viṇā*' and we have already seen that our poet speaks of the Lord dancing in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form and going a-begging in that form when the fourth reference also may be taken to refer to that form.

This story of the great teacher expounding the *Dharma* under the banyan tree has also an esoteric meaning and our poet raises the question in two places, "Why has the Lord done this? What is the significance of this?"[98]

The esoteric significance of this form has been explained in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Upaniṣad*. According to the explanation given there, '*Dakṣṭṇā*' is '*Jñāna* or knowledge' and it is in front of the Lord, and therefore He is called *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. The '*Apasmāra*' is the personification of ignorance which the Lord crushes down under. The book in His hand is the embodiment of wisdom illuminating our soul. The *akṣamāla* is the concrete form of the *tattvas*. The *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form is the Absolute bliss. The banyan tree, with its shade, represents *Māyā*. His seat, the '*kamalāsana*' or the lotus seat is the symbol of the sacred syllable '*Om*'. The bull represents *Dharma*. *Dahṣiṇāmūrti* is found seated on the bull in the *Vaḷḷalār* temple at Māyavaram where alone there is '*utsava mūrti*' form for Him. Probably our poet has some such esoteric significance at that explained by the *upaniṣad* in his mind when he raises the question above referred to.

XII

S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 50 describes a group of copper images which the king Rājarājadēva himself had set up in the temple of the Lord Śrī Rājarājeśvara. The central image was *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* with four arms represented as seated under a banyan tree on a mountain. The latter had two peaks on which there were two *kinnaras* and two *kinnarīs*. Under the foot of the god was *Muśalagaṉ*. On the mountain were four *ṛṣis*, a snake, two *krṛṇapravṛtas* and a tiger. The banyan tree on the mountain had nine main branches and forty-two minor ones. A wallet was suspended from the tree, and a bunch of peacock's feathers, joined to a solid handle, was one of the accompaniments of the God.

98. 7: 99: 2; 7: 99: 5.

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The four *ṛṣis* on the mountain may be representing *Sanaka*, *Sananda*, *Sanātana* and *Sanatkumāra*, the four sons of god *Brahma*. In order to expound the mysteries of the *Vēdas* to these four *ṛṣis*, the god Śiva is said to have assumed the form of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*. In fact *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* is the god Śiva in his capacity as a spiritual teacher.

The following verse gives a description of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* :—

"Prōdyaccākhamahāvaṭadrumatalē
yōgāsanastham prabhum
Pratyaktattvabubhutsubhiḥ pratidiśām
prōdvīkṣyamāṇānanam
Mudrām tarkamuyīm dadhānamamalam
karpūragauram śivam
Hṛdyantaḥ kalayē sphurantamaniśam
śrīdakṣiṇāmūrttikam."

Hēmādri in his *Vratakhaṇḍa* has :—

"Dakṣēṇa mudrām pratipādayantam
Sitākṣasūtram ca tathordhvabhāgē
Vāmē ca pustāmakhilāgamādyām
Bibhrāṇamūrddhvēna sudhādharam ca".

"Sitāmbujastham sitavarṇamīśam
Sitāmbarālēpanamindumaulim
Jñānam munibhyaḥ pratipādayantam
Tam Dakṣiṇāmūrtimudāharantam".

The *Kāraṇāgama* supplies the following information :—

"Nāradō jamadagniśca Vasiṣṭabhrugudakṣiṇē
Bharadvājaśśaunakaścāpyagastyō Bhārgavastathā
Vāmabhāgē vidhātavyāḥ kinnarādyaissusēvitē
Kailāsaparvatē tasminvaṭavṛkṣaya mūlakē.

"Āsīnam sakalēśam tam śāntarūpam mahēśvaram
Dakṣiṇāmūrtimitimityuktam."

"Adhōpasmāram śāyayśt."

The following verse exemplifies the popular belief in *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* as a teacher :

"Nityaśo Dakṣiṇāmūrttim dhyāyētsādhakasattamaḥ
Ṣāstravyākhyānasāmarthyam labhatē vatsarāntarē".

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In South Indian temples, at present *Dakṣiṇāmūṛti* occupies a niche on the south wall of the central shrine with a stone structure in front of it. In the old ones, however, the niche appears to have remained alone without any clumsy addition made to it. For instance, in the Rājarājēśvara temple there is a niche to *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* on the south wall. But the structure in front of this niche covers one or two sections of an inscription of Rājarāja.[99] It is therefore clear, that, though *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* was worshipped in the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the practice of raising up a special structure for him had not yet been come into vogue. It is also worthy to note that all the foregoing accompaniments are not found in the sculptures of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* which we now find in Śiva temples.

99. *S.I.I.*, Vol II, No. 4.

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Chapter III

NAṬARĀJA OR THE DANCE OF ŚIVA

I

(1)

The Dance of Śiva as represented in the *Naṭarāja* form is a wonder of the aesthetic world. No doubt the dancing form of Śiva is known from many parts of thc North and the Deccan and the Telugu and Tamil areas of the South as well but it is in the Tamil country that the mysticism of Śiva's dance no less than the iconography of the dancing of Śiva had been given a perfection that has been universally acclaimed. The *Aṣṭa Vīraṭṭas*[1] had been claimed by the ancient Tamilians to have been performed by the Lord within the Tamil country. The *Naṭarāja* dance is similarly claimed to have been performed by Śiva within the sacred precincts of *Tamiḻakam*. Like *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, *Naṭarāja* faces South and from this, poets have concluded that He directs His Grace and gaze to the South, the land of sweet Tamil. An ancient orthodox Vaiṣṇavite commentator on the *Āḻvars* grows eloquent over the conception of *Raṇganātha* facing South turning his back to the North and explains that because the South is the land of loving Tamil, '*Irattamiḻ*' suggesting that, therefore, it leads not to the arrogancè of learning but to the saving Grace of sympathy and love. The author of *Tiruviḻaiyāṭalpurāṇam* asks, "Is it not in the hope of enjoying the sapphire of the sweet Tamil language, that Śiva moves dancing ever Southwards?" This movement refers to the various Dance Halls of Naṭarāja in the Southern Country.

In Toṇṭamaṇṭalam, the Northern Province of Tamiḻakam, is Tiruvālaṅkāṭu, near the modern Arakonam junction. We have there the *Ratnasabhā* or the Dance Hall of gems, wherein dances *Ratnasabhāpati*. One moves Southwards near the Koḷḷiṭam (*Coleroon*) and reaches Cidambaram, the very heart of the Cosmic Being (*Viṟāṭapuruṣa*). We have here the *Kanakasabhā* or the Dance Hall of gold. In this southward move the precious value

1. The eight heroic exploits of Śiva.

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of the matter of which the Dance Hall is made, i.e., the container, may go down materially but it does in proportion rise in the precious value of the spiritual significance of the thing contained, *viz.*, the Dance. Śiva moves South to the banks of *Vaikai* in the land of the Pāṇḍyas. There, in their Capital city of *Maturai*, is the Dance Hall of Silver, where the Lord dances all the merrier. Moving further South, Śiva reaches the other great river of the Pāṇḍyas, the *Tāmraparaṇi*, on the banks of which stands Śiva's Dance Hall of copper in the city of Tirunelveli. Going further South almost near *Potiyil*, the place of *Agaśtya* and the cradle of Tamil, there is the Dance Hall of painting, on the banks of the *Citra* River in Tirukkuṟṟālam.

In the last place there is no image but a painting on the wall. This suggests that the terms *Ratnasabhāpati*, *Kanakasabhāpati*, *Rajatasabhāpati*, *Tāmrasabhāpati* and *Citrasabhāpati* may be so called, not only because of the Dance Hall but also because of the image of Naṭarāja being in precious stonss, gold, silver, copper and painting respectively. There is a tradition that there was an emerald image of Naṭarāja at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. Ratnasabhapati shows as such at Cidambaram is one carved out in a precious stone. The silver and gold images however are unfortunately not found. It must be further mentioned in support of the traditional interpretation of taking the words *Ratna*, etc., as describing the Dance Hall rather than the image, that *Veḷḷi ampalam*, the Silver Hall of Maturai, without any reference to the image, was known as such as early as the *Caṅkam* age, c.f. *Veḷḷiampalattu-t tuñciya Peru Vaḻuti*.[2]

(2)

The *Āgamas*, especially *Purva Kāraṇāgama*,[3] describe seven Dances of Śiva. Of these, the last is the *Saṁhāra* or the Dance of involution performed in the Hall of midnight. The Dance of Destruction of the whole Universe should take place everywhere and not in *Tamiḻakam* alone. As for the other dances, some claim, that they were performed in the five places above enumerated and in one other place. The author of *Tirupputtūrp Purāṇam* claims the sixth place as Tirupputtūr, in the Pāṇḍya Country, and calls that Dance Hall, the *Citsabhā*—the Dance Hall of *Jñāna* or pure

2. *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 50—colophon.
3. 86—*Sapta Tāṇḍava Paṭala*—4 to 6.

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consciousness or true knowledge. The *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*, according to him, is performed within the *Kanakasabhā* of Cidambaram; the *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*, within the *Rajatasabhā* of Maturai; the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava*, within the *Citsabhā* of Tirupputtūr; the *Tripura Tāṇḍava*, within the *Citrasabhā* of Tirukkuṟṟālam; the *Kālikā Tāṇḍava*, within the *Ratnasabhā* of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu and the *Muni Tāṇḍava* within the *Tāmrasabhā* of Tirunelveli.

(3)

On the basis of the names of the places mentioned in the *Tirupputtūrp Purāṇam*, where the various dances are said to have been performed, a reference to the different *sthala purāṇas* of these sacred places is worth making. *Muni Tāṇḍavam* according to *Tirupputtūrp purāṇam* is said to have been performed at Tirunelvēli. In the *Dāruka vaṇa-c carukkam* of that *Purāṇam*, the *Ṛṣis*, after they are brought to their senses, go to Tirunelvēli along with the *Dēvas* and worship the Lord. After blessing them, the Lord dances at the request of Brahma and Viṣṇu. The Lord dances in the *Kaṅkāla* form in the *Tāmra sabhā*. At every effort of *Muyalakaṉ* to rise up, the Lord presses him down and dances on Lo! the whole universe, with everybody therein, dances! At this Nārada, Agastya and other *Ṛṣis* beg of the Lord to stop. What is important here is, the connection that is established between the *Kaṅkāla* form and the Dance of this Universe. One wonders whether this is the *Muni Tāṇḍava*; for, unfortunately, this name is not used in the *sthala purāṇa*. In the 113th *carukkam*, the Mother approaches the Lord with the request that He may be pleased to dance for her sake, so that she may have a sight of the Dance, and the Lord so dances in the *Tāmra Sabhā*. In the next *carukkam*, the *Dēvas* beg of Him to dance, and He performs the *Aghōra Tāṇḍava*, which the frightened *Dēvas* cannot see with their ordinary eyes. The Lord, thereupon, blesses them with the eye of knowledge and their hearts become full. In the next *carukkam*, a discussion on the relative greatness of the sexes arises between the Lord and the Mother. They agree to decide the issue by a tournament of Dance. The Mother takes the form of *Kālī*; but when the Lord lifted up His leg to perform the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*, the Mother could not follow suit, out of modesty and had to accept defeat. The Mother is thereafter in a sulky mood and the Lord, to pacify Her, brings the *Ānanda Sabhā* and performs in the next *carukkam*, the *Ānanda Saundarya Naṭa*

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(*Tāṇḍava*), the dance of Bliss and Beauty. The next *carukkam* speaks of "*Iruṭikaṭkā eḻil maṉṟil āccariya naṭam payiṉṟa nātaṉ*" — 'the Lord who performed the *Āścarya Naṭam*' or the Dance of wonder for the sake of the repentent *Ṛṣis* of *Dāruka Vana* in *Maṇur*. Perhaps this is the *Muni Tāṇḍava*; but unfortunately no further particulars are given.

(4)

Tirupputtūr Purāṇam in the *Gauri Tāṇḍava-c carukkam* speaks of the serpents, *Vāsuki* and *Kārkoōṭakaṉ*, performing *tapas* for seeing the dance and for enjoying physical contact with Śiva's feet. In the *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-p purāṇam*, *Kārkkōṭakaṉ* who once ejected poison in the hand of Śiva, which however Śiva put on his hand as a bangle, is cursed by the Lord and he performs *tapas* at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu to get a glimpse of the dance of Śiva. Thus it is clear the serpents play a prominent part in the Dance.

At the request of *Gaurī* who has to perform severe *tapas*, the Lord gives her a sight of the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* at Tirupputtūr. The smiling Lord assumes a multi-armed form of wonder which shines like a crore of moons.[4] He assumes ten hands.[5] In the right hands, He holds the trident, the *maḻu* (the battle axe), the *uṭukkai* or drum, the arrow and the sword. In the left hands He holds the fire, the noose, the shield, the bow and the hand-pose *gajahasta*.[6] The poet speaks of '*supannam*'; that is, the bird which has therefore to be counted as the eighth symbol. In Rea's plate CIX, fig. 1, one finds a bird in the left hand, the third from behind. Except in the figure of Śiva in '*Karikkuruvikku upatēcitta paṭalam*', such a thing is not to be seen in the hand of Śiva elsewhere. The Lord wears the Ganges and the crescent moon, the masculine ear-ring on the right and the feminine ear-ring on the left, the *yajñōpavīta*, the skin dress and the resounding anklets of *Vēdas*. He wears *Ananta* on the bent left foot and the '*Kārkkōṭa*' on the left thigh. On the up-lifted foot He wears *Vāsuki*. The other serpents are worn in other suitable places of His body.[7] At the instance of *Mahāviṣṇu*, *Lakṣmī* begs of the Lord to give her a glimpse of the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava*.[8] The Lord, facing the South,

4. *Gauri Tāṇḍava-c carukkam*, VV, 197-198.
5. *Ibid.*, V. 198.
6. *Vīciya malark karam — ibid.*, V. 199.
7. *Ibid.*, VV. 199-203.
8. *Lakṣmī Tāṇḍava-c carukkam*, V. 113.

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dances afresh in all the eight points of the compass, this inexpressible dance beyond word and thought.[9]

(5)

Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-p purāṇam, after speaking of the greatness of the sacred place, refers to Viṣṇu's description of that place to *Adisēṣa* and speaks of the Saint *Sunanda* and the serpent *Kārkkōṭa* going and performing *tapas* to get a glimpse of the dance which the Lord is to perform in the presence of *Kālī*. The *asuras*, *Śumbha* and *Niśumbha*, are killed by *Kālī*, who drinks away all their blood. As a result of this blood intoxication, she works havoc in the sacred forest of the banyan trees; *Nārada* carries this news to Śiva, and Śiva assumes the form of the *Kāla Rudra Bhairava* of the last destruction and comes surrounded by *bhūtas*. Proud *Kālī* threatens Śiva with destruction and finally she agrees to settle the issue by the tournament of dance '*Nirutta yuddham*'.[10] The music is arranged for. The Lord first performs the '*Kōccu Koṭṭi*' dance. This is evidently a corruption of the word '*Kaṭukoṭṭi*' which is familiar to all students of Tamil Literature. It is performed with slow movement which *Kālī* mistakes for Śiva's fatigue. She dances round and round, throwing out her eight hands with such great rapidity, in the confidence of a victory. The Lord, thereafter, began to perform the '*Pāṇṭaraṅkam*' dance, otherwise called the '*Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava*' of final destruction. One leg is firmly kept on the ground and the other leg goes up into the skies. One hand is raised up as a kind of armour for the uplifted leg. The other hands holdings the fire, the drum, the trident and the *abhaya* pose are thrown out to reach the four points of the horizon. The serpents and the anklets resound and dance but the crescent moon and the Ganges are kept up wonderfully poised in the midst of this terrible dance without any movement whatever on their part. In passing, it it may be stated that the Lord first came to the banyan forest with eight hands holding the skull, the trident, the goad, the noose, the sword, the shield, the *vajra* (*Śaktī*) and the bell.[11] The Lord assumes in the end a great calm, covering the whole universe and His terrific speed makes everyone giddy including *Kālī*. She has to accept defeat.[12]

9. *Ibid.*, VV. 114-118.
10. *Nirutta Yuddha-c carukkam.*
11. *Nirutta Yuddha carukkam*, 10:
12. *Tirunaṭana-c carukkam.*

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(6)

Tirukkūvappuraṇam by the great poet Śivaprakāsar gives a slightly different version. *Kālī* kills *Dārukāsura* and becomes blood-intoxicated. All the request of the *Dēvas*, the Lord comes in front of her and begins to dance. *Kaḷī* says, "Why dance in vain? Why don't you dance with me in a tournament?" The Lord accepts the challenge and with the Mother as the arbitrator beings to dance. *Kāḷī* feels fatigued but continues to dance, afraid of accepting defeat. The Lord assumes a universal figure like that of *Trivikrama* and lifts up the leg for dance.[13] Everyone including *Kāḷī* falls down like the doll from which the moving string has been cut away. Nobody can even look at this terrific dance. *Kāḷī* falls at His feet. The Lord, out of pity, tells her, "You cannot even look at this terrific dance, but if you go southwards to Kūvapuram, you can see with all your eyes the dance of protection (*Rakṣā Tāṇḍavam*) which we perform there.[14] Because *Kaḷī* threw out a challenge to the Lord, she comes to be called "*Tarukka Mātā*",[15] 'the Mother of challenge'. In another place also this *purāṇam* refers to this dance[16] in these terms.

In Mount Kailās, the '*Sandhyā nṛttam*' is performed. In the golden Hall of dance the '*Ānanda naṭa*' is performed. '*Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava*' is performed at 'Ālaṅkāṭu' and for the sake of the '*Tarukka mātā*', '*Rakṣā Nāṭam*' is performed every day at Kūvapuram".

(7)

The *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* is described in *Koyil purāṇam*. The *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana* send the tiger, the fire, the serpent, etc., against the Lord and He seizes all of them as mere playthings and ornaments and begins to dance on *muyalaka* who is also sent by them. *Ādisēṣa* prays for having a glimpse once again of His majestic dance and for his sake the Lord dances at 'Tillai', the centre of the Universe. *Vyāghrapāda* and *Patañjaii* are ever witnessing that dance there.

13. *Tārukan vataic carukkam*, VV. 270-271.
14. *Ibid.*, VV. 275-276.
15. *Ibid.*, V. 278.
16. *Cennel vaitta carukkam*, V. 36.

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(8)

The *Purāṇaṣ* of Maturai do not speak of any *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*, which is said to take place there according to *Tiruppuṭṭūrppurāṇam*, but describe the *Kāl māṟi āṭiya naṭam* referred to elsewhere. *Kallāṭam*,[17] speaks of the Lord of Maturai as the Lord of *Dēvas* who performs the dance of bliss with the goddess of the honey-bubbling tresses of hair, in the silver hall of dance in Maturai. The commentator on that work, Mayilēṟum perumāḷ piḷḷai, explains this dance of bliss as a dance of love. Pārvatī performs *tapas* for a long time in the Himālayas for embracing Śiva and 'the dance of the lady' or '*Lāsya*' called '*Citrakuṇḍali*' is the dance of such embrace. '*Lāsya*' is a dance performed by women and not one of those performed by men. Both the Lord and the Mother must be taken to be performing a calm dance of love. The *lāsya* is a soft dance while the *tāṇḍava* is a vigorous dance. Sometimes, the texts describe, that, when the dancer sits and makes her *abhinaya*, the dance is called '*Lāsya*', and when the dancer stands and dances, it is '*Tāṇḍava*'.[18] Anyhow, it is clear that no '*Sandhyā tāṇḍavam*' is perfarmed in Maturai, unless we are to interpret this '*Lāsya*' as *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*.

(9)

Nor is the statement that the '*Tripura Tāṇḍava*' is performed in the '*Citrasabhā*' of Tirukkuṟṟālam borne out by *Tirukkuṟṟala-t talapurāṇam*. The dance there is described in the 8th and 9th chapters of Part II of that work, [12] as a greet secret dance '*Mahāparama rāsyam*'. The Lord, in the form of pure knowledge or consciousness, dances in the vacant space of '*Nāda*' unknown to any soul, seen only by the Mother, the very form of His Grace. The dance takes place; then everything also disappears into the last stage of involution. The *Dēvas* and *Ṛṣiṣ* are anxious to have a sight of this dance. The serpent '*Vāsuki*' comes to '*Kailāsa*' with a request that the God should give him a sight of that dance, even as He has blessed '*Anantan*' to have a sight of His dance, at Tillai. The Lord Himself describes the greatness of this dance: "The dance performed in the Hall of *Pāṇṭaraṅkam* whilst the singing *Pūtams* serve, the dance which puts down the arrogance

17. V. 28.
18. See *Tāṇḍava Lakṣana*, p. 16.
19. *Śiva Rahasya kāṇḍam.*

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of *Kāḷī*, the dance which crushes down the cruel '*Muyalaka*' — these dances are capable of being seen by others. But the other dance, which the whole world is surcharged with, is the beautiful dance known only to my consort. The dance-hall of silver in South Mathurai, the golden hall of dance which is the very hall of the void space, Cidambaram, the hall of precious gems of Ālaṅkāṭu, the dance hall of copper so full of purity—these halls are matters of common knowledge to all; every one can see them. But the hall of paintings at 'Tirukkuṟṟālam' is the secret of secrets". After the serpent had performed *tapas*, the Lord shows him and others, the secret dance of His, which Brahma paints in that place. This is the story, as given in the *Tirukkuṟṟāla-t tala purāṇam*. It is there clear that this dance hall is claimed to be the *Cit-sabhā*, a name which *Tirupputtūrppurāṇam* claims for Tirupputtūr dance hall itself. More than this it is clear that *Tirukkuṟṟāla-t tala purāṇam* does not speak of any Tripura dance.

(10)

Therefore, the statements of *Tirupputtūrp purāṇam* are not supported by other *purāṇams*: it is only an attempt by its author of the last century at harmonizing the tradition about the various dance halls of the Tamil land with the seven kinds of dances mentioned in the *Āgamas* as a kind of summary of the various stories of the dances of Śiva described in the *purāṇas*, as taking place not only in the Tamil land but all over the Universe.

(11)

Dr. Raghavan would suggest that the Dances of Śiva were performed in other places as well: "Bharata describes 108 poses of *Tāṇḍava* dance in his *Nāṭya Sāstra*; in Śaiva literature, Śiva is said to have danced in 64 shrines, but the exact forms of these latter 64 dances are not given and we cannot, therefore, trace in full detail the inter-relation of the dances of Śiva in *Nāṭya Sāstra*, *Śaiva literature*, and *Sculpture* and *Iconography*."[20] He does not point out his authority for the 64 dances in 64 shrines. No such tradition is known to Tamil. Probably he is confusing the 64 *līlās* or *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal* with the 64 dances.

20 *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva*, p. 21.

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(12)

Before describing these seven kinds of dances, one may raise the question, "Why this number seven?". The *Tirupputtūrp purāṇam* speaks of these seven dances proceeding from the seven basic notes of music: *Sa*, *Ri*, *Ga*, *Ma*, *Pa*, *Da*, and *Ni*. This correspondence with the musical octave suggests that these dances can be arranged as an octave of power based on the energy radiated in increasing number of pulsations of action. Even as the bud slowly opens its petals and finally blossoms forth, the dances also proceed from a slow movement into virils. The author of *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva*, following Mayilai Vēnkaṭaswami's Seven dances of Śiva, speaks of the seven dances as symbolizing the *pañcakṛtya* or the five functions of Śiva, *viz*., Creation, conservation, destruction, *tirōbhava* and *anugraha*. The former three relate to matter and the last two to the spirit. The soul has to pass through grosser experiences till it reaches the subtler experiences. Our education follows this method of proceeding from the gross to the subtle. God educates the soul in a similar way. *Anugraha* or the final goal of divine blessing and bliss is illumination. But before this illumination, comes purgation where the soul is purified gradually, where the spiritual truths are allowed to dawn gradually. Therefore, in this stage, there is some concealment or obscuration. This function of the Lord, of veiling or darkening with a view to keep the souls engrossed in the experiences of the world until the *karma* is completely wiped out is called *Tirōbhava*. The basic note '*Sa*' represents the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* which implies and includes all the notes of the lower octave. In a similar way *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*[21] implies and includes all these five dances of creation, conservation, destruction, purgation and illumination. This accounts for their being six dances, one for each one of the five *kṛtyas* or activities of the Lord and the sixth being the basic note including all the five. Why then the seventh dance? It is explained that conservation is of two kinds: (1) where there is the pleasant experience and (2) where there is the unpleasant experience. The conservation is thus taken as consisting of two functions, the total functions of the Lord become six and therefore the functional dances also become six, making seven in

21. *Planches* XIII, XIV—these two as far as their padas are concerned may not be *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*—XV.

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all if we include the synthetic dance of *pañcakṛtya* or the *Ānanda Naṭanam*. All this explanation is based on the following:

"*Caṭamataṉiṟ ciruṭṭi titi caṅkāram nikaḻum*
Tarum uyiril tirōpavam anukkirakam takkum
Tiṭamuṟum attiti iraṇṭām cukatuṉpam aruntum
Ceytiyin; ammuṟaiyāl ceytoḻil āṟām".[22]

(13)

In connecting the seven different dances with the various functions of the Lord, emphasis is made on the relative freedom from activity which goes on decreasing. The movement of the '*Jaṭā*' which proceeds from a bundled up position to a movement of whirling and the position of the raised up leg which proceeds from its contact with *muyalaka* along with the other foot and reaches the position of being held up straight heavenwards. The movements and positions of the hands are also thus explained as releasing more and more of energy. *Kālika Tāṇḍavam*[23] is the dance of creation. The *Caturam*[24] and *Kaṭisamam*[25] dances belong to this category.

The *Ūrdhvajānu*[26] is identified with *Gaurī Tāṇḍavam* and *Bhujaṅgatrāsam*.[27] This is also called the *Rakṣā Tāṇḍavam* and *Lakṣmī Tāṇḍavam*. This is the dance of conservation where the experiences are bitter.

The next is the *Sandhyā Tāṇḍavam*.[28] It is also identified with *Lalitam* [29] This is the dance of conservation where the experiences are pleasant.

Śaṅkāra Taṇḍavam is the dance of destruction. It is identified with *Talasamsphōṭita*[30] and the dance on the fire.[31]

22. Page 31, *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva.*
23. *Planche*, XVII.
24. Planches, XVIII, XIX.
25. Planche, XX.
26. Planche, XXI.
27. Planches, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV.
28. Planches, XXVI, XXVII.
29. Planches, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.
30. Planche, XXXI.
31. Planche, XXXII.

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Tripura Tāṇḍavam is the dance of purgation;[32] *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍavam* which is also called as *Kāli Tāṇḍavam* or *Chaṇḍa Tāṇḍavam* is the dance of illumination and blessing — *Anugraha Tāṇḍavam*.[33]

(14)

The names and the descriptions of these dances are not always clear. Dr. Raghavan gives the name of *Gaurī Tāṇḍavam* to the *Ānanda Tāṇḍavam* itself. According to him all the dances of Śiva are *Sandhyā Tāṇḍavam* being performed in the twilight of the evening. But this is not correct as our essay will show. The confusion in these names and descriptions, however, is very well brought out by Dr. Raghavan.

"The dances of Śiva as described in works of dance[34] and as dealt with in religious works of Śaivism[35] show differences. There is no doubt that the latter grew out of the former, and even in the form in which they are spoken of in the latter, they keep some tell-tale names in a few cases which show their link with the *Nāṭya Śāstra*."[36]

"In *Āgamas* the above dance[37] of Śiva is also mentioned as *Bhujaṅga-naṭana*. In fact, two kinds of *Bhujaṅga-naṭana* are mentioned, *Bhujaṅga trāsita* and *Bhujaṅgalalita*. The definition of these two are, however, confusing. In the *Uttara-kāmika-āgama*, the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* described above is called *Bhujaṅga-trāsita*. To understand this name, we have to go to the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata."[38]

"In *Nāṭya Śāstra* itself the *Bhujaṅga-trāsita* is defined as the 28th pose; its sculptural illustration from Chidambaram shows a pose which is not met with at all in sculpture or icon. As in *Āgama*, so in *Bhārata* too, there appears to be some confusion; for in the definition of the *Bhujaṅgāñcita* itself, *Bharata* includes the *Bhujaṅga-trāsita*. To add to the confusion, some *Āgama* works

32. Planche, XXXIII.
33. Planche, XXXIV.
34. Nāṭya Śāstra.
35. *Āgamas* and *Sthalamāhātmyas* pertaining to different Śiva shrines.
36. Pages 20, 21, *Tāṇḍavas de Śiva*.
37. *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*.
38. p. 22.

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call the *Catura-tāṇḍava*[39] and the *Ūrdhva-jānu*[40] by the name *Bhujaṅga-trāsita.*"[41]

"Besides the *Bhujaṅga-trasita*, the only other pose-name which the *Āgamas* know is *Bhujaṅga-lalita.* An *Āgama* text quoted by Gopinatha Rao explains the *Bhujaṅga-lalita* as *Bhujaṅga-trāsita* with the knee of the lifted leg still higher! According to the *Āgamic* compilation called *Śiva-parākrama*, *Bhujaṅga-lalita* corresponds to the 25th pose in Bharata the *Ūrdhva-jānu*, of which we have in the Madras Museum a bronze representation of the Pallava times from Kūram village near Kāñcīpuram. Gopinatha Rao would identify one of the two Ellora Naṭarājas as *lalitā.*"[42]

"The names *Catura*, *Kaṭi-śama* and *Tala-saṁsphōṭita* do not occur in Śaivite religious texts; they are names given by Bharata by which Gopinatha Rao identified some other Naṭarāja poses available in *sculpture* and *iconography.* Two Naṭarājas bronze images of Tiruvaraṅguḷam and Nallūr have their legs in a diagonal position which, being very near the 39th pose in Bharata called *Catura*, are called by that name. The pose of legs forms the basis and common factor to a number of other dance-poses".[43]

"*Kaṭi-śama* is applied by Gopinatha Rao to one of the two Naṭarājas of Ellōra. But this *kaṭi-śama*, No. 19, as defined by Bharata and as illustrated by the Cidambaram sculpture is somewhat different. Similarly again, a dancing pose of Śiva at the Kailāsanātha temple is identified by Gopinatha Rao as *Tala-saṁsphōṭita.* This specimen is nearer Bharata's *Ūrdhvajānu* already referred to. Bharata's definition of *Tala-saṁsphōṭita* is not clear and the correctness of the Cidambaram illustration is open to doubt; anyway neither Bharata's definition nor the Cidambaram sculpture accords with the pose identified by Gopinatha Rao as *Tala-saṁsphōṭita*".[44]

"*Ūrdhva-tāṇḍava* is a pure *Āgamic* name. This was a dance which Śiva did to vanquish *Kālī* in a dance-contest that He had with her. The story centres round the shrine at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu near Arakkoṇam where we have an image of it; other images of

39. 39th of Bharata.
40. 25th.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
43. *Ibid.*, pp. 23 and 24.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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this dance are to be found at Kāñcīpuram, Tirucceṅkāṭṭaṅguḍi, Teṉkāsi and Tāramaṅgalam. In them the right leg is lifted right up to the head, thus giving the dance the name *Ūrdhva*; while one explanation is that by doing this Śiva, without anybody noting it, restored to his ear an ornament that fell from there during the dance; another explanation is that this was done so that *Kālī* as a woman, could no do similarly and thus could be vanquished. This is Bharata's *Lalāṭa-tilaka*."[45]

"As this is a terrible type of dance, *Āgamas* call it *Caṇḍa-Tāṇḍava* also. As it was done with *Kālī*, it got another name also, the *Kālī tāṇḍava*. According to the *Vaṭāraṇya Māhātmya* the story of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu Mss. in Adyar Library, this same *Ūrdhva-Tāṇḍava* is the dance of destruction, *Saṁhāra-Tāṇḍava*."[46]

(15)

This confusion itself points the way out. The dances must ultimately be traced to the popular folk dances which have been systematized and made classical in the *Nāṭya-śāstra*. There must have been other variations apart from the classical modes. The *Purāṇas* probably describe these variations and the *Āgamas* with the knowledge of the *Nāṭya-śāstra* seem to be combining both these. The mystic value of these dances as they appealed to the later generation cannot be minimised by such references to origins as these.

II

(1)

The *Āgamas* also describe the seven Dances. The *Ānanda Tāṇḍavam* is the well known form found in every temple. Śiva has an ash-besmeared body. He has four arms; the right back arm holds the '*uṭukkai*' or the hour-glass, like drum; the left back arm holds the fire or the fire-pot; the right front arm with a *valaya* of *sarpa* with 1, 2, 5, or 7 hoods (the corresponding *valaya* of serpent on the other hand according to Havell has fallen down) is the *abhaya* pose or the pose of protection, i.e., the palm, level with the straight fingers in close contact, raised up showing the palmside to the front; the left front arm is in *gajahasta* pose, i.e., is bent at the shoulder joint going straight across the chest to the

45. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

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right side with its fingers gracefully pointing below towards the left leg which is raised in a dancing posture. The ecstasy of the dance, in whirling on one leg is shown by the matted hair sweeping out on both sides of the head in 5, 6, 7 or 11 divisions standing horizontally or forming a circle. "*Erukku*' (Madar) and '*Ūmattam*' (Datura) flowers, snake, crescent moon, grinning human skull are on the left matlocks; *Gaṅgā* is on the right. The cloth, partly tied round the waist and partly thrown over the left shoulder, flies up in the air. The head of Śiva wears peacock feathers and this characterises this *murti's* crown. The right leg is slightly bent, placed upon the back of the black *apasmāra puruṣa* or '*Muyalakaṉ*'. The left leg is lifted up somewhat turned towards the right leg and kept across it. *Apasmāra*, a hideous malignant dwarf trodden on by Śiva, lies right to left. He is playing with a snake by keeping all his fingers in a serpent hood-like shape. The pedestal of the image is a double lotus flower, placed back to back. The *prabha* or the aureola is surmounted all round with flames of fire similar to the one which is held in His hand and the *Śilparatna* states that this *prabha* is the *ravi-maṇḍala* or the sun's disc.

Uttara Kāmikāgama gives further particulars in addition to the above as given in *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama*. The *jaṭās* separated from one another vary from 5 to 30 and in the vacant space between the *jaṭās* are '*ūmattam*', '*erukku*' and other flowers. In the *jaṭā*, on the right stands the three-eyed Gaṅgā, with hands held in *añjali* pose, with the upper half of body shaped in the form of a lady adorned with *karaṇḍa makuṭa* and other ornaments, whilst the lower half is in the form of running water. In the *jaṭā* on the left is the crescent moon. There are necklaces of various patterns round his neck made of (1) pearls, (2) of snakes, (3) of '*makiḻam*' flower, (4) of sea shells, boar's tusks, tiger's claws and beads with a pendant of tortoise shell. The left ear wears *patra kuṇḍala*, whilst the right has *nakra kuṇḍala*; on the feet are anklets of tiny bells and another pair of other designs. This dance is known as *Bhujaṅga trāsa*. If the foot of the up-lifted leg is kept higher than the knee of the standing leg, the dance is called *Bhujaṅga lalita*. According to *Nāṭya śāstra*,

> "*Kuñcitam pādamutkṣipya tryaśramūrum vivartayēt*
> *Kaṭijānū vivarttau ca bhujaṅgatrāsitam bhavēt*;"[47]

47. Nāṭyaśāstra, Ch. IV. 85.

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i.e., 'One leg is bent in a triangular way. It is lifted up. The body above the hip and the knee are slightly turned on one side' Abhinavaguptācārya explains the term thus: 'This kind of dance is called *bhujaṅga trāsa*, because in it, the dancer suddenly lifts up his leg as though he discovered a snake very near him and appears to be on an unsteady gait. In this, one arm should be in *dolāhasta* (hand hanging down freely from the somewhat drooping shoulder in the form of *patākahasta*) and the other in the *kaṭaka* pose'.

(2)

The second dance is *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*. The '*muyalakaṉ*' is absent. The left hands hold peacock feather and *vismaya* (wonder) pose in which the palm is held up but is bent forward a little curved, the first and the second fingers being bent forward together whilst the third and the fourth fingers and the thumb stand separated. Dr. Ānanda Coomaraswami refers to this as one of these three dances—the evening dance, the *Tāṇḍava* on the cremation ground and the *Nādānta* dance and writes as follows:— "One is an evening dance in the Himālayas with a divine chorus described as follows in the *Śiva pradōṣa stōtras*: 'Placing the Mother of the three worlds upon a golden throne, studded with precious gems, *Śūlapāṇi* dances on the heights of Kailās and all the gods gather round Him':...'*Sarasvatī* plays on the '*Viṇā*', Indra on the flute, Brahmā holds the time-marking cymbals, *Lakṣmī* begins a song; *Viṣṇu* plays on a drum, and all the gods stand round about'. *Gandharvas*, *yakṣas*, *patāgas*, *uragas*, *siddhas*, *sādhyas*, *vidyādharas*, *amaras*, *apsaras* and all the beings dwelling in the three worlds assemble there to witness the celestial dance and hear the music of the divine choir at the hour of twilight". "This evening dance is also referred to, in the invocation preceding the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*": "In the pictures of this dance, 'Śiva is two handed, (Mr. Gopinatha Rao questions this) and the cooperation of the gods is clearly indicated in their position of chorus. There is no prostrate asura trampled under Śiva's feet".

The *Pradōṣa stōtras* may be compared with *Kāraṇāgama*: "On the top of the Kailās mountain, in front of Goddess *Gaurī* who is seated on jewelled throne, Śiva with the crescent on His head *dances in the evenings*. All the *Dēvas* attend the dance. Brahmā plays on cymbals, Hari (Viṣṇu), on a *paṭaha*, Bhāraṭī, on the lute, the Sun and the Moon, on flutes. *Tumburu* and *Nārada* supply

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vocal music and *Nandi* and *Kumāra* bear drums." *Maya-mata* mentions in addition, *Vighnēśa*, *Kālī* and seven mothers.

A story is told about this dance and this is referred to in one of the verses of *Āgamattiraṭṭu* in Tamil: "The Lord swallowed the poison; He remained quiet without saying anything for a moment. The *Dēvas* were worshipping without any pause. That was a day of the 11th phase of the moon—*Ēkādaśī*. The next day—*dvādaśī*—the *Dēvas* broke their fast and became perfect. On that day, placing the gold creeper of Himavān—the Mother—at head, for four hours, Śaṅkara danced whirling the trident. The four *Vēdas* speak of it as *Pradōṣa*". The *Śilpasaṅgraha* and *Mayamata* further state that this was performed under the banyan tree. This is found represented in the *Lalita* mode of dance. But the *Mayamata* speaks of this as *Bhujaṅgatrāsa*.

(3)

The third is *Umā Tāṇḍava*. Śiva has six hands, i.e., two more to what had been already mentioned. The additional right hand holds *triśūla*; the additional left, a skull. The left leg is placed on *apasmāra*. The right leg sweeps to the right. *Umādēvī* stands on the left of Śiva. The *Pūrva Kāraṇāgama*, in the enumeration of the seven dances mentions *Muni Tāṇḍava* instead of *Umā Tāṇḍava*. The Dance of marriage is spoken of as a separate dance and this is called the Dance of the Dances, the *Umā Tāṇḍava*. In describing the *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*, the Tamil work *Āgamattiraṭṭu*, we noted, mentions a *Triśūla*; perhaps because of this, *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* is known sometimes as *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*. All these are pointed out to show that the descriptions have not become authoritatively definite and the variations have been the rule.

(4)

The fourth *Tāṇḍava* is the *Gaurī Tāṇḍava*. This is like the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*. The important feature is the holding of the serpent in one of the left hands. Some of the dances are characterised by the persons standing by the side of Naṭarāja. In this dance *Nandi* stands on the right side and *Gaurī* on the left. If the Mother's presence is taken as an inevitable concomitant, the presence of *Nandi* seems to be the characteristic feature of this dance. *Mayamata* describes this as *Bhujaṅga lalita*, probably because of the playing with the serpent held in one hand. It further states that in the position of the legs, the fire in the hand is blown into

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a blaze and the braided locks are spread out into 5, 7 or 9. It places *Nandi* on the right but *Viṣṇu* on the left instead of *Gaurī*.

(5)

The fifth dance is *Kālikā Tāṇḍava*. Śiva has two eyes only but 8 arms of which the three, on the right, hold the *triśūla*, *pāśa* and *uṭukkai*, the three on the left hold *kapāla*, fire and the bull, whilst the remaining right arm is held in an *abhaya* pose and the left in *gajahasta* pose. Mr. Krishna Sastry in his '*South Indian Images*', speaks of the "*Kaṭṭu caṭai Naṭarāja*" of Nallūr as representing this dance. But, as he himself points out, the position of the legs and the *abhaya* and *gajahasta* poses are found reversed in this image of Nallūr; for Śiva there stands on the right leg, raising up the left, whilst the *abhaya* pose and the *gajahasta* pose are held by the right and left arms respectively. In this figure '*muyalakaṉ*' sits facing forward with his two legs stretched in front of him. The drum (*uṭukkai*) is nearer the ear, and Śiva is found bending His head slightly towards it. The *Kālikā Tāṇḍavam* is according to *Tirupputtūr-p purāṇam* performed at Tiruvālaṅkāṭu. But, the form of the image as found at that place is that of *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*. The *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu-p puraṇam* speaks of the Lord standing on His right leg and sending up His left leg to reach the Heavens. But we know of no *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* image in which the left leg is sent thus higher up except one at Agastīsvaram temple. The *Trivikrama* form, where also the image is found standing on one leg whilst raising the other to the Heavens, has to be differentiated from the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* form. Rea's plate CXXIII gives, the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* form as fig. 3, and the *Trivikrama* form as fig. 7. Here the most important differentiation consists in the different legs raised skywards, the left in the case of *Trivikrama* and the right in the case of *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*. This is in accordance with the theory, that the left half is the Vaiṣṇavite or Śaktī half, whilst the right side is Śiva's half. Whatever this may be, *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* of Tiruvālaṅkāṭu is as old as Kāraikkālammaiyār.[48]

(6)

The sixth dance is *Tripura Tāṇḍava*. Śiva has 16 arms. There is the Mother on the left and the child Murukaṉ on the right. According to *Śilparatna* however, the child stands on the same side

48. *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūtta Tiruppatikam*, V. 4.

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as the Mother holding her by the hand and expressing fear, love and wonder in his face. This dance we had already described in describing *Tripura Dahana.*

(7)

The seventh dance is the *Saṁhāra Tāṇḍava.* It is the dance of involution. God has 3 eyes and 8 arms. The left leg crushes down *apasmāra* and the right leg is raised. The right hands are holding the *Uṭukkai,* the *pāśa,* the *triśula* and the *abhaya* pose and the left hands hold the fire, the skull, the *vismaya* and *gajahasta* poses. Here also *Nandi* stands on the right side and *Gaurī* on the left. The eight hands differentiate this form from *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* form.

(8)

The *Nāṭya Śāstra* enumerates 108 modes of dances and all these poses are found sculptured on either side of the doorway of the Cidambaram temple. The *Āgamas* assert that Śiva danced in all these modes but they describe only 9 out of them probably as being the most celebrated amongst them. The first is the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* form. The *Uttarakāmikāgama,* as already noted, speaks of this as *Bhujaṅgatrāsita* and *Bhujaṅgalalita..* It is this figure, which has gathered round it, all the esoteric and mystic significance.

In the second form of dance, the only differentiating feature mentioned by *Aṁśumadbhēdāgama* is that *Gaṅgā* is made to stand with an *aṅjali* pose on the *jaṭās* flowing on the right side of Śiva.

In the third mode of dance, the left foot is found placed on the *apasmāra* whilst the right leg is lifted up. This is '*Kālmāṛiyāṭal*' described in the '*Kālmāṛi āṭiya paṭalam*' of *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam.* According to this *Purāṇam,* the *Pāṇḍya* at the idea of God eternally dancing without any pause, standing on His left leg, is overpowered by the feeling of sympathy and he begs of the Lord to change the posture and to dance standing on the left leg. The Lord alters His posture to please him and dances as requested. The image in the *Veḷḷiampalam* represents this altered posture.

In the fourth mode of dance, the *jaṭās* are required to be in the form of a *jaṭāmaṇḍala,* i.e., they had to spread round the crowned head of Śiva, in the form of a circular disc. It will thus be seen that all these four dances are one and the same except for slight variations.

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The fifth mode of dance represents the Lord resting His slightly bent left leg on the *apasmāra*, whilst the right leg is lifted straight up to the crown of His head. He has 8 hands, the four on the right holding the trident, the noose, the *uṭukkai* and the *abhaya* pose, whilst the other four on the left hold the fire, the skull, the bell and the *gajahasta* pose.

The sixth variety is differentiated from this only by its 16 arms; the right arms hold *uṭukkai*, *vajra*, trident, noose, *taṅka*, *daṇḍa* and a serpent and the *abhaya* pose. Instead of *vajra*, *taṅka*, *daṇḍa* and snake, He may hold the sword, the *patāka*, the *vētāla* and the *sūcī* pose. The left hands exhibit the fire, the quoit, a double headed instrument—*mithuna*, *patāka*, the bell, the *khēṭaka* the skull and the *gajahasta* pose. Instead of the *mithuna*, quoit, *patāka*, He may hold the sword, *vismaya* and *sūcī poses*. His consort, with a face expressive of fear, wonder and love, stands with *añjali* on the left carrying in her left arm *Murukaṉ*, who, terrified at the sight catches hold of the breast and abdomen of his mother and this last feature reminds us of the *Tripura* Dance. In the fifth and the sixth, Śiva has only two eyes as in the *Kālikā* dance.

In the seventh mode of dance, Śiva has 8 arms, but 3 eyes. The *jaṭāmaṇḍala* is spread out. The right hands exhibit trident, noose, *uṭukkai* and *abhaya* pose whilst the left show skull, fire, *gajahasta* and *vismaya* poses. There is a bend in the body and the mother is standing on the left. The left leg of Śiva is placed upon the *Apasmāra* and the right is lifted up fully stretched as far as the head.

The eighth form, an *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*, is similar to the seventh. Śiva has six instead of eight hands with *abhaya* pose, *uṭukkai* and trident on the right and *gajahasta*, *vismaya* and the skull on the left reminding us to that extent of the *Umā Tāṇḍava*.

The ninth reminds us of the *Sandhya Tāṇḍava*. *Śiva has* 4 arms, 3 eyes and *jaṭāmakuṭa*. The hands on the right exhibit *uṭukkai* and *abhaya* pose, the hands on the left spear, fire and *gajahasta* pose. The left foot is not on any *apasmāra* but on the *pīṭha*. The great toe of the right foot also rests upon the *pīṭha*, the left leg and the right leg making a cross as it were.

III

Coming to the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple, we have various representations of Śiva as the Dancer. In discussing

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the various heroic feats of Śiva in the light of *Tēvāram*, we had the opportunity of emphasising one important fact that every one of the feats ended in a particular dance of Śiva. The sculptures representing the various stories are to that extent dramatic representations. The *Hasta abhinaya* — or the poses of the hands of the various actions and other postures of the body have to be interpreted according to *Nāṭya Śāstra*. This has been very well brought out by Dr. Mīnākṣi, who writes: "A profound knowledge and critical appreciation of the *Nāṭya Śāstra* is clearly revealed by the Pallavas in their representation of the different poses of the divine dancer. The art of dancing was popularised and encouraged in the South by the Pallavas through the medium of these various representations which were a source of inspiration."[49]

The Pallavas believed in the divine nature of the Dances. Mahēndravarma's invocation to Śiva in his *Mattavilāsa* is significant:

> "*Bhāṣāvēṣavapuḥ-kriyāguṇa-kṛtānāṣṭritya bhēdan gatam*
> *Bhāvāvēśā vaśāda nekarasatām trailōkyayātrāmayam*
> *Nṛttam niṣpratibaddha bōdhamahimā yāḥ prēkṣakassa svayam*
> *Sā vyāptāvanibhājanam diśatu vō divyah kapālī yaśaḥ*".

The dance of *Kāpāli* full of all sentiments is said to cover the three worlds. To the interest of Rājasiṁha and Mahēndravarma II in this divine art, the Kailāsanātha Temple stands as a living monument. Apart from the sculptures of dances, dance is even now a part of temple ritual, in combination with music. The dancing girls of high and noble ideals called '*aṭikaḷmār*' were attached to the Temples of the Pallava and Cōḷa age. In fact numerous inscriptions refer to this provision.

Rea's Plate XXVIII is a representation of *Ūrdhva tāṇḍava*. Śiva has only six arms, as required in the 8th form of dance enumerated above. He stands straight on His left leg. There is no *apasmāra* there. The front left arm is held up straight with the hand bent at right angles to the right side, and its palm is turned down-wards. The left leg and the left arm thus form as it were the central axis; the right leg is lifted up almost parallel to the raised left arm. The toe is pointing towards the crown of the

49. *Pallava Administration*, p. 287.

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Lord. He is having the *jaṭāmakuṭa*; He is wearing ear-rings, necklace, three bangles and two armlets on each arm and an anklet on each leg. There is a *yajñōpavīta*, probably of a serpent going round the left shoulder and encircling the raised up leg. Another serpent hangs from the left shoulder down to the left ankle. There is a sash round His waist and the two ends of another cloth are found below His waist on the right and the left. There is a serpent with its outspread hood; probably it had fallen down. On the right hands He is holding the drum or *uṭukkai*, *abhaya* pose, and a *daṇḍa* at the top of which is attached a banner. The left hands hold a torch (or bell) and the *vismaya* pose. The third left hand has already been described.

This is the *Lalāṭatilaka* Dance described by Bharata:[50]

"*Vṛścikam caraṇam kṛtvā pādasyāṅguṣṭhakēna tu*
Lalāṭē tilakam kuryāllalāṭa-tilakam tu tat".

One of the legs is lifted up and its foot is held in the form of a scorpion and its toe is so turned towards the forehead as though in the act of marking a *tilaka*. According to Abhinavagupta, the leg pose in which the leg is lifted up behind is called the *Vṛścika* pose, because, it then resembles the tail of a scorpion.

Rea's plate LVIII is another representation of this dance which has been referred to and described by Gopinatha Rao[51] and by Dr. Mīnākṣi. The right leg is lifted up with the foot in the form of a *Vṛścika* touching the *jaṭāmakuṭa*. In this figure, the Lord has eight hands, as required in the seventh mode of dance enumerated above. As contrasted with the figure described above, there is a small bend of the body and the head, and this also has been referred to in our description of the seventh mode of the dance. The right hands hold an *akṣamālā*, a sword and two *patāka* poses. The left hands exhibit a *valaya*, fire, noose and *vismaya* pose. Nandikēśvara is found immediately on the left side of Śiva dancing in the *lalita* mode. In the adjacent niches, there is Brahma on the right and Viṣṇu with his wife on the left. Gopinatha Rao identifies the figure on the right as *kinnara*, half man and half bird, playing apparently on a stringed instrument. The former figure which we described above is an exemplification of

50. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, Ch. IV., 111.
51. Page 265, H.I., Vol. II, Pt. 1.

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the beauty of straight lines whereas this figure exemplifies the gracefulness of bends.

Rea's plate XCVII, fig. 2 is from the Mataṅgēśvara temple. It combines the characteristic feature of both the figures we have described. The Lord stands straight on His left leg and lifts up the left arm as in the previous figure. The body is straight but the head alone exhibits a slight bend towards the right. The right leg is lifted up but not at parallels to the lifted arm. The foot is in the *vṛścika* pose. Therefore, this figure with the central axis formed by the left leg and the left arm exhibits a kind of rotatory action of the other parts of the body. On the left there is a figure dancing in the *lalita* mode. On the right there is a figure playing on the drum. There is figure sitting between the Lord and the figure on the left.

Rea's plate CIX, fig. 1 is from Tripurāntakēśvara temple. It is a beautiful figure of symmetrical angles. There is no *apasmāra* visible. The Lord stands on the left-leg, but it is bent at its knee and this leg forms another angle with the trunk. The left leg goes up with the arm bent. He has *jaṭāmakuṭa* and the head is bent to the right, forming another curve. The right leg is almost parallel to the bent head. On the left there are three arms thrown out holding things which are not clear; the fourth is bent at its elbow at right angles to its hand in the *sūcī* pose. There is on the right a corresponding arm bent at the elbow; there are three other right arms thrown out holding the hatchet, trident and serpent. The upraised right arm answers to the upraised leg on the other side. At the top on each side there are two persons in the air, worshipping the dance. On each side of the leg, there is one person. On the left is Mother; on the right is one playing on the drum. The serpents swing from the waist downwards in this dance of ecstasy. To harmonize with ecstatic dance of the hands and the leg in the top portion, there is the group of people playing on musical instruments in the lower portion.

Rea's plate CXVII, fig. 3 is from the Airavatēśvara Temple. This is like the first figure elsewhere described but the straight lines are softened into smooth curves following the shape of the muscles. The Lord has ten arms. On the right hands are exhibited the flag, the *uṭukkai*, a *daṇḍa* and, *abaya* and *patāka* poses. The left hands exhibit a flame, a serpent, an upward bend of one hand and a downward bend of another hand. There seems to be some

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symmetry between the right and left arms; the backmost arms form a right angle bend at the elbow; the next adjacent arms form acute angles. The hand next in order are thrown out whilst those next look downwards. Of the fore-most arms, the left arm is held straight up, straight except for the inward curve near the elbow and the bend inwards of the hand at the top. The right hand is in the *abhaya* pose. The banner answers to the bend of the left hand. The raised up right leg is parallel to the raised up arm but for the bend of the foot with its toe approaching the crown in *vṛścika* pose. The crown is a little bent towards the raised up leg. There is something static about this dance as though the whole universe rests equipoised on Him. At the top corners two persons in the air worship symmetrically. On the left stands the Mother. On the right are three *bhūtas* whose curved parts harmonize in a comic way with the rocks of the mountains and their drums.

Rea's plate CXXIII, fig. 3 from the Kailāsanātha temple is probably the original for Plate CIX, fig. 1 etc. Śiva has ten arms. The right arms, those making obtuse angles, exhibit a sword, a drum and a serpent in their hands; the other two hands are held in *cinmudra* and *abhaya* poses. The left hands show a downward move exhibiting the flame of the fire, the hatchet both being turned downwards. The front left arm is held up with the hand bent to the right above the crown. As for the other two hands, their poses are not clear. Śiva stands on His left leg which is bent a little to the front and left. The right leg is lifted up but not parallel to the lifted up arm; its foot is in *vṛścika* pose. The head is bent towards it. Every thing suggests a dynamic motion and equipoise. On the left stands the Mother with beautiful bends. On the right probably sits *Nandi* playing on a drum. Calm is the peaceful base and all above is in full motion and joy.

Both Dr. Minākṣi and Mr. Gopinatha Rao refer to the sculptures representing the *Lalita* mode of dance. Bharata describes it thus:

> "*Karihastō bhavēd vāmō dakṣiṇaścāpavartitaḥ*
> *Bahuśaḥ kuṭṭitah pādō jñēyam tallalitam budhaiḥ*".[52]

Kari hasta pose is the usual *gajahasta* found in the usual Naṭarāja figure. This is also called *añcita* and Abhinavagupta

52. Ch. IV., 94.

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calls this '*Alapallava*'. The Cittannavasal cave inscriptions exhibit one of the women dancers in this pose and it is this pose that had become popular in Jāva during the Pallava period.[53]

In the *gajahasta* pose, one hand is stretched across the chest towards the shoulder, whilst the other arm is bent thrice, i.e., the upper arm lifted up as high as the shoulder horizontally and the fore arm held at right angles to it vertically and the palm of the hand bent at right angles to the fore-arm and facing upwards. *Apavartita* pose is represented by the uplifted arm. The leg pose required is '*Kuṭṭitam*' where one leg rests firmly on the ground whilst the other resting upon the toe, strikes the ground with the heel.

In the *Lalāṭalilaka* dance described above, Nandikēśvara is found by the Lord's left.[54] Here, the right arm of Nandi is in the *gajahasta* pose and the right leg in the *kuṭṭitam* pose. The right leg is resting on the toe whilst the left leg is fixed on the ground.

In Plate XXXIII, fig. 4, there is a figure with spread out matted hair in *Lalita* mode of dance. The *vāmahasta* or left hand is in the *Gojahasta* pose and the Dakṣiṇa or right hand is held up in the *apavartita* pose. The left leg is in the *Kuṭṭitam* pose. This figure has only four arms. It looks as though the same figure assumed greater proportions to dance perhaps on the *muyalaha* sent by the *Ṛṣis*; probably we see ten arms and the fire on the left alone is clear. One leg rests on the same platform on which the other figure stands. The other leg is stamping on the *muyalaka*. There is the same *gajahasta* pose and the *apavartita pose*.

Rea's plate XCVII, fig. 1 from Muktēśvara temple gives what seems at first sight a representation of the *Lalita* dance with a left hand in *Gajahasta* pose and another left hand in the *prasārita* pose. The legs are in the *kuṭṭita* pose. As the pose of the right hands are not clear — the right front one may be in catura pose — one may doubt whether this is not a *catura* dance. But a deeper study reveals this to be an *añcitā dance*.

> "*Vyāvṛtta parivṛttastu sa ēva tu karō yadā*
> *Añcitō nāsikāgrē tu tad añcitam udāhṛtam*".[55]

53. *Krom, Borobudūr*, Vol. I, Plates 0.149; I-b 19.
54. Pl. Rea LVIII.
55. Bh., Ch. IV, 84.

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"The same hand, i.e., *karihasta* hand of the 22nd *karaṇa* is put in this 23rd *karaṇa*, in *vyāvṛtta* and *parivṛtta* and finally arched over the nose". *Parivṛtta* is bringing the hands to the sides in front. In *vyāvṛtta* the hands are lifted up side-ways. As in the 22nd *karaṇa*, we have here *svastika* of the legs, i.e., crossing of the legs.

Another mode of dance is *Talasamsphōṭita* dance. Bharata describes it there thus:

> "*Drutam utkṣipya caraṇam purastād atha pātayēt*
> *Talasaṁsphōṭitau hastau talasamsphōṭite mātau*".[56]

"The dancer lifts one of his feet fairly high and suddenly and vehemently stamps the ground in front of him clapping his hands at the same time. The commentators insist on the *patāka hasta* pose. Rea's plate XXXIX, fig. 5 and Mr. Gopinatha Rao, Plate No- LXVIII,[57] and Dr. Mīnākṣi[58] give us a representation of this dance as found in the Kailāsanātha temple. Śiva is lifting up. His right leg above the left knee as high as completely to double it expressing His attempt to thump the ground forcibly and suddenly. The left leg in slight bent rests firmly on the ground. His right upper hand is holding a coiled serpent which forms a curve near His hand to form into another curve round His crown to curve once again for running parallel thereafter to the left back hand to be caught by another left hand. In the second right hand Dr. Mīnākṣi sees *jñānamudra*. The other two right hands are in the *patāka* and abhaya poses. The left hand is holding *Gaṅgā* with a five headed cobra and the hand is in curved *añjali* pose. She is descending in parallel to the cobra's curve. Another left hand is holding the cobra. There is another left hand in *vismaya* pose. The remaining hand is in *Gajahasta* pose. The mother is on the left. There are two *gaṇas* one in the *ūrdhva tāṇḍava* posture. Some interpret this as *caṇḍa tāṇḍava* or *koṭukoṭṭi*.

Rea's plate LVII is the *Gajāri mūrti*. On the topmost niche is Śiva with straight hands killing and flaying the elephant and dancing this *Talasamsphōṭita*. His left leg is raised up to thump on the head of the elephant. Usually *Gajāri* is in this form.[59]

56. Bh., Ch. IV. 130.
57. *Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Part I.
58. Plate VII, fig. 14.
59. See Plate CXXIII, fig. 1.

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Rea's plate LIX is a *Gaṅgādhara-mūrti* holding up one of his *jatās* for receiving the *Gaṅgā*. He raises up the left leg to thump on the dwarf with His foot in *kuṭṭita* pose. Usually *Gaṅgādharā* is in this form but the raised leg is on a pedestal.[60]

The *kuñcita* mode of dance has been already described with reference to our description of the *Tripurāri*. Rea's plate XXXIV, fig. 1 is a *Dakṣāri* or a *Kāpāli* and He is destroying everything by thumping on the ground. Here He is standing on the right leg and thumping with the left. Plate XXXVIII, fig. 2 is probably *Kālāri* in *Talasamsphōṭita* form thumping on *Kāla*.

Our identification of this *kuñcita* dance with *Tripurāri* is still further justified by the *Tripurāri* form given in fig. 6 in Rea's plate XXXIII, where Śiva kneels down on His right knee while the left leg is bent up. This is the posture for bending the bow. This answers to the *kuñcita* mode where the right leg and the right arm are bent whilst the left leg and left arm are raised aloft. A variety of this is seen on the left side on the fig. 1, in Plate CXI.

Dr. Mīnākṣi has noted the absence of the popular *nādānta* mode of dance though the *gajahasta* pose is found in abundance. Rea's Plate CXI, fig. 1 shows a representation of the *Bhujanga-trāsita naṭana* — the usual *nādānta naṭana*. The *gajahasta* pose is found in the right hand with the left hand in a *prasārita* pose. The right leg is lifted up in the *Bhujaṅga trāsita* style. In plate CXII, the Lord is with four hands. He probably stands on the right leg slightly bent, with the left leg raised up. In the Kailāsanātha temple that which comes nearer to this dance is fig. 4 of plate XXXIII.

Other *karaṇas* could be recognized. Rea's plate LIII represents the *Tripurāri* seated in the chariot with a smile in the *sūcī-viddha* mode — the 78th *karaṇa*:

> "*Pādasūcyā yadā pādō dvitīyastu praviḍhyatē*
> *Kaṭivakṣah sthitau hastau sūeīviddham tad vcyatē*".[61]

'The right foot rests on the heel and the left pierces into the right in *sūcīpāda*, i.e. touching the other foot. The hands should

60. See Rea's plate XLIV, fig. 2; Plate CXXIII, fig. 2; Plate CIV, fig. 2.
61. Ch. IV, 139.

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be on the waist and the chest. The legs in the sculpture are as required. The right hand is on the chest in *vismaya* pose and the left hand is bent and near the waist in *jñānamudrā* pose.

Many figures stand on the leg lifting up the other leg.[62] This is the *ūrdhvajānu karaṇa*, the 25th *karaṇa* described in verse 86. *Utkṣipya*: Here the bent leg is lifted up and kept on a level with the breast whilst the hands are free to be used as the dancer pleases.

The *Bhikśāṭana* forms,[63] found in the Kailāsanātha temple are in the *janita karaṇa*.[64] In this mode of dance, one hand rests on the chest and the other is hung down. The foot is in '*talāgra*', i.e., on the tip of the sole. One of the feet of *Bhikṣāṭana* is on the tip of the sole.

Rea's plate CV, representing the dance of *Gajāri* seems to give us the *Rēcita Nikuṭṭa* dance.[65] The right hand is to be in *rēcita* (i.e. lifting up the hand, throwing it about, moving it round and round and drawing it back); the right leg is to be *nikuṭṭa* and the left in *dōla* (arms let down loose and free). In the sculpture, there is one left arm in *dōla* pose; many arms in *rēcita* pose. The left leg is in *nikuṭṭa* pose.

Rea's plate LIV probably represents the *Pārśvakrānta* mode, where the pace of *Pārśvakrānta*, i.e., leg is lifted so that the knee comes to the level of the breast and it is dropped on the ground and in that pose thrown in front. The hands should accord with the leg action. This pose is used in terrific situations such as those associated with Bhīma. Here in the sculpture we find a vigorous fight.

Coming to the times of Rājarāja, who, we will suggest presently, adopted the name of *Āṭavallāṉ* for his Naṭarāja from the poems of Ārūrar. The image of *Āṭavallāṉ* was set up by his queen Sōramahādēvi.[66] The epigraphist's note is as follows. "It is a standing figure of the god with *Muyalakaṉ* under his feet. (*Muya-*

62. Rea's plates XLVI; fig. 2: LVII; LIX.
63. Rea's plates XLVI, fig. 1; LXI.
64. Bh., Ch. IV, 155.
65. *Ibid.*, V. 90; *karaṇa* 29.
66. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 42.

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lakaṉ or *Muśalagaṉ*—known in Sanskrit as *Apasmāra*—is the name of a black dwarf who issued out of the sacrificial fire of the *ṛṣis* of the *Dārukavana*. The sacrifices were offered in order to discomfit Śiva; and Śiva came there to teach them a lesson. A fierce tiger and a monstrous serpent issued out of the fire one after the other and were quickly overcome by the God. *Muyalakaṉ* appeared next. His form was hideous and malignant and with eyes of fire he brandished a club. Śiva pressed the tip of his foot and broke *Muyalakaṉ's* back so that he writhed on the ground. With this last foe prostrate, Śiva resumed the dance of which all the gods were witnesses. This is why *Muyalakaṉ* is represented as lying under the feet of Śiva. He is also found under the feet of *Caṇḍēśvaraprasādadēva*, *Dakṣṇāmūrṭi* and *Tañjai-Aḷakar*. *Muyalakaṉ* is also described as a kind of disease from which a woman of Pāccilāccirāmam was suffering. She was cured by the saint Tirujñānasambandar acccording to the *Periyapurāṇam*. The image had four arms, nine braids of hair (*jīṭā*), the goddess *Gāṅgā-bhaṭṭārakī* on the braided hair, and seven flower garlands. The goddess Umāparamēṣvari who formed a part of the group was standing on a separate pedestal. This description corresponds to the representation of one of the many forms of Naṭarāja. Another queen of Rājarājadēva named Pañcavaṉ-Mahādēvi set up an image of Śiva in the dancing posture and called it Taṉjai-Aḷakar.[67] The image was apparently standing with *Musalakaṉ* under the foot on which the god stood; the other foot was apparently lifted upwards in dancing though this fact is not specifically stated. An image of *Umāparamēśvari* and one of *Gaṇapati* were included in the group. The image of *Patañjali* and that of *Vyagrapāla* both of which usually accompany the dancing image of (called *Naṭarāja*) are not mentioned here. The sages *Patañjali* and *Vyāghrapāda* are believed to have been present at the dance of the god Śiva. It is however worthy of note that the same Cōḷa queen set up a separate image of *Patañjalidēva*.[68] It was a solid image and measured 'three-quarters and one eighth (of a *muḷam*) in height from the tail to the hoods (*phaṇa*). It had five hoods, one face in the midst of these hoods, one crown (*makuṭa*), two divine arms, above the navel a human body, and below the navel three coils'.

67. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 51.
68. *S.I.I.* Vol. II, No. 53.

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IV

(1)

The Dancer is the name of Śiva and our poet refers to this name as "*Naṭamāṭi*" in Tamil.[69] The more popular name is '*Kūttaṉ*'[70] and Ārūrar addresses the Lord as '*Kūttā*'[71] and '*Kūttaṉ*'[72]. He also calls Him "*Niruttam cey kālaṉ*".[73] The poet uses the words 'Āṭal',[74] '*Āṭṭam*',[75] '*Āṭṭu*',[76] '*Naṭam*',[77] '*Naṭṭam*',[78] '*Niruttam*'[79] and '*Kūttu*'[80] for Dance. *Āṭal* and *Āṭṭam* signify motion and play — the conception of *līlā*. '*Āṭal*' is also Dance: c.f. "*Paṭiṉōrāṭal*"[81] of the ancient times. '*Naṭam*' is from the root '*Naṭ*', to act, dance or injure (*Muyalakaṉ*?). '*Naṭṭam*' is the *prākṛit* form of *Nṛttam*'. '*Nṛttam*' has a technical meaning. '*Kūttu*' is derived by the Tamil Lexicon from '*Kūrdda*' — 'to jump' when there is the Tamilian and Dravidian root '*Kuti*'. '*Kūttu*' is used as a technical term in Tamil from very ancient times and '*Kūrdda*' is never found in any of the technical terms of Sanskrit *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Under these circumstances, one must be on the search for a purely Dravidian root. '*Nāṭakam*' is drama and is another technical term. '*Kuṉittal*' is another root, to bend and to dance.[82]

(2)

Some of the terms used by Ārūrar may be explained at this stage. "Indian acting or dancing" (the same word *Nāṭya* covers both ideas) "is" as Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy writes in the

69. 7: 17: 9; 7: 41: 6; 7: 63: 3.
70. 7: 62: 4.
71. 7: 92: 6.
72. 7: 61: 11; 7: 62: 4.
73. 7: 58: 3.
74. 7: 6: 9; 7: 9: 8; 7: 10: 2; 7: 15: 1; 7: 15: 2; 7: 36: 3; 7: 36: 7; 7: 38; 1; 7: 41: 1; 7: 42: 6; 7: 52: 9.
75. 7: 17: 6.
76. 7: 2: 5.
77. 7: 3: 2; 7: 6: 5; 7: 17: 9; 7: 18: 2; 7: 19: 7; 7: 29: 3; 7: 41: 6; 7: 42: 7; 7: 55: 8; 7: 72: 7; 7: 81: 7; 7: 84: 7.
78. 7: 6: 7; 7: 9: 8; 7: 10: 9; 7: 11: 3; 7: 63: 3.
79. 7: 58: 3.
80. 7: 70: 4.
81. 7: *Cilap.*, 6: 66.
82. 7: 43: 6.

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Mirror of Gesture[83] "a deliberate art. Nothing is left to chance; the actor no more yields to the impulse of the movement in gesture than in the spoken words... precisely as the text of the play remains the same whoever the actor may be... so there is no reason why an accepted gesture language should be varied with a view to set off the actor's personality. It is the action not the actor which is essential to dramatic art. Under these conditions, of course, there is no room for any amateur upon the stage. In fact, the amateur does not exist in Oriental art". Readers of *Cilappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* will readily agree with this conclusion. In the Pallava period, the kings took interest in *Nāṭya* and Mahēndravarma Pallava is the author of *Mattavilāsa*, a play. The sculptures and paintings of the age reveal to us the great popularity of dances and dance poses The worshippers also danced and Campantar speaks of the path of the done along with the path of song for attaining the Lord, *Āṭal neṛi*,[84] and *Pāṭal neṛi*.[85]

Bharata is the name of the *Ṛṣi* considered to be the author of *Nāṭya Śāstra*. Vedānta Dēsikar in his *Saṅkalpa Sūryōdaya* explains the word *Bharata* as acrostic of the initial syllables of the words *Bhāva* (idea), *Rāga* (Tune) and *Tāla* (Timing). We had referred to Ārūrar referring to *Tiṛam*, *Icai*, and *Pāṭal* referring to the tune, music and song, and to *Cati* referring to the *tāla*. As to the idea or *Bhāva*, the poet speaks of Śiva as, 'Our prince who performs the dance, inspired by the subject matter or *bhāva*'—"*Poruḷāl varu naṭṭam purinta Nampi*".[86] *Bhāva* is important. This is brought out by *Purāṇic* incident with the help of which Dr. Ānanda Coomaraswamy tries to reveal the interpretation of the dance. He translates thus in the work "*Mirror af Gesture*".[87] "When...the *Dānavas* (Titans) found that the drama depicted often their own defeat, they remonstrated with Brahma and this afforded occasion for an explanation of the true character and significance of dramatic art, not to flatter any party, but to represent the true and essential nature of the world. Brahman explains to the *Dānavas*: "This play is not merely for your pleasure or the pleasure of the *Devās* (celestials) but **exhibits mood** or

83. P. 3.
84. 2: 44: 5.
85. 2: 44: 5.
86. 7: 63: 3.
87. P. 2.

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bhāva for all the three worlds, I made this play as following the movement of the world, whether in work or play, profit, peace, laughter, battle, lust or slaughter; yielding the fruit of rightousness to those who follow the moral law, pleasure to those who follow lust, a restraint for the unruly, a discipline for the followers of a rule, creating vigour in the impotent, zeal in warriors, wisdom in the ignorant, learning in scholars, affording sport to kings, endurance to the sorrow-stricken, profit to those who seek advantage, courage to the broken willed: replete with the diverse moods, informed with the varying passions of the soul, linked to the deeds of all mankind, the best, the middling and the low, affording, excellent counsel, pastime, weal and all else' ".

Bharata begins by narrating the enactment of the dramas of churning the ocean and the *Tripura dahana* in the presence of the Lord. This is important for realizing that individual poses are not significant, in themselves, except as part of the whole, representing an event or a story. In this view, we can understand the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha temple and references in *Tēvāram* which do not refer to any image in a particular posture but depict a particular dramatic scene. The significance of the *Bhāva* of the divine dance must be much more important as may be presently seen. The way of expressing the *bhāva* is through *Abhinayas*, which are any means of exposition or any means of evoking *Rasa* in the audience; these may be *āṅgika*, i.e., the poses of the body, the face and movements, or *vācika*, i.e., the vocal expressions, or *āhārya*, i.e., the costumes, ornaments and other adventitious appendages or *sāttvika* i.e., the expression of mental states.

(3)

The importance of the Dance in Śaiva religion is great and some of the technical names are connected with Śaiva terms. The word *Tāṇḍava* itself is derived from *Taṇḍu*, the name of *Nandhi*, to whom Śiva gave this Art and who, therefore, became its author. *Aṅgahara*, which consists of the varied dispositions of the body—placing the limbs in different suitable positions—is traced by Abhinavagupta to Hara or Śiva, as according to him these practies relate to Hara. Probably it is these suitable or harmonious dispositions of the body what were called '*Ilayaṅkaḷ*' in *Tēvāram*.[88]

88. *Ilayam* : 7: 69: 2.

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Karaṇam is a technical word found in Ārūrar's poem[89] and explained in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. A combination of the prescribed position (*Sthānaka*), the gait (*Cāri*) and the hand pose (*Nṛtta hasta*) constitutes a *karaṇa*—each of these positions being called *mātrikā* or unit.

> "*Yāni sthānani yāścāryō nṛttahastāstathaiva ca*
> *Sā mātṛkēti vijñēyā tadyōgat karaṇam bhavēt*".[90]

A *karaṇa* in dance is the coordination of the movements of hand and foot :

> "*Hastapādasamāyogō nṛtyasya karaṇam bhavēt.*"[91]

The *cāris* and *nṛtta hastas* referred to here constitute a prime unit (*Mātṛikā*) and *karaṇas* are formed out of these:

> "*Cāryaścaiva tu yāh prōktā nṛttahastāstathaiva ca*
> *Sā mātṛkēti vijñēyā tadbhēdāt karaṇāṇi tu*".[92]

A single unit (*Mātṛikā*) of action consists of two *karaṇas*. The *aṅgahāras* arise out of the combination of either two, three or four of these units:

> "*Dvē nṛttakaraṇē caiva bhabatō nṛtta mātṛikā*
> *Dvābhyām tribhiścaturbhirvāpi aṅgahārastu mātṛbhih.*"[93]

In a *karaṇa*, the body as a whole is in one fixed position or *sthānaka*; in an *Aṅgahāra* there is frequent change of *sthānaka*. When Ārūrar speaks of the Lord dancing frequently changing the *sthānaka* — "*Peyarntāṭum perumāṉ*"[94] — he is referring to *Aṅgahara*. But the *karaṇas* and *Aṅgahāras* are fundamental poses and they are as such abstractions in the enactment of particular themes; these appropriate poses follow in the proper sequence to present a concrete dramatic situation or situations. In that very verse the poet speaks of the Lord dancing, adorning Himself with the crescent and the Ganges — the dance is, therefore, to represent the theme of *Candraśēkara* and *Gaṅgādhara* episodes.

89. *Karaṇam*: 7:6:3.
90. *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Ch. IV, 59.
91. *Ibid.*, IV, 30.
92. *Ibid.*, IV, 173.
93. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, 31.
94. 7: 86: 2.

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(4)

Nṛttam has a technical meaning as distinguished from abhinaya or gestaculatory action. *Bharata*[95] says about this: "The *Ṛṣis* asked Śiva: Gestaculatory action has been created for the understanding of the meaning. What is the purpose of *Nṛtta*? It has no relation with the subject matter of the song; nor does it appear to be the representation of the meanings of words. Why then is *Nṛtta* performed in singing and *Āsārita* music? In reply, it was stated that *Nṛtta* no doubt does not look to the meanings of the words (of the song) but it is practised because it is beautiful by itself. Usually *Nṛtta* by its very nature, is pleasing to the whole world. It is highly esteemed as betokening auspiciousness in marriages and their attendant functions, and at the birth of sons. It is also practised as a source of merriment".

Laya—ilayam—as harmony is also mentioned.[96]

Śiva danced in several *Aṅgahāras* in strict accordance with *Laya* and *Tāla*. The musical instruments should be tuned with due observance of *Laya*.[97] Ārūrar also speaks of *ilayam* and *cati*. "*Kūṭiya ilayam cati piḻaiyāmaik koṭiyiṭai yumaiyavaḷ kāṇa āṭiya aḻakā*."[98]

Tāṇḍava is another word. Śiva created the *Rēcakas*, *Aṇgahāras* and *Piṇḍi bandha* and gave them away to *Nandi*—that is *Tāṇḍavām* Thereafter, all dances accompanied by good music came to be known as *Tāṇḍava*.[99]

Kūttu or *Naṭam* means dance. It is of two varieties: the *Cāntikkūttu* or the dance of peace and the *Viṇōtakkūttu* or the dance of fun. The first is the classic dance and the second is the folk dance. The first is said to be of four kinds — the *cokkam* or *śuddha nṛtta*, consisting of the 108 *karaṇas* described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*; the second is the *meykkūttu* — the dances of the Ceylon, Vaḍuku and other countries in which the body is in various poses, giving expression to *Sāttvic*, *Rājasic* and *Tāmasic* characteristic features; the third is *Avinayakkūttu* — the song is explained

95. *Nat. Śas.*, IV, 268-273.
96. *Nāṭya Śāstra*, Ch. IV, 259.
97. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, 308.
98. 7: 69: 2.
99. *Ibid.*, Ch. IV, 266, 267 and 268.

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through *abhinayas* but there is no continuous story and the fourth is *Nātakam* which is the dance explaining a story, i.e., the drama.[100] The commentators speak of[101] Nāṭya with *Nṛtta* and *Tāṇḍava*, and state that *abhinaya* is the expression of ideas. *Tāṇḍava* is the name of the whole style of dance which is violent like the dance of Śiva; *Nṛtta* is the 108 *karaṇas*, without *abhinaya*, a part of *Tāṇḍava*.

(5)

More particulars are given by *Ārūrar* about the modes of dances. *Laya* is the harmony of the song to the tune and the harmony of the dance to the basic time or *tāla* — the harmony of the '*Koṭṭu āṭṭu-p pāṭal*', i.e., of the *Tāla*, *Dance* and *Song*.[102]

The *cati* is the movement of the leg, keeping time by stamping on earth.[103] It is probably an onomatopoetic word and why the Tamil Lexicon should trace it to *jati*, the pause in music, is not clear. But Sanskrit scholars admit that the word *jati* is today used in dance in the same sense as Ārūrar uses *cati*. The Lord in the presence of the Mother, it is said in one verse,[104] performed the dance without '*cati*' or the *tāla* stamped with the leg going out of time. Or, it may mean that the Lord danced in the presence of the Mother without the established harmony ever ceasing to keep time with the *tala* of the leg movement. The poet speaks of the Lord dancing with His eight hands creating and maintaining the *laya* and harmony.[105] The Dance with the eight hands has already been mentioned with reference to the fire dances.[106]

Laya means also the modes of dances.[107] One verse states: "This is the place where the Lord who is everlastingly fond of dancing productive of various poses resulting from the many leg movements and the ankle joint.[108] It is possible to make out

100. See *Aṭiyārkku Nallār's* commentary lines 12-25 in III *Araṅkēṟṟukkātai in Cilappatikāram*.
101. See *Cilappatikāram*, III, 1., 158.
102. 7: 13: 6.
103. 7: 69: 2.
104. 7: 69: 2.
105. 7: 33: 8.
106. 7: 40: 8.
107. *Tēvāram*: *Sāminatha Paṇḍitar edition*: 1235: 6.
108. 7: 10: 2.

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here the compound name "*Tillai Ampalavāṇaṉ*" — 'He who resides and lives in the Hall of Dance at Tillai' — and then it will refer to His dance, in the company of *Pēy* and wolf. The difficulty is only with the word '*kuṭaka*', qualifying the compound name 'Tillai Ampalavāṇaṉ' (*Khuṭṭakah* — ankle joint), probably referring to the bend of the *kuñcita* poses. The reading probably is not correct. The *Nāṭya Śāstra* knows the word '*kutapa*' and emphasizes the '*kutapa vinyāsa*' — the arrangement of the orchestra playing in accompaniment to the dance. *Bharata* lays much emphasis on the correct position of the musical orchestra. The descriptions of the Dance of Śiva also give particulars about the musical instruments (*kutapa*). With reference to the singing in accompaniment to '*yāḻ*' the ancient Tamilians called a particular mode of playing on the instrument *Kuṟumpōkku* (short steps) which is said to be of two varieties: (1) *Tuḷḷal* or quick or rhythmic leaping-like movement and (2) *Kuṭakam* which may be said to be the opposite of *Tuḷḷal*. Then we may interpret the *Kuṭaka* in '*Kuṭakkat tillai*' dance, as a dance where there are no short quick steps or fast musical rhythms but calm slow and soft rhythms.

The Lord comes a-begging with the bull performing many '*karaṇas*' or modes of dances[109] — says a verse. In the sculptures of Kailāsanātha Temple, we get glimpses of '*Kutapa vinyasa*'. In Plate CXXIII, fig. 3, we have already noticed, *Nandi* playing upon '*Kuṭa muḻā*' — '*Kuṭamuḻa nandīcaṉ*'[110] sings Appar. On the left side of Śiva's leg is somebody with an instrument, which is not clear, whether it is a lute or a stick for beating the drum. In Plate CXVIII, figure 3, we referred to the *Bhūtas* playing on the drum. In plate CIX, fig. 1, there is one in the act of beating an one-sided long drum. In plate XCVII, fig. 1, there is one in the act of playing on two drums. In fig. 2, therein, there is one sitting and playing on a drum all concentrated in such a play. On the left side of the leg there is one sitting with two sticks raised in the act of beating probably a drum.

Kuta is the sound and '*kutapa*' is that which sustains and maintains this sound; that is, the musical instruments which are according to *Piṅkalantai* and other Tamil Lexicons five in number: (1) *Narappukkaruvi* or stringed instruments; (2) *Kañcakkaruvi*

109. 7: 6: 3.
110. 6: 96: 11.

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or the metallic instruments like cymbals; (3) *Tōl karuvi*, the instruments of hides and skins like the varieties of drums; (4) *Tuḷaikkaruvi*, the hollow instruments like the flute, known as wind instruments in science and (5) the *miṭārṟukkaruvi*, the instrument of the human throat. The last is not recognized as an instrument outside the Tamil land and the Sanskrit terms for the first four are, '*Taṭa*', '*Ghaṇa*' '*Ānaddha*' and *Suṣira*', The *Nāṭyasāstra* in speaking of *Tāṇḍava* refers to its accompaniment with *Vardhamānaka* (*Tala*). "*Vardhamānaka* is also called", says *Nāṭyasāstra*, "because of the harmonious development of its *kalās*, and letters (the interval of tune calculated in terms of the duration of letters) and also because of the prosperity it produces for the dancer. O! best of *Dvijas*! the *kutapa vinyāsa* has first to be performed as ordained by the rules and then the performers may proceed with *Āsārita* practices. Thus making *upōhana* (humming a tune before singing it aloud) to the accompaniment of stringed musical instruments, vocal music and *Bhāṇḍa* (a drum) the lady dancer has to make her entry. Where a song has to be represented in *Abhinaya*, there should be no accompaniment of instrumental music. *Bhāṇḍa Vādya* is ordained for the performance of *Angahāras*. Instrumental music, which is well harmonized, well timed, enjoyable, and attuned to the *Nṛtta* should be used in *Tāṇḍava* by those skilled in the use of such instruments".[111] These remind us of Ārūrar's emphasis on *Laya*, *Cati*, *Pāṭal*, *Icai* and musical instruments. *Kutapa vinyāsa* according to the commentary is to be in the following manner: There is the *mrdaṅga*; to its left is the *paṇava*; the singer is to the south of the platform himself facing north; to his north is the songstress herself facing south; *Viṇa* is to the left of her; next is the flute.

In *Araṅkēṟṟukkātai*,[112] we have the description of the Dance master,[113] the master of music,[114] the poet,[115] the master of *taṇṇumai* drum,[116] the master of the flute,[117] and the master of *yāḻ* or the harp.[118] The poet here refers to the *kutapa vinyāsa* when he

111. Ch. IV., 277-285.
112. *Cilap.*, III.
113. Il., 12-25.
114. Il., 26-36.
115. Il., 37-44.
116. Il., 45-55.
117. Il., 55-69.
118. Il., 70-94.

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states "*Kuyiluva mākkaḷ neṟippaṭa niṟpa.*"[119] The lyre follows the flute and so does the song. *Taṇṇumai* follows the lyre. *Muḻā—kuṭa muḻā*—follows the *taṇṇumai* or *mattaḷam*; *Āmantirikai—itakkai*—accompanies the *tāla*; and the other instruments follow these like the shadow following the kite flying higher and higher.[120]

But it must be noted that the word used is '*kuṭaka*' and not '*kutapa*'. We must assume '*ṭ*' comes in for '*t*'. It is possible to take the *kuṭaka* as a corresponding reading to *kuṭṭaka*, one of the ways, the sole is struck on the floor in dance. Or, is he referring to Pērūr, the western Tillai?

The drums are classified by Aṭiyārkkunallār on the basis of the authorities as (1) *Aka muḻā* (The inner drum) like *Callikai*, *Iṭakkai*, *Karaṭikai*, *Pērikai*, *Paṭakam*, *Mattaḷam* and *Kuṭamulā* which are called the best ones; (2) *Akappuṟa muḻā* (the inner-outer drum) like *Taṇṇumai*, *Takkai*, *Takuṇiccam*, etc., called the middling; (3) *Puṟa muḻā* (the outer drum) like *Kaṇappaṟai*, etc., called the last; (4) *Puṟappuṟa muḻā* (the outer-outer drum) like *Neytaṟpaṟai* (funeral drum); (5) *Paṇṇamai muḻa* or the heroic drums like *Muracu*, *Nicalam*, *Tuṭumai*, and *Timilai*; (6) the *Nāḷ muḻā* or the day drum or the drum announcing the hours if we may use the word for clarification; (7) the *Kālai muḻā* or the morning drum, that is the *Tuṭi* or *Uṭukkai*. An explanation of some of these names is next given by this commentator: *Mattaḷam* is so called because '*mat*' is the sound; '*taḷam*' is the basis of all musical instruments, hence this is the basis of all drums. *Callikai* is so called because it has the sound like '*cal*'. *Āvañci*, *kuṭukkai* and *iṭakkai* mean the same (kind of drum). It is called '*Āvañci*' because it is covered with the hides of the cow. The meaning of *vañcittōl* is not clear. *Kuṭukkai* refers to its form. It is called '*iṭakkai*' because it is played upon with the left hand. '*Karaṭikai*' is so called because it sounds like the noise raised by the bear. What is first played upon is the *mattaḷam* and, therefore, it is the first instrument. That which comes in the middle is the '*calli*' which is the '*itaikkaruvi*'. '*Uṭukkai*' comes in for the closing beat and hence it is called '*kaṭaikkaruvi*'. The differentiation of these into the inner and the outer, the inner-outer and the outer-outer is probably based upon the possibility of tuning them, the inner is what is completely tuned

119. I., 130.
120. *Cilap.*, III., ll., 138-143.

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and musical like the *mṛdaṅga* or *mattaḷa*; the outer-outer is what is completely non-musical and nothing but noisy like the funeral drum; the others come in between. Dr. Rāghavan considers this as *akam* and *puram*. The commentator enumerates all the drums: *Pērikai*, *paṭakam*, *iṭakkai*, *uṭukkai*, *mattaḷam*, *callikāi*, *karaṭikai*, *timilai*, *kuṭamuḻā*, *takkai*, *kaṇapparai*, *tamarukam*, *taṇṇumai*, *taṭārt*, *antari*, *muḻavu*, *cantiravaḷaiyam*, *montai*, *muracu*, *kaṇviṭu tūmpu*, *nicalam*, *tuṭumai*, *ciṟuparai*, *aṭakkam*, *takuṇiccam*, *viralēṟu*, *pākam*, *upāṅkam*, *nāḻikaipparai*, *tuṭi* and *perumparai*. He quotes a verse containing these names as his authority.[121]

The names of some of these are as old as the *Caṅkam* age and occur in *Malaipaṭukaṭām*:[122] *Muḻavu*, *ākuḷi*, *pāṇṭil*, (*cymbal*), *kōṭu*, *kaliṟṟuyirttūmpu*, *kuruntūmpu*, *kuḻal*, *taṭṭai*, *ellari* and *patalai*. Naccinārkkiṇiyar explains these: *Ākuḷi*' is '*ciruparai*'; '*Kōṭu*' is the horn; "*Kaliṟṟuyirttūmpu*" is the big '*tūmpu*' of the shape of the elephant's trunk and sounding like its deep breath; '*Taṭṭai*' is '*karaṭikai*'; '*Ellari*' is '*calli*'; '*Patalai*' is the '*kiṇai*' beaten on one side. '*Pili*' (line 5) is counted by Dr. Swaminatha Aiyar as a separate drum on the basis of Ārūrar Tēvāram — '*Viḻikkum Taḻaippīli*.[123]

Ārūrar's reference to these musical instruments may be better understood in the light of *kutapa vinyāsa*. "You dance standing and singing in accompaniment to the musical harmony of *takkai*, *taṇṇumai*, *tāḷam* (perhaps cymbal), *vīṇai*, *takuṇiccam*, *kiṇai*, *callari*, *kokkari*, *kuṭa muḻavu*",[124] so sings Ārūrar, emphasizing the harmony of the music and dance, in the best traditions of *Nāṭya* art. Here, one finds names of drums, not mentioned in the list of *Aṭiyārkkunallār*. *Kiṇai* is the old *Caṅkam* drum,[125] and is probably *taṭāri*. *Callart* is *callikai*. We have already referred to *koṭukoṭṭi* coming in accompaniment to *vīṇai*.[126] In another place, Ārūrar speaks of Śiva enjoying probably as the Dancer, the *kokkarai*, *koṭukoṭṭi* and *tattaḷakam*, all of which sound intermittently and the *tuntumi*, and *kuṭamuḻā*, which are beaten and to the tune of

121. See his commentary — *Cilap*,, III, 1., 26.
122. ll., 2-11.
123. 7: 9: 7.
124. 7: 36: 9.
125. *Puṟam.*, 70: 3.
126. 7: 42: 9.

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which the songs are sung.[127] The tuning of *muḻā*, so as to harmonize with the song is referred to, as is made clear in *Cilappatikāram*. *Tattaḻakām* is not in the list above given, *Piṅkalantai* speaks of '*Tattaḻa pañcamam*' as a tune. Perhaps *Tattaḻam* is a drum of the *marutam* like '*kiṇai*'. '*Kokkarai*' is explained by *Tivākaram* as conch.[121] *Tēvāram* speaks of *kokkarai* as keeping time — '*Tāḻamali kokkarai*'.[129] Conch is described under *Tālavādyas* in Sanskrit works. *Muḻā* is the basis and the common name. Ārūrar speaks of '*Paṟaiyār muḻavam*' — 'the *muḻavam* which is accompanied by all the drums or *paṟai* or the *muḻā* which is full of sound,[130] and of '*maṇi muḻā*', the beautiful *muḻā*.[131] The harmony of the drums and the flute to the sound of the song and the heroic anklet resounding in harmony is spoken of by Ārūrar.[132] *Paṭampakkam* is also mentioned as a musical instrument.[133] Probably it is *pākam*: c.f. *Cilappatikāram* commentary; c.f. *Viralēṟu pākam*.[134] *Paṭam* is probably the hood-like mark made by the beating with the fingers,[135] — "*Paitta pāmpiṉ tutti ēypp-k-kai-k kacaṭirunta eṉ kaṇṇakal taṭūri*". '*Montai*' is an earthen vessel and a drum is made of it by covering it with a skin, very much like the modern '*caṭṭi-p paṟai*'. It is mentioned above in the list. The form of the word as found in *Tēvāram* is '*mōntai*'.[136] The musical instruments '*Yāḻ*',[136a] and '*Vīṇai*'[137] are also mentioned.

Gītam is another technical term used. *Gītas* are a class of songs. 'A *Gīta* comprehending all things has first to be performed in *Abhinaya*. The same thing has again to be represented in the dance' says the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.[138] But Ārūrar speaks of *Vedā-gītam* and this technical meaning may not apply to that term. Our poet how

127. 7: 49: 6.
128. It also means a bow; is it an instrument like a bow?
129. Swaminatha Panditar's edition: 1141: 7.
130. 7: 53: 4.
131. 7: 55: 8.
132. 7: 32: 7.
133. 7; 2: 6.
134. *Cilap.*, 2: 27 commentary.
135. *Porunar āṟṟupaṭai*; ll., 69-70.
136. 7: 49: 9.
136a. 7: 8: 7; 7: 71: 1.
137. 7: 36: 9; 7: 46: 4: 7: 85: 6.
138. Ch. IV., ll., 301-302.

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ever refers to *vari*.[130] This is explained by the commentator.[140] According to this definition, '*Vari*' is something like our modern '*cintu*'. Various forms of *vari* occur in the '*Kāṉal vari*' and '*Vēṭṭuva vari*' of the *Cilappatikāram*. '*Vari*' may be taken as '*Varikkūttu*' mentioned in the commentary.[140a] Aṭiyārkkunallār refers[141] to *Palvarikkūttu* which includes all kinds of folk dances of adults, children, women and foreigners. To please the women or the *Ṛṣi-patnīs*, the Lord may be taken to have performed these dances as well.

V

(1)

In more than sixty places Ārūrar has referred to the dance of Śiva. But the references to the dance at Cidambaram is restricted to three places only. In this, we have not taken into account the mention of '*Puliyūr-t tirucciṟṟampalam*' ten times in the *koil* hymn. According to the *Periyapurāṇam* tradition, this hymn was sung by Ārūrar at Cidambaram describing the vision he had, of the Lord, at 'Pērūr' on the banks of the river 'Kāñci' in the '*Koṅku nāṭu*'.[142] This tradition is confirmed by the last verse of Ārūrar's hymn 90. The first verse in this hymn describes the Lord holding '*Damarukam*' or '*Uṭukkai*', '*Eriyakal*' or the fire-pot, and '*Kariya pāmpu*' or the cobra. This is not what we find at Cidambaram. It is true that Appar speaks of the serpent and the skull in his second *Koil Tirukkuṟuntokai*.[143] But he refers to these in relation to the dance of Śiva in the burning ground. The form of Naṭarāja holding the serpent is to our great surprise found at Pērūr and that is why Ārūrar speaks of Pērūr vision in the last verse. This is very significant and reveals to us the painstaking researches of Cēkkiḻār. This form is often referred to by Ārūrar.[144] With reference to the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, this had already been noticed. In the Kailāsanāthar temple and other temples of

139. 7: 72; 7.
140. *Cilap.*, VII, l., 19.
140a. *Cilap.*, III, ll., 12-25.
141. *Cilap.*, III, l., 13.
142. *Ēyar kōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam*—V. 115.
143. Verse 3.
144. 7: 14: 8; 7: 39: 9; 7: 36: 4.

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Coñjivaram, we had found Śiva as dancer holding a serpent in His hand.[145]

It is very unfortunate that the hymn which he first sung on his visit to Cidambaram is not now in existence. It must have been a glorious description of the dance, from what Cēkkiḻār says of that hymn.[146] But there are three other references to Cidambaram, i.e., in three different hymns. After singing the 90th hymn above referred to at Cidambaram, according to *Periyapurāṇam*, our poet goes to Tiruvārūr and starts again on another pilgrimage towards the north. He passes through Cidambaram and when he reaches his old place Tirunāvalūr, he is reminded of Cidambaram and mentions it in the 6th verse of his 17th hymn "*Āṭṭaṅkoṇṭār Tillai-c Cirrampalattē*"— 'He began dancing in Cirrambalam in the small hall at Tillai'. Before going to Cidambaram, whilst passing through 'Tirukkōlakkā', he speaks of having a vision of the dance of Cidambaram.[147] This is reminiscent of his previous vision at Cidambaram itself. "He who was pleased with accepting me as His servant being His confidant, the Lord of the eternal, He who is keeping by His side the Mother of Kumāra, has made the Ganges to be hidden in the Heavens, the pure Śiva the rich honey, the dancer who fills up and dances in the Tillai hall, the great gem of my teacher, Him I have verily seen at Tirukkōlakkā'. The hall being full with the dance, the subjective experience of the poet shows how the poet was moved at Cidambaram.

According to *Periyapurāṇam*, when Ārūrar was going on a pilgrimage along with Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, he had a dream one day at Tirucculiyal, a dream of the Lord as a youth and then he sang the 84th hymn: "When am I to see this youth of Kāṉappērūr?" He refers there to his previous sight of the Lord at Cidambaram, in verse No. 5. He refers to the beauty of the bull, the beautiful and sweet smelling mat-lock, the boquet of *Koṉṟai* blooming in bunches, the tender lady of the jasmine-like teeth with passionate love, the beautiful dance performed in the hall in the city of Tillai, the powerful hatchest, the blazing fire on the hand and the characteristic features of His followers playing on

145. Rea's Plate CIX, fig. 1, CXVIII, fig. 3, CXXIII, fig. 3, 7, etc.
146. *Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam*, VV. 106, 107.
147. 7: 62: 4.

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the drum called '*Kallavaṭam*' and explains, "When am I to see all this and the youth of Kāṉappēr?".

Except in these three places and the *Koil* hymn, the references to the dances are not to this kind of dance which has now become popular and almost universal in all temples but to the dance performed on the burning ghat and at the door of the *Ṛṣipatnīs* of *Dārukavana*.

(2)

We found in our study of the Kailāsanāthar temple sculptures that the *Nādānta* dance of Cidambaram was conspicuous by its absence. All the dances are of the wild and terrific variety. The similarity between the majority of descriptions of dance found in Ārūrar and the representative figures of Śiva's poses in the Kailāsanātha temple is indeed very significant, revealing to us the spirit of the age and the particular stage of the popularity of the various dance poses in the history of the Tamilian conception of Śiva's dance.

(3)

It has been found that the Dance of Śiva described by Ārūrar refers to the dance at the burning ground. The words used by Ārūrar with reference to this place are, "*Mutukāṭu*"; "*Iṭukātu*"; "*Cuṭalai*"; "*Karikāṭu*"; "*Cuṭukāṭu*"; "*Kaṭṭa-k kāṭu*"; "*Piṇakkāṭu*"; "*Piṇamiṭu kāṭu*"; "*Piṇampaṭu kāṭu*"; "*Mayāṉam*"; "*Īmam*"; etc.

"*Mayāṉam*"[148] is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word '*Śmaśāna*', derived from the roots, '*Śma*' (Corpse) and '*Śā*' (Sleep) signifies the place of corpses, the "*Piṇakkāṭu*",[149] "*Piṇampaṭu kāṭu*".[150] '*Kāṭu*'[151] is the place of wild growth; it was a place outside the village where the dead were buried or burnt. Because it is a wild growth of bushes, it is called a '*Tūṟu*' — wild bush.[152] Because it is outside the village, away from the waste or pasture lands of jungle growth, it is called "*Puṟāṅkāṭu*" or the outside wood.[153] In view of the horror of death, it is called "*Pollāppuṟaṅ-*

148. 7: 53: 29; 7: 89: 8.
149. 7: 98: 4.
150. 7: 14: 8.
151. 7: 9: 8; 7: 29: 3; 7: 36: 7; 7: 56: 6; 7: 72: 7; 7: 97: 4.
152. 7: 44: 2.
153. 7: 2: 5; 7: 15: 1; 7: 52: 9; 7: 94: 7.

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kāṭu".[154] It is the wild of death — "*Paṭukāṭu*".[155] Usually the cremation used to take place at dusk or in the last part of the evening. Hence this place is called the "*iruṭkāṭu*" — the wild waste of darkness.[156] '*Cuṭu*' is to burn and "*Cuṭu kāṭu*"[157] is the wild place in which corpses are burnt. '*Cuṭalai*"[159] from '*Cuṭu*' means the place of cremation. Because of this burning, this wild place appears charred and full of cinder and hence it is "*Kari kāṭu*" — the burnt or charred wood.[159] There is also a custom of burying the dead and, therefore, the burial ground is called "*Iṭukāṭu*"[160] and it is made clearer as "*Piṇam iṭu kāṭu*"[161] — "*Piṇakkāṭu*"[162] the place where the corpses are thrown or buried. Therefore the kites fly there to prey upon the dead bodies; hence is the name of the wild waste, carrying the kites — the hovering kites look as though being supported by the force of this wild waste "*Pāṟu tāṅkiya kāṭu*".[163] '*Kāṭu*' as the place of wild growth comes from the root '*kātu*' — the harsh, the wild and the bitter and '*kaṭumai*', '*kaṭukkāy*', '*kaṭuku*', '*kaṭuvāy*' are traceable to this root. '*Kaṭṭam*' from the same root is a variant form of '*kaṭu*' with the suffix '*am*'; it means according to *Tivākaram*, a jungle. Our poet calls the burning ghat as "*Kaṭṭakkāṭu*"[164] a compound of words in duplicate, if one may use the term. On the analogy of "*Kaittalam*", "*Cāraippāmpu*", etc., one may say that the second term '*kāṭu*' has become a generic name whilst '*kaṭṭam*' was the special name of burning ghat. Here is also a suggestion of sorrow, on account of the similarity between the Tamil word '*kaṭṭam*' and the Tamil form of the Sanskrit word '*kaṣṭa*'. It is '*Peruṅkāṭu*', the wild expanse.[165] The greatness or '*Perumai*' is explained by another name. It is '*Mutu kāṭu*',[166] the most ancient jungle. As one

154. 7: 2: 5.
155. 2: 42: 4.
156. 7: 44: 4.
157. 7: 10: 9; 7: 41: 6.
158. 7: 36: 3; 7: 44: 2.
159. 7: 33: 7; 7: 38: 1; 7: 42: 7; 7: 55: 8:
160. 7: 4: 6; 7: 43: 6; 7: 92: 5.
161. 7: 96: 3.
162. 7: 98: 4.
163. 7: 33: 1.
164. 7: 18: 2.
165. 7: 2: 8; 7: 9: 8.
166. 7: 2: 2; 7: 41: 1; 7: 42: 6.

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Caṅkam poet sings[167] it has seen generation marching away out of this world; they showed their back or presented it with a pair of heels but nobody has seen it march out. This is what Tolkāppiyar calls "*Kāṭu vāḻttu*".[168] Hence the name "*Mutu kāṭu*.[169] This is the Hall of His dance — "*Kāṭaraṅku*";[170] "*Peruṅkāṭaraṅku*".[171] All His Hall of Dance is the beautiful grave yard.[172] '*Īmam*' is another word which the poet uses along with "*Puṟaṅkāṭu*", "*Īmappuṟaṅkāṭu*".[173] This is from the word '*Īm*' with the suffix '*am*'. Tolkāppiyar gives the form '*Īm*'[174] and Naccinārkkiniyar explains it there as the burning ground.

The ghosts — the *Pēy*, the *Pāriṭam* and *Pūtam* — are said to crowd the burning ground. Their dance with the Lord had already been described in our description of *Kāpāli* form.[175] We have referred to the serpent He holds.[176] The serpents dance whilst He dances, especially the serpents on the cloth of the tiger skin.[177] Rea's plate CIX, fig. 1 already noticed, represents the swinging of the serpents from the waist in Śiva's dance. The burning ghat is the rendezvous of the fox and the wolf; it is their happy haunt.[178] The world stands there dazed at the serpent of the dance[179] or it also dances according to the interpretation given by Rāmānanda yōgi. The fox snatches a skull with its mouth; the wolf stands and hails; the ghosts of burning heads surround Him and He dances in the Dark forest.[180]

(4)

Next to the description of this dance as a dance of the burning ground, we have its description as a midnight dance or a dance

167. *Puṟam* V., 356; *Puṟap. V.M.*, V., 274.
168. *Tol.*, S., 1024.
169. 7: 41: 1; 7: 42: 6.
170. 7: 42: 6; 7: 55: 8; 7: 72: 7; 7: 98: 4.
171. 7: 9: 8.
172. 7: 92: 5.
173. 7: 52: 9.
174. *Tol.*, S., 328.
175. 7: 9: 8; 7: 10: 2.
176. 7: 14: 8.
177. 7: 39: 9.
178. 7: 72: 7:
179. 7: 10: 5.
180. 7: 44: 4.

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of darkness. If the burning ground is the place, midnight is the time. '*Īr*' is the root of the word '*Irul*; *Irā*; *Iravu*. '*Irumaṇ*' is the dark mud; '*Irumai*' is blackness; '*Iruḷ*' is darkness; '*Ira*', '*Iravu*', '*Irā*' mean the night which is the dark part of the day. '*Īr*' has the meaning wet and cool; does the meaning of night arise from this as being the cooler part of the day? 'Elli' is another word for the night of this dance.[181] Tolkāppiyar in his '*Iṭaiyiyal*' gives the particle '*El*' meaning brightness[182] and he uses the word in the phrase '*Erpāṭu*',[193] where '*El*' means the Sun.[184] It means the day time.[185] From this comes the meaning of 'clearly and openly'.[186] But by the time of the Muttaraiyars of *Nālaṭiyār*[187] of the age of *Cintāmaṇi*,[188] and the age of *Pāṇṭikkōvai*[189] which may be all said to belong to the age of the Pallavas, this word has developed the meaning of night and darkness. How this revolution in its meaning has been effected is not clear. In Malayāḷam the word '*Ira*' has come to mean the day-break. In a similar way this '*El*' might have been used for the sun-rise and then gradually for the day-break, the last part of the night and the night itself. The word '*Aḻukai*' becomes in Telugu '*Ēḍuka*'. It is not, therefore, impossible for the Tamil word '*Al*' which means night to be pronounced as '*El*' in these parts in contact with Telugu or the Northern Dravidian dialect of those days.

The other word used by Ārūrar is '*Kāṇkul*'. If '*ul*' is left off as a formative, the form '*kaṅku*' remains. '*Kaṅku*' is the name of a black millet where we have the meaning of blackness lurking.

Note: '*Ku*' itself may be another formative; and '*kam*' also will remain. '*Kammutal*' in colloquial language is to be dark, to be overcast. In this case, we must assume '*l*' of '*Kal*' has changed into a nasal as '*Kam*'. The final nasal in Tamil words takes the place of '*l*', '*ṉ*' and '*v*'; we have '*nālku*' becoming '*nānku*; '*teṉ*'

181. 7: 15: 2.
182. *Tol.*, S., 754.
183. *Tol.*, S., 954.
184. See also *Pattuppāṭṭu* 1, 1., 74.
185. *Puṟattiṇaiyiyal*, S. 170.
186. *Cintāmaṇi*, V., 2959.
187. V., 8.
188. V., 1877.
189. V., 277.

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becoming '*tēm*' as in '*tēṅkuṭam*'; the '*v*' of '*tev*' becomes the nasal '*m*' as in '*temmuṉai*'. With these remarks in mind one can study the word '*Kaḻṟu*', a word for which the commentators on *Tolkāppiyam* give the meaning of darkness.[190] In '*Kaḻṟu*' we may think of '*kal*' as the root ending in '*l*' which may change into '*āyatam*' in the presence of the formative '*tu*' which itself changes there into '*ṟu*'. Perhaps this is connected with the root '*karu*', black.

Our poet speaks of "*Naḷḷiruḷ naṭṭam*" — the dance of midnight[191] and of "*Kaṭu iruḷ naṭam*"[192] — the dance of bitter darkness. He asks why this dance in the night — '*Iravattu*'.[193] The poet makes a confession that he steals (a sight of) the night dance or the "*elliyil āṭal*" in the burning ground.[194] The significance of this statement will appear when explaining the mystic meaning of the dance. Ārūrar addresses the Lord as the night dancer of the burning ground, carrying the never extinguished fire in the hand — "*Kaṅkuṟpuṟam kāṭṭu āṭi*".[195]

(5)

This dance of destruction is also a fire dance, a dance on the burning funeral pyre. Most of the dances of the *Bhārati* mode represent the heroic feats of Śiva. *Kāma* was burnt and our poet says, that burning away the lord of the shining arrows, by fire, Śiva danced in that fire.[196] In the light of this description, one can understand the other references to the fire dance as the dance in the fire of destruction. There is the reference to His carrying the fire[197] but this is not a dance in fire. "Dancing in the fire He preaches",[198] says the poet. This may refer to His carrying the fire in His hand whilst dancing. In another place Ārūrar says: "He throws out the fire or He emits fire and stands and dances."[199]

190. *Tol.*, 40.
191. 7: 11: 3.
192. 7: 29: 3.
193. 7: 4: 6.
194. 7: 15: 2.
195. 7: 47: 2.
196. 7: 10: 1.
197. 7: 47: 2.
198. 7: 40: 8.
199. 7: 42: 7.

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This also may after all refer to the fire in the hand. In describing the fourth *Tāṇḍava* as *Bhujaṅga lalita*, the *Mayamata*, we had already noted, speaks of the fire in the hand being blown into a blaze as a result of the poses of the dance; perhaps this is refeered to as '*aṉal vīci*'.[200] More definite references are however there in Ārūrar's poems about this dance of fire. 'Why this dance in the fire in the night in the graveyard?"[201] — that is the question. "The sacred thread on the beautiful chest is thrown out along with the eight arms in the act of the dance in fire"[202] — sings the poet. He calls the Lord '*Eriyāṭi*' — 'the dancer in the blazing fire'[203] and "*Tīyāṭiyār*',[204] the fire dancer. An image of this dance is found in the Gwalior Museum.[205]

(6)

The other dance of destruction is the white dance or the dance on the burning ground or the decaying dust of the graveyard ashes called '*Pāṇṭaraṅkam*' already referred to.[206] 'He, the dancer on the white dust' — thus Ārūrar addresses the Lord.[207] The poet further says, 'He sings and dances besmearing the burnt-out white ashes'.[208]

'*Koṭukoṭṭi*' dance also had been already referred to. The sculpture of Talasamsphōṭita dance of Kailāsanātha temple of Conjīvaram, as described by Mr. Gopinatha Rao is really a representation of '*Koṭukoṭṭi* dance'. *Koṭukoṭṭi* is the fatal clapping on the day of destruction according to Naccinārkkiṉiyar. Our poet sings of the Lord as the One who wears an anklet of heroism in the leg of destructive stamping — "*Koṭukoṭṭi kālar*"[208a] — '*Koṭukoṭṭi*' is the destructive dance of terrific stamping with the foot.

200. 7: 42: 7.
201. 7: 46: 1.
202. 7: 40: 8.
203. 7: 72: 7.
204. 7: 17: 8.
205. *Trouvilles de Nedoungadu Tandavas de Śiva* — Planche XXXII. This dance is called *Śaṅkara tāṇḍavam* (p. 54).
206. 7: 22: 2; 7: 98: 1.
207. 7: 81: 4.
208. 7: 18: 2.
208a. 7: 33: 5.

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(7)

The wild dance has been described with reference to the swinging dance of the serpents.[209] The sweep of the blazing faggot in the hand and the dance of the thrown out eight arms have also been referred to. In this dance the mat-lock is thrown out and it flows down[210] and it whirls in eight different parts.[211] It is significant that whilst the *Āgamas speak of the* mat-lock getting divided into 5, 7, or 9 parts, i.e., of odd numbers and Appar speaks of 9 in the 9th verse of the "*Viṭam tīrtta*" hymn, our poet speaks of the even number eight, emphasizing the symmetry and harmony. The *Āgamic* rules have not yet crystallized. "The resounding heroic golden anklet roars, the serpents dance; He dances moving"[212] — thus the poet sings of this whirling wild dance. This dance is accompanied by music — song — and *tāla* or drum.[213] The importance of '*kutapa*' has already been mentioned. *Muḻā* or *mṛdaṅgam* is, as Sir C. V. Raman has pointed out, not a non-musical noisy band. It is India's greatness that it is a musically tuned instrument. The lovesick maiden asks the Lord, "Are you an expert in dance and song?".[214] It is a Tamil song He sings and she asks, "Are you capable of singing the classic Tamil tunes — "*Centamiḻ-t tiṟam vallīrō*"?[215] The "*vari-p pāṭṭu*" or musical songs are sung to the tune of the stringed instrument as mentioned in one verse.[216] '*Muḻā*' is mentioned. This is played on by one of the *Asuras* of *Tripuram*.[217] Other musical instruments are also referred to: "*Koṭukoṭṭi*" is a drum carried along with the '*Viṇā*.[218] "*Paṭampakkam*" is another drum.[219] "*Kallavaṭam*" is a drum carried by the worshippers.[220] "*Damarukam*" is the *uṭukkai* in His hand.[221]

209. 7: 39: 9.
210. 7: 9: 8.
211. 7: 19: 7.
212. 7: 86: 2.
213. 7: 42. 6.
214. 7: 36: 7.
215. 7: 36: 4.
216. 7: 72: 7.
217. 7: 55: 8.
218. 7: 42: 9.
219. 7: 2: 6.
220. 7: 84: 5.
221. 7: 90: 1.

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(8)

In all these dances, the Mother stands on the left. She, representing Śiva's Grace, inspires the Dance — a dance born of love for Her and pity for the souls to be redeemed. All art is so inspired by these great sentiments. The poet sings, 'So that she may enjoy — the lady of the white jasmine teeth — the damsel of the never deserting but ever growing fame, *Śaṅkaraṉ* the Creator of bliss, stands in the middle of the burning ground and dances'.[222] 'With the charred burning ground as the hall of dance, you perform the unique dance for the fawn-eyed to enjoy, whilst the *muḻā* or the drum of gems is played upon by one of the three asuras of *Tripura* after the other two had been sent away to guard your gateway'.[223] 'Oh! Thou Beautiful who dances to be seen by Umā of the creeper waist.'[224] The poet speaks of the harmony here — never disturbed by the leg movement or '*Cati*' going out of time. Does this refer to the Mother keeping time as mentioned in *Kalittokai*? Sometimes He dances with har as already pointed out in *Kallāṭam*. 'Along with the damsel of the thread-like subtle waist, why do you dance in the graveyard so wild and fast, that the ring bedecked ears dash against each other?'[225] — that is a question raised by our poet. 'The great Lord who practises the dances along with the damsel of the beautiful bosom',[226] — thus sings the poet. In one place the poet sings of Śiva coming as the Lord of the Mother and Viṣṇu and the bull and dancing on the left.[227] Does this refer to the dance of the Mother, or, does it refer to the dance in the '*iṭam*' which simply means the place and here 'Veṇṇainallūr'?

It has already been pointed out that in *Sandhyā Taṇḍava*, the Mother stands on the left and that it is a dance of peace. Ārūrar sepecifically mentions '*anti*' which is the *Sandhi* of the *Sandhyā* dance.[228] The other references to the Mother may refer to *Gaurī* and *Umā Tāṇḍavas* as well, except in these places which specifically

222. 7: 10: 9.
223. 7: 55: 8.
224. 7: 69: 2.
225. 7: 40: 8.
226. 7: 89: 8.
227. 7: 17: 9.
228. 7: 43: 8—*Bhikṣāṭana* form is connected *with Naṭana* form.

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mention the burning ground where the wild dance of destruction takes place.

(9)

The tournament of dance with *Kālī* is also referred to by our poet. *Kālī* is the terrific aspect of *Śaktī*. Mother worship is found all the world over especially in the Primitive South India as Mr. Ehrenfels points out. We have in the Tamil land the Goddess of the Desert and Forest: *Kāṭukiḻāḷ*, the goddess of Victory, worshipped by heroes, *Koṟṟavai* and the most ancient Goddess, *Paḷaiyōḷ*. There is also the Goddess of the Vindhyas. There is the *Nīli* of Paḷaiyaṉūr. For killing many asuras many forms of *Kāli*,—*Durga*, *Caṇḍi*, etc., are being spoken of by the *Purāṇas* and tradition. The *Sapta mātraḥ* or the seven virgins or Mothers came to be very popular in the age of the Pallavas. *Mahiṣāsura mardani*, the victor over the Buffalo-asura had captivated the imagination of the Pallava kings and the sculptures of Mahābalipuram and Kailāsanātha temple are rightly famous for the beautiful representations of this form. All these stories have been attempted to be harmonized, and *Tirumurukāṟṟuppaṭai* makes some of these, the forms of one great Mother of Muruka who Himself is spoken of as the leader of the heavenly warriors.[229] The Dance of this Mother aspect is referred to in *Cilappatikāram*—*Vēṭṭuva vari*. This conception is even now popular in Bengal.

In the *Vēṭṭuva vari* of *Cilappatikāram*, we see one of the hunter women adorns herself in the form *Koṟṟavai* and dances, possessed by the deity whilst the hunters perform the worship. All the adornments of Śiva as already pointed out, she wears: the shawl of the elephant skin, the garment of lion's and tiger's skins, the serpents, the crescent moon, the eye in the forehead, the blue neck shining with the swallowed poison. She is spoken of as the lady, who with the bow of the mountain and the bow-string of the serpent won the victory of the Tripuras. The *Ardhanārīśvara* form also is suggested; for it is said that the anklets and heroic ring resound in her feet. She is made a *Vēdic* goddess and she is the secret of the *Vēdas* (*Maṟaimēl maṟaiyāki*). She is the sprout of *Jñāna*. She resides on the lotus flower of the hearts of the three great gods. She is spoken of as the better half of Śiva.

229. II., 257-260.

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The feats of Viṣṇu also are attributed to her. She carries the *Saṅkha* and *Cakra*; she destroys the '*maruta*' tree and the *Śakaṭa* and conquers all the tricks of Kamsa. She rides on the deer and on the lion—in origin they were two different persons—and she stands victoriously on the head of the buffalo demon. Thus even in *Cilappatikāram*, we see an attempt at unifying varied folk-lores describing varied forms of the mother worship and at harmonizing as a *Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava Vēdic* cult. The *Śākta* worship must have gained a prominent place and *Takkayākapparaṇi* of Oṭṭakūttar is its glorious bloom.

There are two trends found in the Śaivites' attempt at harmonizing *Kāḷī*'s cult as theirs. One is making her Śiva's consort identifying her with their conception of the Mother, the very form of Śiva's Grace. The other trend is to look upon some of these representations of *Kālī* as variations of minor deities to be conquered and brought to her senses by Śiva in the tournament of dance. Perhaps this represents an aggressive form of Śaivism declaring its victory over *Śāktēyas* or the followers of Śaktī cult. Even here, those who want to harmonize, speak of *Kālī* marrying the victor after her defeat, or speak of *Kālī* as an emanation of *Pārvatī* or the Mother.

(10)

Ārūrar refers to both these trends. We had occasion to notice the humorous way in which Ārūrar sings of residing with *Kāṭukaḷ*,[230] on the beach at '*Kōti*' or the point Calimer, because He had no other place in His own body which was already being shared by *Gaṅgā* and *Pārvatī*.[231] While singing at Tirunāvalūr,[232] our poet thinks of this story and speaks of the Lord enjoying '*Mōti*' or '*Kali*' at *Kāṭarkōṭi*. The phrase '*Kāṭukāḷ*' is the corruption of the form '*Kāṭukiḻāḷ*' the queen of the forest. '*Mōti*' is another word used by our poet and it comes from '*mōṭu*' which is used in the *Caṅkam* age to signify the belly.[233] Later on, it assumed gradually the significance of stoutness, largeness, greatness and high position. Perhaps as the leader of the army *Pēys* which, as referred to in *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, were conspicuous by their belly, she also came to be

230. 7: 32: 5.
231. 7: 32: 5.
232. 7: 17.
233. *Paṭṭuppāṭṭu*, 1:50.

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called '*Mōṭi*' to start with. But later on, the meaning of eminence must have gradually supplanted the old meaning and emphasized the mighty personality and the Absolute eminence of *Śaktī*.

The other legend of conquering *Kālī* and putting her pride down is also referred to by our poet. It is this which is specifically remembered when the name of *Kālī* is pronounced whilst the other forms are identified with the Mother. *Kālī* there represents the power of destruction and naturally she is spoken of as coming with bubbling anger. Māṇikkavācakar says that, if the Lord has not danced to put her down, the whole universe would have become prey to the bloody revolutionary force — say, like that of the atom in the atomic bomb.[234] It is the dance of sheer force, a dance of matter. *Puruṣa* or *Puruṣōttama*, the power of '*Cit*' conquers this and dances over it. The conception of conquering nature is now something peculiarly western, though the *purāṇas* preach of this dance as the conquest by Śiva. But Ārūrar refers to a significant legend of the east which looks upon nature as the very form of the Mother and, therefore, speaks of this dance not as a dance of conquest but as a dance of pacification. The presence of the Lord's dance quietens the sheer dance of maddening matter — a sublimation and deification of matter. Therefore, Ārūrar addressed the Lord, "*Kotiyiṉāl varu kāḷitaṉ kōpam kuṟaiya āṭiya kūttuṭaiyāṉē*".[235] 'Oh! Lord of the dance performed to pacify the anger of Kālī who came bubbling with rage'.

VI

(1)

Ārūrar speaks of the idea expressed by the Dance.[236] Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami's Essay on the Dance of Śiva has become a classic and the essay may be studied with reference to the remarks of Ārūrar. The learned Dr. writes there: "No doubt the root idea behind all these dances is more or less one and the same, the manifestation of primal rhythmic energy: Śiva is the Eros Protogonos of Lucian, when he wrote: It would seem that dancing came into being at the beginning of all things, and was brought to light together with Eros, that ancient one, for we see

234. *Tiruvācakam — Tiruccāḷal*, V., 14.
235. 7: 70: 4.
236. 7: 63: 3.

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this primeval dancing clearly set forth in the choral dance of the constellations and in the planets and fixed stars, their interweaving and interchange and orderly harmony".

The learned Doctor continues to refer to three dances: the *sandhyā tāṇḍava*, *Tillai* dance and the wild dance. About this last dance which we have been studying in Ārūrar, he writes: "The second well known dance of Śiva is called the *Tāṇḍava* and belongs to His *tāmasic* aspect as *Bhairava* or *Vīrabhadra*. It is performed in cemetaries and burning grounds, where Śiva usually in ten armed form, dances wildly with *Dēvī*, accompanied by troops of capering imps. Representations of this dance are common amongst ancient sculptures, as at Ellōra, Elephanta and also at Bhuvanēśvara. This *Tāṇḍava* dance is in origin that of a pre-aryan divinity, half god, half demon, who holds his midnight revels in the burning ground. In later times, this dance in the cremation ground, sometimes of *Śiva*, sometimes of *Dēvī*, is interpreted in *Śaiva* and *Śākta* literature in most touching and profound sense."

(2)

It is very unfortunate that, in spite of the realization of this profound sense, he should call this the *Tāmasic* Dance. It is this which has to be called the real *Nādānta* Dance which name he reserves for the Tillai Dance. The *Pañcakṛtya Naṭana* cannot be the *Nādānta* Dance. But after all the story of Tillai Dance is a repetition of the Dance performed when the *Dāruka Ṛṣis* hurled death, as it were, on Śiva. The connection bntween the *Kapāli* form, the *Bhikṣāṭana* form and the *Naṭarāja* form, whichever might have been the origin of these stories, have been transformed from *tāmasic* (dance) to Cidambara dance. The same thing has happened to the *Tāmasic* frantic and violent dance of the crematorium.

Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami knows the significance of this dance of destruction; for he writes further, "Śiva is a destroyer and loves the burning ground. But what does He destroy? Not merely the Heavens and Earth at the end of a Kalpa, but the fetters that bind each separate soul. Where and what is the burning ground? It is not the place where our earthly bodies are cremated, but the heart of the Bhakta, the devotee, laid waste and desolate. He brings not peace but a sword. The place where their selves are destroyed, signifies the place or state where their egotism or illusion and deeds are burnt away: that is the crema-

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torium, the burning ground where Sri Nāṭarāja dances, and whence He is named '*Cuṭalaiyāṭi*', — 'Dancer of the burning ground', In this smile, we recognize the historical connection between Śiva's gracious dance as Naṭarāja and His wild dance as the demon of the cemetery".

He continues and refers to the Dance of the Mother current amongst the *Śāktas* of Bengal. The Dance of the Mother is not unknown to the Tamil land. *Cilappatikāram* describes it in *Vēṭṭuva vari*. He quotes the Bengāli hymn which speaks of the necessity for the purification by the fire of the heart made empty by renunciation, if *Kālī*, the *Danseuse*, were to enter the heart.

"*Because Thou lovest the Burning-ground,*
I have made a Burning-ground of my heart—
That Thou, Dark one, haunter of the Burning-ground
Mayest dance Thy eternal dance".

"*Naught else is within my heart, A Mother:*
The ashes of the dead, strewn all about,
I have preserved against Thy coming
With death conquering Mahākāla 'neath Thy feet
Do Thou enter in, dancing Thy rhythmic dance,
That I may behold Thee with closed eyes."

(3)

Thus is the Dance of Destruction; the dance of Heart's purification. What is the crematorium? Ārūrar explains it: Of the five elements, the *Ākāsa* is the empty space; water and earth—the liquid and the solid—form this world. Fire—the luminous melting stage and air the gaseous stage are the other two. Destruction starts; there is really the involution — the gross becoming the subtle. The solid world of earth and water disappears into the luminous fire and in its turn it disappears into thin air; in the end even this disappears as vacant space or *Ākās*. It is the void which is spoken of as the crematorium. "*Mārutamum aṉalum maṇṭalamum māya kāṉiṭai mā naṭaṉ eṉ ṟeytuvatu eṉṟukolō*"?:[237] — 'When am I to reach Him who dances the great dance inside the wild, when the air, the fire and the world are dead'? The poet longs for this experience. This is really the Nādānta Dance. The universe evol-

237. 7: 84: 3.

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This is Dr. Coomaraswami's translation and he continues to comment thereon.

"This is His dance. Its deepest significance is felt when it is realized that it takes place within the heart and the self: the kingdom of God is within. Everywhere is God: that Everywhere is the heart. Thus also we find another verse:

> "*The dancing foot, the sound of the tinkling bells,*
> *The songs that are sung and the varying steps*
> *The forms assumed by our Dancing Gurupara —*
> *Find out these within yourself, then shall your fetters fall away*".[251]

This reminds us of Ārūrar's verse where he speaks of the song, the dance and the *Guru*.

"To this end", the Doctor continues, "all else but the thought of God must be cast out of the heart, that He alone may abide and dance therein. In *Uṇmaiviḷakkam* we find "The silent *Jñānis* destroying the three fold bond are established where their selves are destroyed. There they behold the sacred and are filled with bliss. This is the dance of the Lord of the assembly, whose very form is Grace".[252]

"With this reference to the 'silent *Jñānis*' compare the beautiful words of Tirumūlar:

"When resting there they (the *yōgis* who attain the highest place of peace) lose themselves and become idle".[253]

> "*Where the idlers dwell is the pure space*
> *Where the idlers sport is the Light*
> *What the idlers know is Vēdānta*
> *What the idlers find is the deep sleep in Curuti there*".[254]

Whilst Tirumūlar speaks in the *Siddha* language of idlers, *Ārūrar* speaks in the mystic language of erotic love.

Here is the conception of the divine activity as Dance. Dr. Ānanda Coomaraswamy explains it: "The conception of *Līla*, the

251. V., 2760.
252. V., 38.
253. V., 127.
254. V., 128.

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world process as the Lord's sport or amusement, is also prominent in the Śaiva scriptures; thus Tirumūlar writes: "The perpetual Dance becomes His play. This aspect of His activity appears to have given rise to the objection that He dances as do those who seek to please the eyes of mortals; to which the answer is given that He dances to maintain the life of the cosmos and to give release to those who seek Him". Ārūrar calls this '*Āṭal*'. How else are we to conceive of this conception of Absolute Bliss except in terms of this concrete Dance, saving us all!

The later day works speak of Naṭarāja as representing the *Pañcakṣara* or *Namaśivāya* and the *Pañcakṛtya*. No such reference is found in Ārūrar's verse. But the *mantras* are as old as the *Vēdas*. "He discards the flesh. He is the very life permeating the world. He stands in the form of *Ōṁkāra* or *Praṇava*" — thus the poet has realized the Lord at Valivalam.[255]

(5)

There is the story of the Lord competing in dance with the blood intoxicated *Kālī*. Māṇikkavācakar says that she would have swallowed everything — everything would have become a feast for her, if the Lord had not danced and put her down.[256] *Kāḷī*, here, is not *Umā*, the Mother. It is the principle opposing the spirit; it is matter. Matter is spiritualized — that is the story of *Kālī* dance — the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* — the going up rather than getting entangled in the mire. *Kālī* is not destroyed; her anger is appeased — that is what Ārūrar says. This suggests, the anger is transformed into love. This mystic significance also Dr. Coomaraswamy explains in his inimitable way.

"The *Tiru Aruṭpayaṉ* of Umāpatisivam[257] explains the *Tiruvāci*, arch round the image of the Dance, more naturally as representing the dance of Nature, as contrasted with Śiva's dance of wisdom. "The dance of matter (*Prakṛti*) proceeds on one side: the *jñāna* dances on the other. Fix your mind in the centre of the latter". I am indebted to Mr. Nallasivan Pillai for a commentary on this: "The first dance is the action of matter — material and individual energy. This is arch, *tiruvāci*, *ōṁkāra*, —

255. 7: 67: 1.
256. *Tiruvackam, Tiruccaḷal*, V., 14.
257. Ch. IX., 3.

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the dance of *Kālī*. The other is the Dance of Śiva — the *akṣara* inseparable from the *Ōṁkāra* — called *ardhamātra* or the fourth letter of the *Praṇava*, *caturtam* and *turiyam*. The first dance is not possible unless Śiva wills it and dances Himself. The general result of this interpretation of the arch, then, is that it represents matter, nature, *prakṛti*; — the contained splendour, Śiva, dancing within and touching the arch with head, hands and feet, is the universal omnipresent *Puruṣa*".

Ārūrar also speaks of discarding the flesh or matter and sublimating the *Ōṁkāra* itself as His form all over the world.[258]

The learned Doctor summarizes the whole interpretation: "The Essential Significance of Śiva's Dance is three fold: First, it is the image of His Rhythmic Activity as the Source of all Movement within the Cosmos, which is represented by the Arch: Secondly, the purpose of His Dance is to Release the Countless souls of men from the Snare of Illusion: Thirdly the Place of the Dance, Cidambaram, the centre of the Universe, is within the Heart".

(6)

His epilogue may serve as an epilogue to this part of the thesis:

"In these notes I expressly refrain from all aesthetic criticism and have endeavoured only to translate the central thought of the conception of Śiva's dance from plastic to verbal expression, without reference to the beauty or imperfection of individual works. In conclusion, it may not be out of place to call attention to the grandeur of this conception itself as a synthesis of science, religion and art. How amazing the range of thought and sympathy of those *ṛṣis* — artists, who first conceived such a type as this, affording an image of reality, a key to the complex tissue of life, a theory of nature, not merely satisfactory to a single clique or race, nor acceptable to the thinkers of one century only, but universal in its appeal to the Philosopher, the *Bhakta*, and the artist of all ages and all countries. In these days of specilization, we are not accustomed to such a synthesis of thought; but for those who 'saw' such images as this, there could have been no

258. 7: 67: 1.

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division of life and thought into water-tight compartments. Nor, do we always realize, when we criticize the merits of individual works, the full extent of the creative power which, to borrow a musical analogy, could discover a *rāga* so expressive of fundamental rhythms and so profoundly significant and inevitable.

"Every part of such an image as this is directly expressive, not of any mere superstition or dogma, but of evident facts. No artist of today, however great, could more exactly or more wisely create an image of that Energy which science must postulate behind all phenomena. If we would reconcile Time with Eternity, we can scarcely do so otherwise than by the conception of alternations of phase extending ever vast regions of space and great tracts of time".[259] "Especially significant, then, is the phase alternation implied by the drum, and the fire which 'changes' not destroys. These are but visual symbols of the theory of the day and night of Brahma.

"In the night of Brahma, Nature is inert, and cannot dance till Śiva wills it. He rises from His rapture, and dancing sends through inert matter pulsing waves of awakening sound, and lo! matter also dances, appearing as a glory round about Him. Dancing, He sustains its manifold phenomena. In the fullness of time, still dancing, He destroys all forms and names by fire and gives new rest. This is poetry: but none the less, the truest science.

"Again, this *Naṭarāja* is not only Truth, but Love: for the purpose of His Dance is Grace, the giving of freedom to countless individual souls. Lastly, also, how supremely great in power and grace this dancing image must appear to all those who as artists have striven in plastic forms to give expression to their intuition of Life!

"It is not strange that the figure of *Naṭarāja* has commanded the adoration of so many generations past: we, familiar with all scepticisms, expert in tracing all beliefs to primitive superstitions, explorers of the infinitely great and infinitely small, are worshippers of *Śrī Naṭarāja* still".

259. Oliver Lodge, *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. X, No. 2, 1911.

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Chapter IV

COSMOGONY

I

(1)

Our poet has no occasion to describe any cosmogony, but here and there, there are passing references which we may piece together here.

Yamalōka:

Yamalōka in the popular mind is somehow connected with hell, and, therefore, a study of the references to *Yama* is necessary. Our poet refers to *Yama* in various places. In one group of references, the poet speaks of Śiva's conquest of *Yama*. These references we have discussed whilst describing the *Kālāri* form. In other places, he refers to *Yama*, whenever he has to speak of fear of death. In one hymn,[1] he speaks of the ephemeral world and begs of the Lord to teach him some method of escape. In one verse, there,[2] he speaks of the fear of death: "The five senses become confused, the mind reaches a pathetically weak state, everything seems to whirl. The men of *Yama* with their fighting spears press hard and make one suffer. In that struggle of death before one gets tired and is immersed in oblivion, on Lord, tell me of a way of escape."[3] In the 60th hymn, he begs of the Lord to bless him by showing him way out of his difficulties. In another place he speaks of death, *Yama* as the Lord of the days or life:[4] Before the Lord of days comes near and oppresses me, I have taken refuge in you as your servant, pray accept me as such".[5]

In one verse, he condemns himself in superlative terms: "I cannot purge myself of my defects, my enmity, etc., and my impulsive cupidity and anger. Even if I want it, the five senses are

1. 7: 3.
2. 7: 3: 5.
3. 7: 3: 5.
4. *Nāḷār*.
5. 7: 24: 6.

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not under my control. When the trembling old age comes, *Yama's* men will be placing me inside the hell; afraid of that I am feeling miserable. I have come to you; tell me a way of escape".

"Koṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ oṉporuḷ taṉṉaik kuṟṟam ceṟṟam ivaimuta lāka
Viṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ vēṭkaiyum ciṉamum vēṇṭil aimpulaṉ eṉvaca malla
Naṭukkam urratōr mūppuvan teyta namaṉta marnara katiiṭal añci
Iṭukkaṇ uṟṟaṉaṉ upvakai aruḷāy Iṭaima ruturai entaipi rāṉē."[6]

In another grop of references the poet refers to this fear of death and advises people to think of the Lord to escape from the delusion of the world by doing *Dharma* and thinking of God: "You carry this burden of a body and wander alone. You do not know that the fox will one day tear this way. On that day, when the Lord of Death separating the body from life, takes the life away on the appointed day which is announced to all by the crying lamentations, but there is *Dharma* to save us."[7]

In another verse in this hymn, he begs of the people of the world not to fall into the net spread out by captivating women and advises them to be saved by approaching the Lord and becoming His servants, before the coming of *Yama's* men who run on the heels on the appointed day.[8] All these form a positive statement about the fear of death to all those who are away from the Lord. He negatives this fear to those who are with the Lord and assures the world that *Yama's* men will do no harm to those who think of the Lord in many ways — *"Nāṉā vitam niṉaivār tamai naliyār namaṉ tamarē."*[9]

In a separate hymn,[10] the poet describes the horrors of *Yama-lōka*. We are reminded, when we are reading this hymn, of *Garuḍapurāṇa*, but a detailed study of this hymn confirms us in the belief that he is after all giving expression in these verses to the

6. 7: 60: 7.
7. 7: 78: 2.
8. 7: 78: 5.
9. 7: 82: 1.
10. 7: 90:

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folk-lore about *Yamalōka* obtaining in Tamil land. The general trend of the hymn is that we have obtained the Lord for ourselves and there is no longer any fear of *Yamalōka*, for there is the Lord to save us. The hymn is addressed to his mind: "Oh! Mind! when you go on living in this world without serving Him, *Yama's* men will put an end to the even flow of your life, tease you and place you inside the oil-mill to crush you there; the Lord will intercede and accept us as His servants; we have in this our Lord of Puliyūr a great boon"[11] — thus sings the poet. The idea is repeated in the second and following verses also, this idea of the Lord saving us from the punishment in the oil-mill. In the fourth verse in this hymn, he speaks of the servants of black *Yama*, binding us together and the Lord cutting away this kind of fetters and bestowing on us His own world. The idea of the oil-mill is mentioned in verses 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9 and 10. In this hymn, the poet emphasizes the idea that people who love the Lord will be saved.

(2)

Narakam:

In connection with *Yamalōka*, our poet speaks of '*Narakam*' or hell.[12] This represents the folk-lore of Tamil land. He speaks of not entering '*naraka*'.[13] He refers to the hot *narakam* and describes the Lord as one who shows the true path so that we may not be pressed down into the hot or cruel *Naraka*.[14] It is not clear whether the poet is referring to the fire of hell: The word '*vemmai*' suggests that, but the word '*aḻuntāmai*' — 'not getting stuck up', may suggest the mire of hell — "*Aḷḷarpaṭṭu aḻuntātu*".[15] Accord- to Piṅkalantai, '*aḷḷal*' is the name of one of the seven hells. This is the same as '*aḷaru*' so often spoken of by Tiruvaḷḷuvar'.[16] In another place also,[17] our poet begs of the Lord to remove the defects so that one may not get stuck up with life into '*naraka*'. The use of word '*aḻunta*' in all these cases makes it clear that Ārūrar is following the footsteps of Tiruvaḷḷuvar.

11. 7: 90: 1.
12. 7: 60; 7.
13. 7: 92. 7.
14. 7: 40: 10.
15. 7: 34: 8.
16. *Kuṟaḷ*, VV. 255, 835, 919.
17. 7. 54: 6.

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(3)

Heavens:

Coming to his conceptions of Heavens, we have to distinguish the world of the *Dēvas* from the *Mōkṣa* state. Sometimes the *Mōkṣa* state is also spoken of as a world as '*Nilamicai*' in Tiruvaḷḷuvar.[18] Certain philosophies believing in a personal god think of His abode as the place of the freed souls. The references to *Śivalōkam*[19] and *Rudralōkam*,[20] "*Arumaiyām taṉṉulakam*",[21] have to be separately discussed after a consideration of Ārūrar's conception of *Mōkṣa*. This *Mōkṣa* is often spoken of as the Heavens: "*Vāṉa naṭu*",[22] "*Vāṉa neri*".[23] The freed souls are the real immortals and the Vaiṣṇavite commentators on *Tiruvāymoḻi*, therefore, interpret the word '*Amarar*' as those freed souls or free souls,[24] and the word "*Amarulakam*" in the 34th hymn of Ārūrar,[25] is equated with *Śivalōkam* in verse 1. Therefore, this '*Amarulakam*' must be taken as the place of *Mōkṣa*. The "*Vāṉa neri*" is spoken of as a '*Śiva gati*'. These '*amarar*' as contrasted with the ordinary *Dēvas* are spoken of as "*Amarark kamarar*".[25a] But Śiva is the Lord of the *Dēvas* and their Heavens: "*Tevatēvaṉ*",[26] "*Umparāḷi*",[27] "*Viṇṇavartam Perumāṉ*",[28] "*Viṇ paṇintēttum vētiyā*",[29] "*Viṇṇavartam kōṉ*",[30] "*Umparār toḻutēttum taṭaṅkaṭal nañcuṇṭa kaṇṭā*",[31] "*Umparār toḻutētta*".[32] He is the Lord of the *Dēvas* and the freed souls: "*Amarark kamarar Perumāṉ*".[33] He speaks of the Universe as '*Aṇṭam*' in the form of an egg, and He is the Lord of this Universe—'*Aṇṭam*'—'*Aṇṭaṉ*',[34] '*Aṇṭā*',[35] "*Aṇṭa-mutalvaṉ*"[36] but He is also beyond this Universe—

18. *Kuṟaḷ*, V. 3.
19. 7: 34: 1; 7: 60: 8; 7: 67: 7.
20. 7: 73: 1.
21. 7: 90: 4.
22. 7: 57: 8; 7: 70: 9.
23. 7: 7: 9.
24. See commentary on verse 1 on *Tiruvāymoḻi*—"*Ayarvarum amararkaḷ*".
25. VV. 2, 3, 4, 6, 9 & 10.
25a. 7: 3: 8.
26. 7: 61: 6.
27. 7: 55: 10.
28. 7: 38: 3.
29. 7: 69: 3.
30. 7: 40: 6.
31. 7: 69: 8.
32. 7: 88: 1.
33. 7: 3: 8.
34. 7: 73: 8; 7: 84: 8.
35. 7: 3: 8.
36. 7: 94: 2.

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"*Aṇṭaṅkaṭantum appuṟattum iruntīr*",[37] "*Aṇṭattaṇṭattiṉ appuṟattu āṭum amutaṉ*".[38] '*Immai*'[39] is this birth. '*Ammai*'[40] is the next birth and he uses the word '*Ammai*' as what we achieve in the next birth or the place we reach. He speaks of the seven worlds and describes Śiva as the Lord thereof—"*Ēḻulakāḷi*".[41] He also speaks of the Heavens of the Dēvas up above the sky—"*Antara māl vicumpu*",[42] as a happy place of gold as contrasted with our earth—"*Poṉṉulaku*",[43] "*Poṉṉulakam*".[44] It is in the skies—'*Vāṉ*'.[45] It is what is above, '*Umpar*';[46] sometimes the *vimāna* of the temples here descend from the Heavens above.[47]

II

(1)

We have mentioned that our poet has no occasion to describe any cosmogony. We have already seen that he is referring to the *Purāṇic* stories trying as much as possible to bring out their spiritual significance It is in that connection that he is referring to the various *Dēvas*. Śiva is the supreme principle of the Universe and our poet uses the *purāṇic* language of describing Śiva as the Lord of all *Dēvas*. Our poet is not concerned with anything more than this. He calls Śiva, "*Viṇṇōr talaivar*";[48] "*Imaiyōr perumāṉ*";[49] "*Dēvarkaḷ cūḷāmaṇi*";[50] "*Dēvar ciṅkam*"[51]—the Lord of the denizens of Heavens, Lord of those who do not wink, the crest jewel of the *Dēvas* ond the Lion of the *Dēvas*.

36. 7: 94: 2.
37. 7: 2: 2.
38. 7: 12: 2.
39. 7: 7: 6.
40. 7: 7: 6.
41. 7: 83: 6.
42. 7: 100: 3.
43. 7: 66: 5.
44. 7: 100: 5.
45. 7: 100: 2.
46. 7: 55: 10; 7: 69: 8; 7: 88: 1.
47. 7: 88: 2.
48. 7: 53: 2.
49. 7: 22: 8.
50. 7: 40: 5.
51. 7: 52: 1.

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Among the *Dēvas*, three are said to be supreme: *Viz.*, Brahma, Viṣṇu and Rudra, representing the Power of Creation, the Power of Protection or Sustenance, and the Power of Destruction. These represent the Hindu Trinity. But in course of time, Brahma loses this unique place in the hearts of men. Śiva and Viṣṇu alone come to be worshipped in special temples and in the popular mind they are looked upon as the two great principles of the Universe. Each one of them is looked upon by their respective votaries to represent all the three powers of Creation, Sustenance and Destruction. The *Trimūrti* form gave place to the *Hari-Hara* form. But the Śaivites claim Śiva to be the Supreme Principles while the Vaiṣṇavites claim Viṣṇu as such. It is the historical progress of this conception that Ārūrar is singing, when he speaks of Śiva as the Lord of three eyes, who is Himself the three great *Dēvas* and the two great *Dēvas* — "*Muvareṉa iruavareṉa mukkaṇuṭai mūrti*".[52] In another place he states, 'He is alone the chief or the first Principle, Himself becoming the three great *Dēvas* and the two great *Dēvas* — "*Mūvarāyum iruvarāyum mutalvaṉ avaṉṉēyām*".[53]

To express the supremacy of Śiva, the *Śivapuraṇas* describe in a most concrete way the worship of Śiva by Brahma and Viṣṇu. We have already referred to this kind of worship.

(2)

In the *Caṅkam* age, Indra who is very important in the *Vēdas*, also continues to be important. He is counted along with the great *Dēvas* mentioned above. In *Tirumurukārṟuppaṭai*, he is mentioned along with Śiva and Viṣṇu when they march for getting the release of Brahma. It may be suggested that '*Nārperunteivam*' mentioned in *Tirumurukārṟuppaṭai*[54] refers to the four great *Dēvas* though interpreted otherwise by Nacciṉārkkiṇiyar. Of these four, three[55] led the procession of *Dēvas*, because the fourth (Brahma) was in prison and it is these three that the poet refers to as "*Palar pukaḻ mūvar*".[56]

52. 7: 80: 9.
53. 7: 7: 4.
54. *l.*, 160.
55. Śiva, Viṣṇu and Indra.
56. *Tirrmurukāṟṟuppaṭai*, *l.*, 162.

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Our poet speaks of the tiger, worshipping Śiva without any delusion, along with *Iyakkar Kiṉṉarar*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, etc.[74] This is said to refer to *Vyāgrapāda* worshipping Śiva's dance at Cidambaram.

He also specifically mentions *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, the Lord of Fire, the Lord of Wind, the Sun and the Moon worshipping Śiva. The *Nākam* mentioned in this poem,[75] should refer to *Patañjali* and probably also to *Vāsuki*, *Ananta* and *Kārkkōṭaṉ*.

Arūrar speaks of *Iyakkar* or *Yakṣas Kinnaras*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, Fire, Wind, Sun, Moon, tiger, monkey, serpent, *Vasus*, *Vāṉavar* and *Tāṉavar* worshipping the feet of the Lord ever concentrated on Him without any fatigue and winning His blessing,[76] and this, the poet says has inspired him to take refuge at the feet of the Lord.

In another place, he groups the three great Lords in one class, the *Dēvas*, the *Nāgas* and the *Dānavas* in another class and describes Śiva as the great Lord of all — "*Tirumāl Piramaṉ Intiraṟkum Tēvar Nākar Tāṉavarkkum Perumāṉ*".[77]

Kātupottar, *Kinnaras*, the tiger, the serpent, the lion and the *Ṛṣis* listen to the message of *Dharma* delivered by the Lord as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* under the banyan tree.[78] The *Kātupottar* is found in this,[79] and the inscription of Rājarāja, describing the image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* installed by him in his great Tanjore temple speaks of '*Kaṛṇa Prāvṛtas*'.[80] The foot-note there gives: "*Karṇaprāvṛta* is the same as *Karṇaprāvaraṇa*, a being whose ears are so large that it uses them as a cloak". *Karṇaprāvaraṇas* are mentioned in the *Vālmīka Rāmāyaṇa*. This word appears in the *Kiṣkinda kāṇḍa*,[81] as the name of a savage hill-tribe described by *Sugrīva* whilst sending the *vānaras* in search of *Sītā* and in the *Sundara Kāṇḍa*,[82] as

74. 7: 55: 6.
75. 7: 55: 7.
76. 7: 55: 6.
77. 7: 53: 1.
78. 7: 65: 6.
79. 7: 65: 6.
80. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 50
81. XL: 25.
82. XVIII: 5

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the description of some of the *Rākṣasīs* guarding *Sītā* in the *Asōka vana*, as seen by *Hanumān* from a tree. But this name is used by our poet to the worshippers concentrated in their meditation, taking the word in its *yōga* significance or in its full connotation. They are said to have ears which they can close whenever they worship[83]—or those whose ears are so large that they use them as a covering of the head.[84] Ārūrar speaks of "*Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar Āntaṇar*" who receive the message from Dakṣiṇāmūrti.[85] The description of the *Dakṣiṇamūrti* image installed by Rājarāja may be conveniently referred at this place for throwing light on the conception of this image.[86]

"1. Hail! Prosperity! (The following) copper images, which the lord Srī-Rājarājadēva had set up until the 29th year (of his reign) in the temple of the lord Srī Rājarājēśvara, were measured by the cubit measure (preserved) in the temple of the lord and engraved on stone:

2. One solid image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*, having four divine arms and measuring eighteen *viral* in height from the mountain (*parvata*) on which (it) was seated, to the hair.

3. One mountain on which this (image) was seated, (measuring as its foot one *muṟam* and ten *viral* in length, one *muṟam* and four *viral* in breadth, and twelve *viral* in height.

4. Two mountain peaks (*śikhara*), (measuring) twelve *viral* above it in height, nine *viral* in length, and eight *viral* in breadth.

5. Two solid *Kinnaras*, joined to these peaks, having two arms (and measuring) four *viral* in height from the feet to the hair.

6. Two solid *Kinnarīs*, having two arms (and measuring) three *viral* and a half in height from the feet to the hair.

7. One solid image of *Musalagan*, lying under the sacred foot of the god, having two arms (and measuring) ten *viral* in length from the feet to the hair.

83. See the interpretation of Gōvindarāja on *Kiṣkinda kāṇḍa* (XL: 25) '*ācchātita karṇāh*'' which is expressed by our poet as '*Pōrtta nīḷ ceviyāḷar*'.

84. See the interpretation of Gōvindarāja on *Sundarakāṇḍam* (XVII: 5) '*Karṇau pṟāvaraṇē śirasa ācchadakau yasyāh sā karṇa prāvaratām.*'

85. 7: 55: 7.

86. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 50.

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8. Two solid *Rishis*, having two arms (and measuring) twelve *viral* in height from their seat to the hair.

9. Two solid *Rishis*, having two arms (and measuring) eight *viral* in height from their seat to the hair.

10. One solid snake (*pāmbu*), (measuring) six *viral* in height from the tail to the hood.

11. Two solid *Karṇaprāvritas*, having two arms (and measuring) three *viral* in height from their seat to the hair.

12. One solid tiger (*puli*) lying on the mountain (and measuring) five *viral* and a half in length from the tail to the forelock.

13. One solid banyan-tree (*āla-vriksha*), measuring one *muṛam*, eight *viral* and a half in length from the mountain to the top, and six *viral* and six *tōrai* in circumference. On (it) were shewn nine separately made large branches, and on these, forty-two minor branches.

14. One wallet (*pokkaṇam*), suspended (from the tree and measuring) three *viral* and four *tōrai* in length, one *viral* and two *tōrai* in breadth, and four *tōrai* in thickness.

15. A solid handle (*kai*), (measuring) six *viral* and six *tōrai* in length, and one *viral* and a half in circumference; and joined to it, one bunch of peacock's feathers (*taṛai*), (to be carried in) the hand (and measuring) five *viral* in length and three *viral* in circumference.

(5)

We have various forms with many headed serpent-hood in the Kailasanātha temple sculptures representing probably the *nāgas*.[87]

The *Kinnara* form is found in Plate LVIII, *Rea*, the *Yakṣas* and *Bhūtas* are those found at the feet of the Lord in many places.

The worship by the monkey probably *Hanumān* is found in Rea's Plate XLVI, fig. 2. There is a figure of a temple in front of which *Hanumān* is found with the hands in the *añjali* pose. It may be even a *Śivaliṅgam*. There is a figure with three heads and six hands alone visible. Some take it as *Rāvaṇa* and interpret

87. Fig. 2, Plate XXXV—*Rea* and probably also fig. 6, plate CXXIII. fig: 2, Plate LXXIV and Plate LIX of *Rea*.

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this as representing the story of *Hanumān* carrying away the *Śivaliṅga* worshipped by *Rāvaṇa*, without his knowledge.

Rea's Plate LXV, fig. 1 from the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple gives the figure of a temple *vimāna* with a worshipper seated near it, with the hands probably in the worshipping pose; he wears a *yajñōpavīta* and there is on his left, a lady, his wife, sitting by his side. Does this represent Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ, the earliest builder of big temples or the Pallava king who built the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple?

The *Dēvas* are said to be 33, the 12 Suns, 11 *Rudras*, 8 *Vasus* and 2 *Maruttuvas*. There are 18 groups of *Dēvas* enumerated differently by different authors: *Dēvas*, *Asuras*, *Daityas*, *Garuḍas*, *Kinnaras*, *Kimpuruṣas*, *Yakṣas*, *Vidhyādharas*, *Rākṣasas*, *Gandharvas*, *Siddhas*, *Sāraṇas*, *Bhūtas*, *Paicācas*, *Nakṣatras*, *Nāgas*, *Ākāśavāsins* and Denizens of *Bhōga Bhūmi*. Of these, except those we have already noted, Ārūrar does not exhaustively mention this list, possibly because he was not impressed with this array of the *Dēvas*, with their minute variations.

The word *Siddha* is used by Ārūrar in the sense of mystic souls which have attained realization.

The words *Bhūtā* and *Paiśāca* along with *Pāriṭam* have a special mystic significance in Ārūarar's poetry as noted elsewhere.

The word *Cāraṇaṉ* is used as the name of *Vināyaka*.[88]

Mr. R. Raven Hart in his article 'Humour in Singhalese Art',[89] writes, "Dwarfs are a special feature of that humour (Singalese rather than Indian) — odd little pot-bellied people doing all sorts of things with intense seriousness that makes them even more comic and one has to search one's memory or one's photographs to find rare examples of such dwarfs in India". This is not correct if the sculptures of the Pallava Age are taken into consideration. We have the *Bhūtas* in almost every one of the sculptures and they are in full activity and good humour. The description of *Bhūtas* and *Pēys* by *Arūrar* as already been noticed is full of humour.

88. 7: 48: 9.
89. *Souvenir and Guide to the Colombo Exhibition*, 1952, page 30.

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Chapter V

PURĀṆIC PERSONALITIES

I

Reference to particular Gods and Ṛṣis may be next studied:

(1)

Kāmaṉ:

Manmata is considered to be the Lord of beauty. He has been described whilst discussing the *Kāmāri* form, but in other places where the poet advises the poets and scholars not to waste their poetry and scholarship on worthless people who are unfit for any praise because he is sure they will give nothing, while Śiva will give us everything, including the overlordship of Heavens. In two verses in that hymn he speaks of the futility of praising men as beautiful *Kāmadēva* or *Kāma* in the eyes of women.[1]

(2)

Himavān:

Ārūrar speaks of the Lord of the Mountain Himālayas and references about him have been studied when we discussed our poet's description of the Mother.

(3)

Kālī:

The story of *Kālī* has been told and discussed under the Dance of Śiva.

(4)

Yama:

About *Yama* it has already been referred to with reference to *Yamalōka*.

1. 7: 34: 9 and 7: 34: 10.

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(5)

Murukaṉ :

(a)

We may next pass on to the family of Śiva. The sons of Śiva are *Murukaṉ* and *Vināyaka*. They are but the very forms of Śiva. Whatever might have been their origin, they have been completely harmonized with Śaivism to such a great extent as to identify them with Śiva.

(b)

There are 14 references to Muruka in Ārūrar's Tēvāram. The names used by the poet are: '*Kumaraṉ*',[2] '*Vēlōṉ*' or '*Vēlāṉ*',[3] '*Murukavēḷ*',[4] '*Ciṟuvaṉ*',[5] '*Cēntaṉ*',[6] '*Ceṭṭi*',[7] and '*Piḷḷai*'.[8]

'*Kumaraṉ*' means the youth. '*Ciṟuvaṉ*' and '*Piḷḷai*' have the same significance. But the '*Ciṟuvaṉ*' is used in the sense of 'son' —"*Malaiyaraiyaṉ poṟpāvai ciṟuvaṉ*"—'the son of the golden doll of the king of the mountain'.[9] Our poet creates a humorous situation out of this conception of *Murukaṉ's* childhood. In one place, he says, "Your family and yourself are unfit for managing servants", and he refers to the infancy of '*Kumaraṉ*, as one of the proofs.[10]

'*Cēntaṉ*' is the red-god, another form of '*Cēyōṉ*' used in *Tolkāppiyam*.

'*Murukaṉ*' is the other name of this God in Tamil from the very ancient times. '*Muruku*' means (1) honey, which is sweet to the tongue, (2) fragrance, which is sweet to the nose, (3) beauty, which is sweet to the eye, (4) beautiful strength of youth, which is sweet to touch, (5) never dying eternity, (6) divinity and (7) divine music, sweet to the ear. The Tamilians thus conceive of their God as the real essence of happiness, whilst the outward

2. 7: 5: 2; 7: 62: 4; 7: 63: 2; 7: 73: 9.
3. 7: 5: 2; 7: 34: 10.
4. 7: 38: 8.
5. 7: 46: 9.
6. 7: 58: 3; 7: 64: 6.
7. 7: 59: 10.
8. 7: 5: 2.
9. 7: 46: 9.
10. 7: 5: 2.

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form and name of things hide this inner reality which is both immanent and transcendent.

'*Vēḷ*' is one who is aspired for and it is the name of *Manmata* who is the most beautiful person. But according to the Tamillian tradition '*Muruka*' was the most beautiful person—"*Cāla nala aḻakuṭai aiyaṉ*",[11] and, therefore, in other places as contrasted with *Manmata*, the *Vēḷ*, he is spoken of as "*Murukavēḷ*".[12] The spear or the '*Vēḷ*' is the emblem of this divinity according to the Tamillians and His worshipper carries this spear and dances in moments of ecstasy. *Murukaṉ* was, therefore, known as '*Vēlōṉ*'—'One who holds the spear in his palm'—"*Aṅkai vēlōṉ*",[13] "*Kaiyulāviya vēlōṉ*".[14]

(c)

He is the beloved of the daughter of the *Kuṟavas*, *Vaḷḷi*, to win whose heart he went to her place—a story which has been looked upon by later generations as the eternal pilgrimage of the Lord to the soul in quest of its love and for saving it from its deluding environments. Our poet speaks of *Muruka* as "*Kuṟavar maṅkaitaṉ kēḷvaṉ*",[15]—'the beloved husband of the lady of *Kuṟavas*'. In another place he says, 'the wife of the Lord's son is the daughter of the *Kuṟavas*'—"*Kuṟavaṉār tammakaḷ tammakaṉār maṇavāṭṭi*"[16] and this he mentions in a poetic mood suggesting that the hunter's form which the Lord assumed to shower blessings on Arjuna is somehow related to His son's relationship with the *Kuṟavas*.

He is also called a '*ceṭṭi*' because according to the *Purāṇas*, he was born as a child, *Rudrasanma*, in the house of a *ceṭṭi*, *Uppūri kuṭi kiḻār* and the poet refers to *Muruka* as *ceṭṭi*.[17]

(d)

Murukaṉ is famous for his victory over *Cūrapaṉmaṉ*; the ancient *Caṅkam* poems speak of this *asura* as '*Cūr*' or the fright-

11. 7: 34: 10.
12. 7: 38: 8.
13. 7: 5: 2.
14. 7: 34: 10.
15. 7: 68: 7.
16. 7: 18: 6.
17. 7: 59: 10.

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ful.[18] He was cut in twain in the mid sea — "*Kaṭal Cūr taṭintiṭṭa*".[19] It is said that this *asura* assumed the form of a mango tree standing upside down,[20] when the Lord felled it down. Our poet speaks of "*Kaṭuvarimā*".[21] "*Kāṭuvari*" is the tiger. It is not clear whether the poet is referring to the various forms including that of a tiger which this '*Cūr*' assumed in the course of his war with *Muruka* or whether he is coining a metaphor "*Kaṭuvari mā*" the tiger of a mango, for bringing out the ferocity and destructive nature of the *asura* even in the form of a mango tree.

(e)

In Northern India, *Murukaṉ* or *Kārtikēya* is more famous as the warrior God, *Dēvasēnāpati*, the field marshal of the *Dēvas* and our poet refers to this as "*Amarar cēṉaikku nāyakaṉ*".[22] In this way *Murukaṉ* is the leader of the *Dēvas* and our poet speaks of the Lord Śiva as the prince of all *Dēvas* from *Kumaraṉ* onwards: "*Kumaraṉ mutal tēvar taṅkal nampi.*"[23] In Northern India, Lord Subrahmanya is famous not for killing '*Śūrapaṉma*' but '*Tāraka*'. It is this story which Kāḷidāsa writes in his *Kumārasaṁbhava* and our poet has this tradition in his mind when he speaks of Śiva as that Pure One who became Great by creating in ancient times that principle which destroyed *Tāraka* after a war with the *asura*, full of strength of war — "*Porum palama tuṭaiyacuraṉ Tārukanaip porutu poṉṟuvitta poruḷiṉai muṉ paṭaittukanta puṉitaṉ*".[24]

Murukaṉ is worshipped as seated on the beautiful peacock and our poet also speaks of him as one who rides on the peacock: "*Mayilūrti*".[25]

Murukaṉ is the popular God of the Tamilians from the very ancient times and many places have been named after nim even by hunters and nomads as is clearly proved by the name of *Murukaṉpūṇṭi* where our poet was waylaid and robbed by the hunters of that place,[26] who might have been responsible for naming their village after their ancient God *Murukaṉ*.

18. *Tirumuruku., l.*, 46:
19. 7: 59: 10: 7: 64: 6.
20. *Tirumuruku., ll.*, 59-60.
21. 7: 83: 5.
22. 7: 68: 7.
23. 7: 63: 2.
24. 7: 16: 9.
25. 7: 38: 8.
26. 7: 49.

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(f)

The *Pāñcalōka* image of *Subrahmaṇya* with *Vaḷḷi* and *Deivayāṉai* are given in Rea's Plate LII, fig. 2. Probably it is of later origin.

Plate LXV, fig. 3 is a representation of Lord *Subrahmanya*. This comes from the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple, Kāñcīpuram. *Subrahmaṇya* has one head and four hands. The right hand is holding *śaktī*; the other right hand is broken. The front left hand is held on the waist with the palm turned downwards. The back left hand is holding something which is not clear. Behind this image is the peacock, whose head has also been broken.

Subramaṇya appearing in the *Sōmāskanda* images had already been described.

(6)

Gaṇapati:

(a)

'*Piḷḷai*' or '*Piḷḷaiyār*' in ancient times referred only to *Murukaṉ*. When *Gaṅapati* worship spread from its home in the Western India to South, he came to be called "*Mūtta piḷḷai*" or "*Mūtta piḷḷaiyār*", the elder son as is proved by the work of "*Kapila Tēvar Mūtta Piḷḷaiyār Tiruviraṭṭai Maṇimālai*" of the 11th *Tirumuṟai*. There are no references to him earlier than in this work of Kapila Tēvar and in *Tēvaram*.

In various places, *Gaṇapati* is known as '*Vātāpi koṇṭa Gaṇapati*' and the great music composer Saint Dīkṣitar sings of '*Vātāpi Gaṇapati*'. That shows that this form of worship has spread into Tamil Land almost as a fashion after the Pallavas' capture of Bādāmi. But the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* had set their heart on Tamil Land earlier to this and had invaded Tamil land. Narasiṁha's invasion of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas* in fact came later. It is, therefore, possible that the idea of *Gaṇapati* worship might have been introduced during the march of Pulikēśin into Tamil Land.

(b)

There are only three references to *Gaṇapati* in Ārūrar's poems. In two places,[27] the poet refers to the household of the Lord and

27. 7: 5: 2; 7: 46: 9.

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complains that none of the members of His family will take care of him. In one place he says, 'As for *Gaṇapati*, he carries his big belly suggesting he is too immobile to be of any service to anyone'.[28] In another place he once again calls *Gaṇapati*, the Lord of the big belly but the emphasis is on his eating innumerable things — "*Eṇṇili uṇ peruvayiraṉ*"[29] and the poet says he knows nothing perhaps suggesting that he is made or that he is too young for the world. The *gaṇas* are said to be mad. In the third place Śiva is spoken of as the father of '*Cāraṇaṉ*', *i.e.*, *Vināyaka* as the leader of the *Cāraṇas* or *gaṇas* that move about everywhere.[30]

(c)

The representation of *Gaṇapati* must have found a place in Śaivite temples like those built by *Ciruttoṇṭar*. A temple which he built was known as '*Gaṇapatīccuram*'. In the Kailāsanātha temple, *Gaṇapati* is found represented in '*kūṭus*'. Plate LVIII (*Rea*) contains one. It has four hands. The *pāśa* is visible on the right back hand. In Rea's plate LXII, there is a *Vināyaka* in the sitting posture, but there is someone as though sitting on his shoulders or is it a figure behind him?

In the Vaikuṇṭa Perumāḷ temple, he occupies an important place on the left side of the entrance *gōpuram*. The '*aṅkuśa*' is in the right back hand and the *pāśa* in the corresponding left hand. Plate LV, (figs. 1 and 2) contains *Gaṇapati* between the *makaras* over the central niche.

There are two images of *Gaṇapati* in the two side '*kūṭus*' found in fig. 1 and fig. 2 of Rea's plate CXI. This is from Tripurāntakēśvara Temple. In plate CXII also there are two *Gaṇapatis* in the two side *kūṭus*. There is another *Gaṇapati* with a crown in the left side niche there.

In plate CXIII also, we find two *Gaṇapatis*, on the two side *kūṭus*.

Rea's plate CXIV gives a big sized *Gaṇēśvara* form of the Tripurāntakēśvara temple. There is the crown on his head; the back right hand holds the goad, whilst the back left hand holds the noose. The right tusk is found broken and the broken portion is held in the front right hand. The trunk is curved to the

28. 7: 5: 2.
29. 7: 46: 9.
30. 7: 48: 9.

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left and then curved again downwards to be placed inside the palm of the left front hand. There are necklaces, bangles, ornaments, anklets, and *yajñōpavīta* and *udarabandha*. The right leg is bent up, resting on the heel. The belly is bulging out. Of the left leg, the sole and the toes are visible. There is a big *tilaka* on the fore-head.

In plate CXIX from Airāvatēśvara temple in fig. 2, there is a *Ganēśa* at the top *kūṭu*.

II

Ārūrar, apart from these references to the *Dēvas* of the *Purāṇas*, sings of the heroes, kings and saints, mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. Such references are not many. He is not, therefore, trying to bring in these *Purāṇic* references simply to reveal in his knowledge of *Purāṇas*. A study of his poem leaves the impression in the readers' mind that as a popular poet, he is only referring to such *Purāṇic* stories as have become the common property of the folk-lore in Tamil land. He emphasizes the fact of the Universe being a federation of love.

(1)

Arjuna:

Arjuna was the most popular figure in the Tamil Country amongst the *Pāṇḍavas*. The story of the Lord blessing him with '*Paśupata*',[31] had already been referred to in our description of this special form of the Lord. In the famous 'Tiruppukalūr' hymn, where the poet advises the scholars not to throw pearls of their poetry before the swine of rich men, he begs of them in his second verse to desist from describing, the weak and the mean, as victorious Vijaya, great in the art of archery.[32]

Bhīma:

(2)

Next to *Arjuna* comes his elder brother *Bhīma*, a word pronounced in Tamil as '*Vīmaṉ*'. In the same verse of the Tiruppukalūr hymn, he is requesting the poets not to praise those without any strength as *Bhīmas*.[33]

31. 7: 55: 7.
32. 7: 34: 2; See *Pārthānugraha mūrti*.
33. 7: 34: 2.

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(3)

Bhagīratha :

The other king who has become popular all through India is *Bhāgīratha* who brought down the *Ganges* from the heavens. We have already referred to this story in describing the form *Gaṅgādhara.*

(4)

Mārkaṇḍēya :

Coming to the saints, the story of *Mārkaṇḍēya* has been discussed by us with reference to the *Kālāri* form.

(5)

Sūta :

The *Ṛṣis* receiving the message from *Dakṣināmūrti* have also been referred to in our description of this form. The great *Ṛṣi* of the *Purāṇas* is *Sūta*, pronounced in Tamil as '*Cūtar*', who recites the *Purāṇas* to the *Ṛṣis* after having heard them from *Vyāsa.* Our poet speaks of him as the learned *cūtar*, "kaṟṟa cūtaṉ".[34] He enumerates along with this *Ṛṣi* others and speaks of the Lord looking upon their mistakes as praiseworthy characteristic features, in accordance with the Lord's ideal reminding us of the parable of the Prodigal son. The poet says, it is this ideal of the Lord that had inspired him to take refuge at His feet. Unfortunately this poet does not specifically refer to any defect or mistake or sin committed by them. The only mistake we can think of with reference to *Cūtar* is that he has recited *Purāṇas* attributing the characteristic of the Absolute Brahman to the minor deities in *Purāṇas* other than *Śaiva Purāṇas.*

(6)

Paraśurāma :

The other *Ṛṣi* referred to is *Paraśurāma.* In the Tiruniṉriyūr hymn[35] Ārūrar refers to a story according to which the *Ṛṣi* worshipping the Lord in the temple there, made a gift of 360 *vēlis* of famous lands along with 300 Brahmins. He also carried pots of gold and precious jewels whilst worshipping with real love and whilst making the gift. *Paraśurāma* is referred to as a *Tapasvin.*

34. 7: 55: 4.
35. 7: 65.

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Pleased with this gift, love and *tapas*, God gave him a glimpse of His feet. The established rule of the Lord showering blessings on his worshippers has inspired our poet to take refuge in the Lord.[36]

(7)

Agastya:

(a)

Agastya pronounced as '*Akattiyar*' in Tamil is looked upon as the Saint, indispensable for the Tamil Language. According to some, he represents the principle of colonization. The geological cataclysms, the *Vindhyas* and to equalize this disturbance, the Himalayas went up. The *Purāṇas* speak of this distant tradition as the story of *Agastya*. The Himalayas went down with the burden of the *Dēvas* assembled at the marriage of Pārvatī and *Agastya* was sent to humble the *Vindhyas* to settle down in the South in the *Potiyil*, to equalize the weight of the Himalayas with his weight of *Tapas*. He is the first great Saint of Tamil, the *purōhit* of the Pāṇḍyas, the first great writer on Tamil grammar, the master of Tolkāppiyar. We get to know of his importance in South India from the times of the copper plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas of the Pallava age. He is also an important figure in the East Indian Archipelago where his cult assumes an importance just about that time. The name of *Agastya* is as old as the *Ṛg Vēda* and many are the stories told of the *Ṛṣis* of that name in the *Purāṇas* but in the Tamil land he is ever remembered as the Saint of Tamil and his image are found in Jāva and the Eastern islands. It is this tradition probably that Ārūrar refers to when he is mentioning the name of *Agastya*.

(b)

Ārūrar speaks of *Agastiya* worshipping the *Liṅga* form. "*Tāparam niruttic cakaḷi ceytu iraiñcu Akattiyar*"[37] are the words of our poet. The following note may explain this reference:

The *Liṅgas* are of two kinds—*cala liṅgas* and *acala liṅgas* or *Sthāvara liṅgas*—movable and immovable *liṅgas*. The *cala liṅgas* may be taken from place to place being made of metals, precious or other stones, *etc.* The *acala* or *sthāvara liṅgas*, which are

36. 7: 65: 3.
37. 7: 65: 5.

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according to the *Kāmika Āgama*, *Svāyambhuva*, (that which rises up by itself), the *Daivika* (established by the *Dēvas*), the *Ārṣaka* (established by the *Ṛṣis*), *Ġāṇāpatya* (established by the *Gaṇas*), the *Mānuṣya* (established by men) or *Bāṇa liṅga*[38]—all of which are not so removed from place to place, being fixed to a place in a temple.

The Lord is formless (*niṣkala*), but the takes up forms of Grace out of pity to the people who could not worship Him otherwise. These forms of Grace are the *Sakala* forms, and the *Liṅga* is the most important symbol of Such *sakala* forms. Akattiyar, according to our poet, established the *sthāvara liṅga*—"*Tāparam nirutti*"[39] and gave it a form. One wonders whether it is a *mukha liṅga*—"*Cakaḷi ceytu*".[40] This *liṅga* having been established by a *Ṛṣi* should be considered an *Ārṣa liṅga*, which, according to *Kāmikāgama* is said to be spheroidal like the unhusked cocoanut fruit and according to *Kāraṇāgama*, without any specific shape or measurement.

Ārūrar speaks of Akattiyar performing worship at the three *sandhyās* or the junctions of time, *viz.*, morning, midday and evening. This worship is referred to in the Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn but the poet does not specifically state where this worship took place. *Tirukkuṟṟalappurāṇam* will have it at its place. But its story of converting the form of Viṣṇu's īmage into *Śiva liṅga* is not however referred to by *Ārūrar*. As a result of this worship, the Lord blessed *Agastya* to reside always at *Potiyil*, near the Pāpanāśam falls and the poet speaks of the *potiyil* as the place beautified by great precious stones falling down, referring probably to the great falls, *Agastya* is said to be one of the *Ṛṣis* at the feet of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* according to some *Āgamas*. It is difficult to identfy his form in the Kailāsanātha Temple.

III

(1)

Folklore:

The folk lore conceives the universe as a temple for the Lord where reside the federation of living beings, immersed in the love

38. A kind of liṅgam found in the *Narbadā* as worshipped by the Asura *Bāṇa*.
39. 7: 65: 5.
40. 7: 65: 5

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of God and radiating His presence from everyone of their hearts. True to this conception, we find not only human and divine beings but also beasts worshipping the Lord, in this brotherhood of love.

(2)

The Federation of Love—The Cow—The Elephant :

'*Kāmadhēnu*', the divine cow of the Heavens, '*Curapi*' (*Surabhi*)[41] as the poet calls, the pleasing and the shining one worshipped the Lord every day before the sun-rise allowing the milk from its udder to flow and immerse the Lord. Thus it was in quest of the Lord. Ārūrar says, that he has heard of the story and an irresistable conviction grew on him. He praised the Lord and this thought broke away the cruel fetters and he reached His feet. Therefore, this story has a special significance to Ārūrar as he himself confesses.[42] In this very hymn we have already seen one verse bringing together the tiger, the serpents, lion, the *Dēvas* along with the *ṛṣis* to listen to the message of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*—a silent representation of the federation or brotherhood of love moving the mind of our poet,[43] as it did the mind of the common man of the Tamil land. This conception has appealed to Rājarāja the great, and he has attempted to form the image of *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* in terms of this verse 6 of Ārūrar's Tiruniṉṟiyūr hymn.[44]

The appeal of this conception is still further proved by two other verses of this hymn. It is very unfortunate that the three closing verses of this hymn are wanting, which might have thrown still further light on this conception of a federation of living beings in love with the Lord. The seventh verse refers to the story of *Airāvata* though that name is not mentioned. It is the elephant of the Heavens with four tusks. It shivered and shuddered in repentance or out of love to the Lord whilst worshipping His feet full of beauty or goodness. It stood shuddering and worshipped the Lord by praising Him; immediately the Lord blessed it with the glory and grandeur of the Heavens. Having heard this characteristic feature of the pardoning Lord, the poet says that he himself has taken refuge at His beautiful feet. This federation of the saintly beasts, colours his vision and in the last two lines of this very verse he gives expression to his vision where the beautiful

41. 7: 65: 4.
42. 7: 65: 4.
43. 7: 65: 6.
44. *S I.I.*, Vol. II, No. 50.

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damsels with crescent-like foreheads who dwell on the top of the rich mansions of that place, appeared to Him as peacocks, young deer and child-like parrots.

(3)

Federation of love — the Spider — Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ:

That the whole hymn[45] starts from this conception is made clear, by the first verse which sings not of a higher animal but of a lowly creature, the spider.[46] It wove a cobweb as a canopy for the Lord at Tiruvāṉaikkā. Pleased with this loving thought of the spider, the Lord blessed it with wealth, munificence and powerful kingship. It is this spider that was born as the great *Cōḻa king Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*, the first Great *Cōḻa* temple-builder on a vast scale in brick and mortar. His temples have become known as great temples — "*Peruṅkōyil*". This has inspired the poet, and he in his turn, overflows with this divine love and sings of the young innocent children playing in the streets, in the pials and in the courtyard with the precious stones gathered on the banks of the banks of the Kāviri which had thrown them out on the sides.

In another place, in his famous Tiruppuṉkūr hymn,[47] where also he refers to the various stories which inspired him, he mentions the '*cilanti*'[48] or spider. He gives the importance of the message of these stories. We may be sinners and committing sins. The cow as soon as it brings forth a calf does not look upon its child as full of dirt. It licks away lovingly and makes it clean and whole. Our defects are the characteristic features of our creation. The great mother of us all, the Lord, therefore, takes them as sings of our lives and looks upon them as good qualities under the circumstances and rushes to save us. It is this ideal which inspires our poets. The parable of the prodigal son is popular all over the world.

(4)

Cāṇḍēśvara:

In connection with the love and reverence for cow, the story of *Caṇḍēśvara* may be referred to. The poet speaks of *Daṇḍi* or

45. 7: 65.
46. 7: 65: 1.
47. 7: 55.
48. 7: 55: 4.

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Caṇḍi, the *Caṇḍēśvara*.[49] He milked the cows and bathed with the milk the Lord of the *Liṅga* which he formed out of beautiful white sands; his father rushed on this *liṅga* or the Lord and *Cāṇḍēśvara* cut away his father's leg and the Lord was pleased with him and blessed him with the flowers on His own matted hair.[50] In another place the poet speaks of *Caṇḍēśvara* as he who hacks away.[51] He also speaks of *Cāṇḍēśvara* as *Daṇḍi*,[52] and also as *Caṇḍi*[53] perhaps the poet uses the same form in all the four places. In the hymn 17, verse 4, he speaks of the Lord promoting *Caṇḍēśvara* to His own rank and becoming great that way. This is further explained in another hymn.[54] The beautiful clothes of the Lord, the beautiful jewels and the garlands He wears and the food He eats, He made *Caṇḍēśvara* to get. This story again emphasizes the Grace of the Lord where our poison becomes His nectar. The inscriptions uniformly record the documentary transactions of the Śiva temple as being conducted in the name of *Caṇḍēśvara*, the manager of the temple, a position which Ārūrar refers to in his hymns.

The *Āgamas* speak of this *Caṇḍēśa* assuming different forms in different *yugas*.[55] He is also given a wife;[56] but all this is contrary to the tradition preserved in *Periyapurāṇam*.

The *Āgamas* describe the image of the Lord showering his Grace on *Caṇḍēśa*. Śiva is seated with Pārvatī.[56a] His face is turned towards the left.[57] The right hand is in *varada* pose and the left hand is on the crown of *Caṇḍēśa*. *Caṇḍēśvarar*, beautiful in all parts, is standing or sitting[58] with hands in *añjali* pose. Śiva holds the ends of a flower-garland with His right hand and ties round the head of *Caṇḍēśvara* with His left hand.[59]

49. 7: 17: 4; 7: 3: 3; 7: 65: 2; 7: 88: 6.
50. 7: 55: 4.
51. 7: 88: 6.
52. 7: 17: 4; 7: 55: 3.
53. 7: 65: 2; 7: 88: 6.
54. 7: 65: 2.
55. *Uttara Kāmikāgama, Paṭalam* 65, *ślōka* 29.
56. *Ibid.*, 65: 29.
56a. *Uttara Kāmikā*, 55: 2.
57. *Aṁśumadbhēda.*
58. *Uttara Kāmikāgama*, 55: 3 and 4.
59. *Ibid.*, 55: 5.

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This description agrees with the image found in Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōḷapuram.[60] The images from Śucīndram and Madura Temples given in plate L, agree with this, and, therefore, must have been sculptured after the above descriptions if the *Āgamas* had become authoritative rules. In the Kailāsanātha temple, however the image is in a different pose thus showing that *Āgamic* rules had not become crystallized at the time it was made. Fig. 2 in the above plate gives a sketch of this image in the Kailāsanātha temple. It appears as fig. 1 in *Rea's* plate XXXIX, found in the 20th panel from the east end of the north side of the court. Gōpinātha Rao has given a correct description of this sculpture: "Śiva is standing on His right leg whilst the left one is resting upon a raised seat. He has four hands, the right one of which is held in the *varada* pose. It is not quite clear which objects are kept in the remaining hands. To the right of Śiva stands *Caṇḍēśvara* with the axe with which he cut down the leg of the father resting upon his right shoulder. Below and fallen on the ground is the father of *Caṇḍēśvara* with his left hand held in *vismaya* pose".

(5)

Others:

The stories of Campantar, Tirunāvukkaracar, Ēyarkōṉ, Pukaḻttuṇai, Nāḷaippōvar, Cākkiyar, Kaṇṇappar, Kaṇampullar are also referred to, but these will be discussed when referring to Ārūrar's Tiruttoṇṭattokai saints.[61] Though the story of *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* and *Caṇḍēśa* also occur therein, we described them at length for bringing out the significance of Ārūrar's ideal of god-head and love of animals.

There is a reference to *Toṇṭaimāṉ* receiving the blessings of the Lord.[62] In our study of the hymns under the head 'Pilgrim's Progress'[63] and in our discussion with all about out poet's relationship with the Pallavas, *Toṇṭaimāṉ* is narrated in detail.

Pāri is referred to by Ārūrar.[64] *Pāri* is one of the seven great patrons of the *Caṅkam* age. This *Vaḷḷal* according to the *Caṅkam* tradition unable to bear the sight of the helplessness of a jasmine creeper left his chariot on the way so as to allow the creeper to

60. See fig. 1, plate 49 of the *Hindu Iconography* Vol. II, Part I.
61. See Vol., IV.
62. 7: 69: 10.
63. Vol. III
64. 7: 34: 2.

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spread and entwine round the vehicle. Arūrar is one of the few poets who have been impressed with this Tamillian vision of the overflowing kindness. The Koṭuṅkuṉṟam or Paṟampu Malai in the Rāmanādapuram District contains a Śiva temple which is now known as *Pāriccuram* — the Temple where worshipped *Pāri*.

The reference to *Pāri* suggests an interpretation for another passage in Ārūrar's passage. "*Pēr aruḷāḷaṉ piṭavūraṉ tammāṉē*",[65] — 'Father of the Lord of *Piṭavūr*, the great munificent lord of Grace and memory'. The *Caṅkam* literature speaks of the patron "*Arappeyarc cāttaṉ*" of Piṭavūr which is said to be to the east of *Uṟaiyūr* in Tiruccirāppālli.[66] One wonders whether Ārūrar is referring to this patron of the *Caṅkam* age. Perhaps the referrence is to a contemporary of Ārūrar. If the patron of the Caṅkam age was named after *Cāttaṉ* which is derived by some from *Śāsta*, the *Aiyaṉār*, *Śāsta* image itself is said to be originally an image of the *Buddha*. Can this reference of Ārūrar be to the *Śāsta* who is according to tradition a son of Śiva and Viṣṇu?[67] Cēkkiḻar refers to *Śāsta* (*Aiyaṉār*) as being famous in Piṭavūr and it is this Śāsta of Piṭavūr who brought from Kailās the first hymn[68] of Ārūrar. Probably this story was built on the foundation of this reference in Ārūrar.

65. 7: 96: 6.
66. *Puṟam.*, 395.
67. *Hariharaputra* of Kandapuraṇam tradition.
68. 7: 100.

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Chapter VI

WEAPONS AND ADORNMENTS OF ŚIVA

I

In our study of the various forms of Śiva, we have referred to the weapons, the ornaments and His toilet. As already pointed out in the beginning of this study, these have a mystic significance. Therefore, it is necessary to collect all the references under various heads of weapons, dress, *etc.*, and study them from this point of view.

Kantapurāṇa-c curukkam summarizes the story of the sacrifice of the *Dārukavana Ṛṣis*: "We shall destroy Him who had spoiled the chastity of the women of no evil", so saying they (the *Ṛṣis*) performed a sacrifice of huge conflagration. They commanded against Him the cruel attacking tiger, the battle-axe, the deer, the swarm of terrible serpents, the *Bhūtas* or devils, the dashing white skull, the drum of unshakable power and *muyalakaṉ*—all born and coming out of the fire one after another.

He flayed the tiger's skin and clothed himself with it; He ordered the devils to stand by Him as His army; He trampled with one of His wide lotus feet, *muyalakaṉ* and made him moan. The deer sent was held as a plaything in one of His hands on the left. He adorned His form of invaluable beauty, with all the rest.

The plate of fire was also sent along with the axe though this is not specifically mentioned here, because latterly the '*maḻu*' meaning the battle-axe came to be confused with fire.

In this place itself it is better to bring all the descriptions of not only the things mentioned in connection with this sacrifice but also of all the adornments, hands, eyes, weapons and dress of the Lord.

II

Māṉ, the deer:

Ārūrar refers to the deer held in God's hand, 17 times and speaks of it as '*māṉ*'. Originally '*mā*' meant in Tamil any animal

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but later on, especially with the '*cāriyai*' '*ṉ*' or '*āṉ*', its meaning came to be restricted to the deer. Of the various varieties, the poet speaks of '*kalaimāṉ*', the antlered deer, the '*pulavāy*' of *Tolkappiyam*.[1] Because its form with the branching horns and virility is impressive, it is specifically mentioned, "*Kalaimāṉ maṟi*"[2] "*Kalai cēr kaiyiṉaṉ*".[3] The poet is captivated by its tender age. He uses the word '*maṟi*', which according to Tolkāppiyar is traditionally used with reference to the young one of a deer "*Mān maṟi*";[4] "*Kalai māṉ maṟi*".[5] He, in some places, simply calls it '*maṟi*' without mentioning the word '*māṉ*'.[6] '*Kaṉṟu*' also seems to have come into use by the time of Ārūrar; for, he uses it at least in one place—"*Māṉ kaṉṟu ārum karavā*".[7] He is not satisfied with referring to it as a baby of a deer; he is desirous of calling it a "wee little deer'—"*Ciṟu māṉ maṟi*".[8] But in a few places, he does not refer to the tender age, but simply speaks of the deer.[9] In all these places, the poet does not lay the emphasis on the playful deer but on the deer as a characteristic symbol of Śiva, even as the *Cakra* is the symbol of Viṣṇu. He holds it in His '*kai*' a Tamil word for the hand—'*Kai*',[10] or within His palm, "*Kaittalam*".[11] He uses the Sanskrit word '*kara*' for the hand, at least once,[12] and also the connected phrase "*karatala*", equivalent to "*kaittalam*".[13] He speaks of Śiva holding it up—'*Ēntum*',[14] '*Ēnti*'.[15] In other places, he speaks of the deer going up to His hand—'*Ēṟum*',[16] being up there with all its heart—'*Mēviya*';[17] reaching the hand—'*Cēr*';[18] embracing or being in close contact as a dear

1. *Sūtrams*: 1511, 1535.
2. 7: 77: 2; 7: 93: 8.
3. 7: 27: 3.
4. 7: 11: 4; 7: 18: 9; 7: 53: 9.
5. 7: 77: 2; 7: 93: 8.
6. 7: 24: 9; 7: 26: 4; 7: 46: 10.
7. 7: 28: 3.
8. 7: 53: 9.
9. 7: 51: 4; 7: 67: 1; 7: 86: 7; 7: 87: 5; 7: 88: 3.
10. 7: 10: 1; 7: 11: 4; 7: 24: 9; 7: 26: 4; 7: 27: 3; 7: 51: 4; 7: 53: 9; 7: 83: 3.
11. 7: 67: 1.
12. 7: 28: 3.
13. 7: 46: 10.
14. 7: 57: 11.
15. 7: 86: 7.
16. 7: 46: 10.
17. 7: 88: 3.
18. 7: 27: 3.

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little thing—'*Maruvum*'.[19] The hand appears to be full with this deer—'*Ārum*'.[20] The deer is held on the left hand—"*Māṉai iṭattōr kaiyaṉ*".[21]

Though the deer and the axe have become the symbols of Śiva, these do not appear in all of His forms. We have noted in what all forms the deer or the "*kṛṣṇa mṛga*" appears. References to the deer in Ārūrar may be analysed from this point of view. The poet usually does not specify any particular form of Śiva. But the details given in and around the mention of the deer may throw some light on the form referred to. It may be, he does not refer to any form. Even if a reference could be spun out, this study may show that it is not always in accordance with the rules of the Āgamas as they are available at present. Ārūrar refers to the deer in juxtaposition to his description of the story of '*Kāmāri*',[22] of '*Gajāri*',[23] of '*Kālāri*'[24] of the quest of Viśṇu and Brahma',[25] of '*Tripurāntaka*,'[26] of the form of his *Guru* or of his inner vision,[27] of *Dakśiṇāmūrti*,[28] of *Pāśupatavrata*,[29] of *Gaṇgādhara*,[30] of *Ardhanāri* and *Hari ardha*,[31] of *Umāsahita*,[32] of *Ravaṇānugraha*,[33] of *Dakṣāri*,[34] of *Brahmaśiraschēda*[35] and of *Viṣṇucakradāna*,[36]

He mentions the deer in connection with the '*maḻu*' or battle axe.[37] In a few places the fire is mentioned along with these two[38]

19. 7: 51: 4.
20. 7: 28: 3.
21. 7: 20: 1.
22. 7: 10: 1.
23. 7: 10: 1; 7: 26: 4; 7: 53: 9; 7: 93: 8.
24. 7: 28: 3; 7: 86: 7.
25. 7: 18: 9; 7: 24: 9; 7: 53: 9.
26. 7: 27: 3; 7: 57: 11.
27. 7: 26: 4; 7: 46: 10; 7: 51: 4; 7: 67. 1.
28. 7: 28: 3.
29. 7: 57: 11.
30. 7: 11: 4; 7: 27: 3; 7: 67: 1. 7: 77: 2.
31. 7: 87: 5.
32. 7: 24: 9; 7: 27: 3; 7: 53: 9; 7: 57: 11; 7: 88: 3.
33. 7: 18: 9.
34. 7: 53: 9,
35. 7: 53: 9.
36. 7: 53: 9.
37. 7: 11: 4; 7: 86: 7; 7: 87: 5; 7: 93: 8.
38. 7: 11: 4; 7: 87: 5; 7: 93: 8.

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and in one of these places the elephant's skin is mentioned as probably referring to the *Gajāri* form.[39]

(III)

Muyalakaṉ

The *apasmāra puruṣa* was also sent against Śiva. '*Smṛ*' is to remember; '*apasmāra*' is the forgetful epilepic fit. The man in an epileptic fit perhaps must have been expected to effect murder much more easily and with supernatural forces. The Tamil name for the epileptic fit is "*muyal vali*" because the patient breathes like the hare whilst following a scent; it is also called '*muyalakaṉ*' as is made clear by *Periyapurāṇam*. Therefore, the *apasmāra puruṣa* is known in Tamil as *Muyalakaṉ* of which the colloquial form is '*musalakaṉ*' as found in Tanjore Temple inscription. The unconscious epileptic demon has to be under control with great force and the Lord presses him down under His feet. The Tamil term '*muyalakaṉ*' occurs for the first time in Ārūrar and that only once[40] where he describes Śiva as the Lord of the burning ground He calls the Muyalakaṉ as "*Mūṭāya muyalagaṉ*", the idiotic epileptic.

IV

Yajñōpavīta :

Śiva's image shines with a '*Yajñōpavīta*'. We have already seen the significance of Śiva being specially called '*Yojñōpavītin*' where He wears the *yajñōpavīta* leading on to the conception of order and rulership. When Brahminism took deeper root in this country, this *yajñōpavīta* came to signify its prevalence.

The use of '*Pañcavaṭi*' as *yajñōpavīta* has been referred to in our discussion of the *Brahma śiraschēda mūrti*'.

The poet refers to *yajñōpavīta* as "*Purinūl*"[41]—'the twisted thread'; He speaks of it as the white thread of embracing darnings—"*Iḻai taḻuvu veṇ ṇūl*".[42] It is so characteristic that our poet speaks of it as that; it is on body of the Lord—"*Meyyātu puri*

39. 7: 93: 8.
40. 7: 2: 3.
41. 7: 14: 7.
42. 7: 40: 8.

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nūl".[43] He is the Lord of sacred thread — "*Puṟinūluṭai Nampi*".[44] It is pure white — "*Veṇpuri nūl*",[45] '*Veṇ nūl*'[46] and it glistens "*Viṭṭilaṅku puri nūl*".[47] Our author gives a poetic description of this beautiful sight of the sacred thread on the form of Śiva. The Lord is red like the coral mountain and the sacred thread appears to him like a stream of crystal diving into this coral mountain:

"*Paḷkku-t tārai pavaḷa veṟpil*
Kuḷikkum pōl nūl".[48]

In one place the poet speaks of "*Pūṇ nāṇ āvatōr aravam*"[49] and if we compare the modern usage of "*Pūṇ nūl*" for the sacred thread, we have to assume that the poet is contemplating a case of the serpent itself being the sacred thread of the Lord.[50]

(V)

Maḻu:

There are 30 references to '*Maḻu*' or the axe in Ārūrar. The *Ṛṣis* sent also the battle-axe born of the Sacrifice, against Śiva which he caught and held for ever in His right hand. Ārūrar refers to this as well. He sings, "*Maḻuvāḷ valaṉ ēntī*"[51] — 'Thou art the bearer of the axe in your right hand'. This '*Ēntī* or holder of axe or holding the axe is used often.[52] The poet speaks of the Lord as the 'Man of the battle axe' — '*Maḻuvaṉ*';[53] "*Maḻuvāḷar*";[54] "*Maḻuvāḷiṉaṉ*";[54] "*Maḻuppaṭaiyāṉ*";[56] "*Maḻuvāṭpaṭai mali kaiyaṉ*"[57] and addresses Him, 'Thou of the axe',[58] or 'He is possessed of it'.[59]

43. 7: 14: 7.
44. 7: 63: 3.
45. 7: 53: 2.
46. 7: 40: 8.
47. 7: 56: 7.
48. 7: 94: 4.
49. 7: 92: 8.
50. 7: 15: 1.
51. 7: 1: 9.
52. 7: 11: 4; 7: 63: 1; 7: 85: 1; 7: 86: 7; 7: 88: 3.
53. 7: 22: 2; 7: 22: 5; 7: 81: 4; 7: 91: 6.
54. 7: 53: 9.
55. 7: 71: 6.
56. 7: 82: 2.
57. 7: 98: 7.
58. 7: 1: 9.
59. 7: 10: 3; 7: 10: 4; 7: 10; 5; 7: 53: 9; 7: 58: 5; 7: 61: 5; 7: 71: 6; 7: 81: 4; 7: 82: 2; 7: 91: 6: 7: 93: 10; 7: 98: 7.

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The description of the *Maḻu* is important. In later days in the fire ordeal, the sharp battle axe was put in the fire and taken out red hot to be caught with its sharp edge inside the palm of the persons undergoing the ordeal when, if he is not guilty it will neither cut nor burn the palm. On account of this ordeal "*Maḻu ēntal*" or "*Maḻu eṭuttal*" has come to signify the red hot-fire. But as is revealed by the sculptures of Ārūrar's age the '*Maḻu*' is an axe different from the fire shown in the form of a flame or a torch. Ārūrar also differentiates the fire from the axe or '*Maḻu*' for he speaks of God thus: 'He holds the *maḻu* and has the fire in one hand' — '*Mā maḻuvēnti ōr kaiyil aṉal uṭaiyār*'.[60] Perhaps the ordeal by fire is also hinted here — "*Nilamuṭai māṉ mari kaiyatu teyvak kaṉal uṭai māmaḻu*"[61] — the great battle axe possessed of divine fire contrasted with the deer belonging to this earth whereon it has the frisk'; "*Kaṉal maḻu*";[62] "*Maḻuviṉoṭu aṅkait tī ukappār*"[63] — 'The Lord is fond of the fire on his palm along with the battle axe' — *Mariyum eriyum maḻuvum uṭaiyāṉ*"[64] —'He is the Lord of the deer, the fire and the axe' — these are some other refernnces. In another verse where the poet enumerates Śiva's characteristics he speaks of the '*maḻu*' and the fire.[65] The *maḻu* is sharpened and polished; therefore, it is white, "*Veṇ maḻu*".[66] The cruel sharp glistening edge may be said to vomit fire as a poetic conceit. Hence the battle-axe may be spoken of as fiery — "*Kaṉaluṭai mā maḻu*"[67] "*Kaṉal maḻu*".[68]

There is a cryptic description in hymn 10, verse 4. One thing is clear that the '*maḻu*' in the palm is like the fire. "*Caṅku kuḻaic cevi koṇṭu aruvit tiraḷ pāy aviyat taḻal pōluṭait tam aṅkai maḻu*" — 'There is the ear-ring of conch near the hand. It sheds white flood of its lustre which looks like a cataract or waterfall'. Then the reading is not clear: "*Pāy aviyat taḻal pōluṭai.... maḻu*" — "The cataract flows; this flow does not put out the fire; like such a fire is the axe'. There is another reading: "*Pāya viyarttu āḻal pōluṭai...*

60. 7: 11: 4.
61. 7: 11: 4.
62. 7: 77: 2.
63. 7: 87: 5.
64. 7: 93: 8.
65. 7: 84: 5.
66. 7: 22: 2; 7: 22: 5; 7: 26: 3; 7: 27: 1; 7: 61: 5; 7: 63: 1.
67. 7: 11: 4.
68. 7: 77: 2.

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maḻu" — 'When the cataract rushed down, the *maḻu* perspired in rage at this and blazed up like a fire'. It may suggest any of these meanings.[69]

It shines and glistens—"*Cuṭar veṇ maḻu*".[70] It is a cruel *maḻu* —"*Koṭu maḻu*".[71] '*Koṭu*' may refer to the curved form of its sharp edge as may be seen from the sculptures of the Kailasanātha Temple. The poet speaks of the Lord as "*Koṭu maḻu virakiṉaṉ*"[72] —'the Lord who is enthusiastic over His curved or cruel axe or the Lord who is an adept in the tactful use of the axe'. The curved form is its standard form; therefore, it adds to its shape and beauty —"*Vaṭivuṭai maḻu*".[73] It edge is very sharp—"*Kūr nuṉai maḻu*".[74] In "*Muḷiṟu ilaṅku maḻu*",[75] '*muḷiṟu*' means being sharp like a thorn, from '*muḷ*' and '*muḷi*' with the suffix '*ṟu*' as in '*ākiṉṟu*'. This is the peculiarity of the age of Ārūrar. Leaving off this digression we find that the poet states that the edge of the *maḻu* is then like a leaf—"*Ilai malinta maḻu*".[76] It may be like the leaf but it is firm and adament—"*Tiṉ maḻu*".[77] Apart from the beauty of the shape, there is the beauty of its function. It cuts in twain in the twinkling of an eye. The division is the beauty of this curved axe—"*Kūṟaṇi koṭu maḻu*".[78] This axe is not the axe of the wood-cutter—an instrument of livelihood; it is a weapon of war—"*Paṭai*".[79] Among the weapons of war it belongs to the cutting weapons of the sword variety and hence it is called "*Maḻu vāḷ*"[80] and "*Maḻu vāṭ paṭai*".[81] 'It is the conquering axe'—"*Vellum veṇ maḻu*".[82] To the iron part of the axe is attached a handle of a stick and the poet refers to this: "*Taṇṭēr maḻup paṭaiyāṉ*"[83]—'The Lord of the weapon of a battle axe beautified by its handle of a stick'.

69. 7: 10: 4.
70. 7: 98: 7.
71. 7: 58: 5.
72. 7: 72: 5.
73. 7: 85: 1.
74. 7: 85: 3.
75. 7: 81: 4.
76. 7: 30: 11.
77. 7: 84: 5.
78. 7: 72: 3.
79. 7: 26: 3; 7: 27: 1; 7: 58: 5; 7: 82: 2; 7: 93: 10; 7: 98: 7.
80. 7: 1: 9; 7: 10: 3; 7: 10: 5; 7: 81: 4.
81. 7: 58: 5; 7: 93: 10; 7: 98: 7.
82. 7: 61: 5.
83. 7: 82: 2.

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With the same warning that we gave with reference to the study of the deer, we shall try to find out in combination with what all forms of the Lord, the '*maḻu*' is mentioned. It is found mentioned in juxtaposition to what may be taken to be a reference to the forms of "*Umāsahita*",[84] "*Candra śēkhara*",[85] "*Viṣāpaharaṇa*",[86] "*Kāpāli*",[87] "*Ardhanāri*",[88] "*Dakṣāri*",[89] "*Gajāri*".[90] "*Ēkamranātha*",[91] "*Tripurāntaka*",[92] "*Vṛṣabhārūḍa*",[93] "*Gaṅgādhara*",[94] "*Pāśupatavrata*",[95] "*Nṛtta mūrti*",[96] "*Kālāri*",[97] "*Śaṅkara nārāyaṇa*",[98] "*Bhikṣāṭana*"[99] or inner vision of the poet.[100]

VI

Triśūlam:

Śiva is said to hold the "*Triśūla*" or trident in His hand. This *triśūla* is traced sometime to the universal symbol of a cross or a *svastic*. In the engraved seals of the Mohenjodaro and Harappa, there are forms of human faces with two inward bent horns and the head-dress. They are said to be representations of divinity. An examination of these figures bring out their similarity with the *triśūla*. At Māmallapuram, such faces as the crowning head of the *rathas*, have been found lying on the sands, nearby, by Longhurst. We are familiar with the "*Cakradēvata*" represented in a human form with a number of hands, round which, we find the *cakra*. Similarly these forms found at Māmallapuram may be taken as '*Śūladēvata*', the personification of *Triśūla*, where the central sphere appears as the head, and the side spheres as horns. This representation is exactly like the representation found at

84. 7: 1: 9; 7: 10: 4; 7: 88: 3.
85. 7; 10: 3; 7: 10: 4; 7: 22: 2.
86. 7: 10: 3; 7: 61: 5; 7: 82: 2.
87. 7: 53: 9
88. 7: 10: 4; 7: 22: 5; 7: 84: 5; 7: 87: 5; 7: 88: 3.
89. 7: 26: 3; 7: 53: 9.
90. 7; 53: 9; 7: 85: 1; 7: 93: 8; 7: 98: 7.
91. 7: 58: 5; 7: 87: 5.
92. 7: 63: 1; 7: 75: 5; 7: 82: 2.
93. 7: 71: 6; 7: 72: 3; 7: 82: 2.
94. 7: 10: 3; 7: 10: 4: 7: 11: 4; 7: 72: 3; 7: 77: 2.
95. 7: 81: 4.
96. 7: 84: 5.
97. 7: 86: 7; 7: 93: 10.
98. 7: 87: 5.
99. 7: 53: 9.
100. 7: 27: 1; 7: 30: 11; 7: 77: 2.

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Mohenjodaro and Harappa. Such personification of other weapons are referred to by the old commentators.[101].

This weapon of destruction, so frightful, has been transformed into a weapon of love. The story of *Andhakāsura* and the part the *triśūla* played therein, have been mentioned in a different place. The *triśūla* destroys all our obstructions towards redemption and salvation, obstructions which are personified as demons.

The association of Śiva with the *Triśūla* is found in the *Caṅkam* works themselves. The invocatory verse of *Akanāṉūṟu* speaks of the "*Mūvāy vēl*" — 'the three mouthed spear' which is no other than the trident. What is considered to be the invocatory verse of '*Patirru-p pattu*' quoted by Naccinārkkiṉiyar[102] mentions the very word '*Śūlam*' and speaks of Śiva as "*Teriya śūlam piṭitta cuṭarppaṭai-k kaṭavuḷ*" — 'the Lord of Time, of resplendent weapons holding the clear trident'. This trident is the characteristic weapon of *Śakti* and in the '*Vēṭṭuvar vari*' of *Cilappatikāram*, we find this emphasized.[103]

Ārūrar's referenee to this trident in connection with *Andhakāsura* has already been mentioned. The form of *Mahiṣāsura mardhani*, so beautifully sculptured at Māmallapuram and in Kailāsanātha temple[104] represents the heroic use of this trident by the Mother Goddess. The sculptures of Kailāsanātha temple represent Śiva holding the trident.[105]

There are eleven references to *triśūla*, the trident. Ārūrar calls it "*Śūlam*"[106] from the root '*śūl*' to pierce. He calls it, "*Paṭai-t talai-c cūlam*"[107] — the head or the king of weapons. It is a three-headed spear. The spear-head is usually said to be in the form of a leaf and the three-headed spear is naturally in the form of three leaves — "*Ilaikoḷ cūlam*".[108] Therefore, our poet calls this '*Cūlam*' — "*Mūvilai vēl*".[109] He calls it simply, "*Mūvilai*", a meta-

101. *Pattup pāṭṭu* — 3: *ll.*, 94-95.
102. *Tol., Porul., Puṟam.*, 26.
103. XII, *ll.*, 60; 68.
104. Rea's Plate Nos. XXIX; XXXII, fig. 2; LVI.
105. Rea's Plate XXXIV, fig. 1; XXXII, fig 2; XXXVI, fig. 1; XXXVIII fig. 1; XLV, fig. 2; LI, fig. 1; LIV; LVII; LX; LXI; CIX; CXXIII, fig. 1.
106. 7: 14: 6; 7: 33: 7; 7: 37: 5; 7: 40: 3; 7: 81: 5.
107. 7: 14: 6.
108. 7: 81: 5.
109. 7: 19: 3; 7: 28: 1; 7: 56: 3.

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phorical expression for the trident. The poet has formed out of this a '*Peyareccam*" — 'a relative participle with the genitive significance'[110] — '*mūvilaiya paṇṭaṅkaṉ*[111] and "*Mūvilaiya paṅkaya pātaṉ*".[112] He also makes this "*Mūvilaya*" descriptive of '*Cūlam*' in the phrase, "*Mūvilaiya Cūlattiṉāṉ*".[113] The poet speaks of its radiating rays of light, "*Katir mūvilaiya*".[114] Its destructive aspect is also emphasized: "*Kollum mūvilai vēl*"[115] — 'the trident which kills'; "*Alaikoḷ cūlam*"[116] — 'the teasing trident'; and also "*Alaiyār Katir mūvilai.*"[117] Its swift movement is also referred to "*Viraiyār katir mūvilai*"[118] — 'the light radiating trident full of swift movement'.[119] It is made of iron — "*Irumpuyarnta mūvilaiya cūlattiṉāṉ*",[120] That it is a weapon is also clearly described by calling "*Paṭaittalai-c Cūlam*"[121] and "*Cūlappaṭai*".[122] The Lord is catching hold of it in one of His hands, "*Cūlam parriya kaiyar*".[123] It is inside His palm — "*Aṅkaiyil mūvilai vēl*".[124] He has the trident in His hand — "*Kaiyir cūlamatuṭaiya*".[125]

The *triśūla* is spoken of as the characteristic feature of Śiva and the lady love speaks of Śiva as the Lord of the trident — "*Cūla-p paṭai Aṭikaḷ*".[126] The trident is mentioned in juxtaposition to the heroic feat of the Lord conquering '*Kālaṉ*' or '*Yama*' in one place, "*Kollum mūvilai uṭaiyāṉai-koṭiya kālaṉaiyum kumaittāṉai*".[127] In another place it is mentioned when referring to the '*Pāṇṭaraṅka*' dance of Śiva.[128] It is also mentioned in *Andhakāsura saṁhāra* —

110. 7: 22: 2; 7: 22: 5.
111. 7: 22: 2.
112. 7: 22: 5.
113. 7: 40: 3.
114. 7: 22: 2.
115. 7: 56: 3.
116. 7: 37: 5.
117. 7: 22: 5.
118. 7: 22: 2.
119. 7: 22: 2.
120. 7: 40: 3.
121. 7: 14: 6.
122. 7: 37: 5.
123. 7: 14: 6.
124. 7: 19: 3.
125. 7: 33: 7.
126. 7: 37: 5.
127. 7: 56: 3.
128. 7: 22: 2.

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"*Iruḷ mēvum Andhakaṉmēl tiṟicūlam pāicci*"[129] which we have already referred to. In other places it is difficult to say to what particular *mūrtas* the *cūlam* is referred to.

We have been noticing that descriptions of Śiva being made applicable to *Śakti*. In one place,[130] it is possible to interpret the trident as being held by *Gaṅgādēvi*, a *Śakti* of the Lord.

VII

Hands:

The all-pervasiveness of God has been referred to elsewhere, by the matted hair going in eight parts and meeting the eight points of the compass.

The hands of the Lord in His image form have some such significance. The sculptors try to represent super-human powers by giving more than two hands to their figures. In the Mohenjodaro pictograms, the human figures with two hands are interpreted by Rev. Father Heras as denoting gods. In the Naṭarāja forms, the four hands, eight hands, ten hands and sixteen hands represent so many points of the compass. Sculptures with ten, eight and four hands are seen in Kailāsanātha temple. The enumeration of the things held in the hands may suggest the existence of four hands of the Lord.[131] In many places the poet speaks specifically of eight hands.[132]

In two places there, eight hands are described in relation to the Lord's dance.[133] In four places these are mentioned in juxtaposition to the Lord's blue neck, "*Maikoḷ kaṇṭam*"[134] or "*Kārūr kaṇṭam*"[135] or "*Kaṟaiyārnta kaṇṭam*"[136] probably because of their assonance with the phrase "*Eṇṭōḷ*". Sometimes the poet groups things which can be numbered thereby creating beautiful pattern of number "*Eṇṭōḷiṉaṉ mukkaṇṇiṉaṉ ēḻicaiyiṉaṉ*".[137]

129. 7: 16: 2.
130. 7: 28: 1.
131. 7: 93: 8.
132. 7: 12: 10; 7: 30: 8: 7: 30: 10: 7: 33: 8; 7: 40: 8; 7: 53: 3; 7: 61: 9 7: 71: 9; 7: 76: 5; 7: 86: 6; 7: 95: 11.
133. 7: 33: 8; 7: 40: 8.
134. 7: 12: 10; 7: 76: 5.
135. 7: 95: 11.
136. 7: 30: 8.
137. 7: 71: 9.

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VIII

Eyes:

Śiva is represented as having three eyes, the three lights of the three worlds. Our poet speaks of the Lord as "*Mukkaṇṇaṉ*".[138] In another place, he speaks of Him as "*Mukkaṇ iṟaivaṉ*",[139] "*Mukkaṇ*",[140] "*Mūṉṟu kaṇ uṭaiyāy*",[141] "*Mukkaṇṇiṉaṉ*"[142] and "*Kaṇ mūṉṟuṭaiyīr*".[143] He mentions this as the emblem of divinity, "*Kaṇṇu mūṉṟum uṭaiyāy oru Nampi*",[144] probably having the three great lights symbolized by the three eyes; the poet speaks "*Periya kaṇ mūṉṟum uṭaiyāṉ*"[145] — 'the Lord of the three great eyes'. The two eyes are in their ordinary places but the third eye is found represented in the centre of the fore-head; because the third eye is really the distinguishing mark, our poet describes Śiva as the Lord of the eye on the fore-head, "*Nerri-k kaṇ uṭaiyāṉ*".[146] "*Kaṇṇutalōṉ*" or "*Kaṇṇutalāṉ*",[147] "*Kaṇṇār nutalar*".[148] The appearance of this third eye in addition to the ordinary eyes is indeed a curious sight and our poet describes it as the one eye above the eyes, "*Kaṇṇiṉ mēl oru kaṇṇuṭaiyāṉ*",[149] "*Kaṇmēl oru kaṇṇāṉ*".[150] Our author is so immersed in the poetic mood, that he addresses pathetically to this form in a moment of distress when he had lost his eyes — 'Oh, Thou Lord, who are possessed of three eyes! Is it fair that you should deprive your servant of his eyes?'— "*Mūṉṟu kaṇṇuṭaiyāy aṭiyēṉ kaṇ koḷvatē*";[151] it is this third eye which winked at *Kāma* and burnt him to ashes — "*Kāmanuṭal vēva-k kaṉal viḷitta Kaṇṇutalōn*".[152]

A story is told how the Lord came to be possessed of this third eye. "The damsel of the mountain was playing with the Lord. She became so intoxicated in the playful sporting of the

138. 7: 12: 3; 7: 30: 8; 7: 33: 4.
139. 7: 86: 6.
140. 7: 95: 11.
141. 7: 54: 4.
142. 7: 71: 9.
143. 7: 12: 7.
144. 7: 63: 1.
145. 7: 38: 9.
146. 7: 86: 4.
147. 7: 16: 1; 7: 56: 6.
148. 7: 53: 2.
149. 7: 59: 7.
150. 7: 80: 4.
151. 7: 54: 4.
152. 7: 16: 9.

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Lord that she closed His eyes with her hands where danced the bangles, perhaps little thinking what will be the consequence of her act, for His eyes are the lights of the world. The whole universe was enshrouded in dense darkness. The God, to save this world and for making this darkness run away and disappear, created a single eye in His forehead and became Great, the best of men, probably because of His sympathy for every living being".

"*Malaimaṭantai viḷaiyāṭī vaḷaiyāṭu karattāl*
Makiḻntavaḷkaṇ puṭaitttalumē valliruḷāy ellā
Ulakuṭaṉṟāṉ mūṭaviru ḷōṭumvakai nerri
Oṟṟaikkaṇ paṭaittukanta uttamaṉ".[153]

IX

Serpent:

In the *Bhikṣāṭana* form there are no clothes. "*Kaṭi dēśē prakartavyaḥ phaṇi sūtṛēṇa vēṣṭitaḥ*".[154] 'The serpent is tied round the waist. He is adorned with the serpent'.

Serpent worship must have been very popular in South India as is seen by the *Nāga* stones still found under the trees. Śiva in keeping His out of the way abodes, came to be associated with serpents, as well. In the Tamil country of *Nāga* worship, this assumed a greater importance, on account of the harmony effected between Śiva worship and this *Nāga* worship. The serpent became the greatest symbol of Śiva, the hood of the serpent appearing as a kind of umbrella up over the crown of Śiva. In addition to this in the age of the Pallavas, there was their tradition of a Pallava marriage with a *Nāga kanyā*. This gave an additional glamour to the serpents adorning the Lord.

The psycho-analysts have spoken of the significance of the serpent symbol appealing to the unconscious and the racial memory. The serpent in Hindu Philosophy represents the *kuṇḍalinī yōga*. It also represents the Universe; the evolving Universe is the serpent with its hood spread out; when it has not the hood thus spread out, it is the Universe at rest lying in involution. All these suggestions are there imbedded in every description of the forest.

153. 7: 16: 4
154. *Kāmika.*, 52: 23.

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(a)

The words for serpent used by Ārūrar are (1) *Nākam*, the Tamillian form of the Sanskrit word '*Nāga*',[155] (2) '*Puyaṅkam* from the Sanskrit word '*Bhujaṅgaḥ*' (that which moves in a curved way),[156] (3) '*Arā*'[157] with its variant form '*ara*'[158] and '*aravu*'[159] and '*aravam*',[160] (4) '*Pāmpu*',[161] (5) '*Pāntaḷ*'.[162] Nāga as that which moves not — that goes not — refers probably to its serpentine motion; so does '*bhujaṅgaḥ*' as that which moves on its shoulders. Possibly *Nāga* itself is traceable originally to the Tamil root '*naku*' to the Tamillians referring to the shining appearance of certain serpents. It is a shining serpent, says the poet: '*Vāḷ aravu*'.[163] The poet speaks of "*Kōla aravu*", 'the beautiful serpent or the serpent with the beautiful pattern'.[164] '*Nāku*' meaning 'youthful' is also traceable to the same root. The *Nākar* may be the race of eternals. If *Nākars* are non-aryans, it is but reasonable that their name should be traced to a non-aryan root. *Aravu* is compared with '*Sarpa*' by the Tamil Lexicon. This is indeed very unfortunate; for the form *aravam* is to be traced to '*ar*', '*arā*', '*ara*' and '*aravu*' according to the well established Tamil grammatical tradition which is not opposed to any canon of comparative philology. '*Ara*' may mean the sound of the rattlesnake. From this has come the word '*arakku*' which means to wriggle, like a serpent.

'*Pāmpu*' is from '*pāy*', to spring forth, as pointed out by Dr. Caldwell. '*Pāntaḷ*' probably means the same.[165] Naccinārkkiniyar interprets this to mean the big snake. The other epithets which the poet uses are suggestive and realistic. It captures any cleft or crevice and makes it as its own abode — "*Muḷaikoḷ aravu*".[166] Any hole is a fit abode for many serpents and God captures the serpents there. The Tamil Lexicon gives this mean-

155. 7: 2: 4; 7: 2: 8; 7: 4: 1; 7: 4: 2; *etc.*
156. 7: 10: 7.
157. 7: 61: 4.
158. 7: 50: 3.
159. 7: 9: 9; *etc.*
160. 7: 3: 3; 7: 14: 8; *etc.*
161. 7: 2: 1; *etc.*
162. 7: 64: 4.
163. 7: 12: 10.
164. 7: 94: 3.
165. 7: 64: 6.
166. 7: 9: 9.

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ing of a hold for the word '*pāḻi*'—"*Pāḻitoṟum pala pāmpu parri*".[167] Any ant heap becomes its rendezvous and it dances with its hood —"*Puṟṟatu aravam*";[168] "*Puṟṟil vāḻ aravu*".[169] It is the cruel serpent of the jungles or uncultivated areas—"*Kollai vāḻ aravam*".[170] It has the hood which it spreads and dances. The hood is known as '*paṭam*', '*pai*', and '*paṇam*'—"*Paṭam koḷ nākam*",[171] "*Paitta paṭattalai*",[172] "*Paikoḷ vāḻ aravu*",[173] "*Paṇampaṭum aravam*".[174] It, especially the cobra, has the spots on its hood "*Tutti*' usually in the form of two '*S*'*s*.[175]

(b)

It is an obstinate and cruel one—"*Mūkkappāmpu*".[176] It foams up and dances—"*Poṅkāṭaravā*,"[177] "*Poṅkaravam*".[178] The idea of its wriggling serpentine motion is beautifully expressed by the phrase, "*Oṟṟiyūrum aravu*",[179] that which creeps attached to the thing it creeps on. It is deadly—"*Koḷ nākam*".[180] It is powerful—"*Val aravam*".[181] It is cruel and angry—"*Veyya pāmpu*"[182] "*Kata nākam*".[183] Its eyes are red with anger—"*Ceṅkaṇ aravam*".[184] They become green "*Paiṅkaṇ*",[185] probably because of excess of anger.[186] It opens up its mouth wide—"*Paku vāy*",[187] that shows its pride—"*Cerukku vāy*".[188] Its teeth, '*Eyiṟu*'[189] with the poison-

167. 7: 18: 5.
168. 7: 3: 3; 7: 92: 1.
169. 7: 62: 1.
170. 7: 56: 10.
171. 7: 57: 4.
172. 7: 10: 5.
173. 7: 12: 10.
174. 7: 14: 8.
175. 7: 42: 7.
176. 7: 2: 2; 7: 2: 3.
177. 7: 92: 3.
178. 7: 30: 5.
179. 7: 91: 10.
180. 7: 53: 5.
181. 7: 56: 10.
182. 7: 33: 7.
183. 7: 4: 1.
184. 7: 36: 4.
185. 7: 42: 7.
186. The commentary on *Paripāṭal* — 5:27.
187. 7: 42: 7.
188. 7: 40: 5:
189. 7: 42: 7.

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ous fangs are then visible and from three flows the poison—"*Naccaravam*",[190] "*Viṭa nākam*".[121] The poison is suggestively described as fire—"*Neruppumiḻ aravu*",[192] "*Aḻalē umiḻum*".[193] It hisses—"*Pāmpatu mūceṉum*"[194] and people are afraid of this hiss.

(c)

The serpents are of various appearances. Some are bright—"*Vāḷ arā*",[195] "*Vāḷ aravam*".[196] Some are white—"*Veḷ aravu*".[197] Some are with various lines—"*Varitaru pāmpu*",[198] perhaps as in the rattlesnake. Or, they may refer to those found on the cobra snake. But when the poets speak of the serpent, they usually refer to the cobra and all these descriptions must be taken as applicable to it.

There are various fables which have grown around the serpent in an attempt to express the super-human powers of the serpent. It is said to have five heads and five mouths—"*Aivāy aravu*".[199] Thousand hoods and, therefore, thousand heads are also spoken of—"*Paṭam āyiram*".[200] '*Ādiśēṣa*' is said to possess thousand heads. The *purāṇas* speak of eight great serpents on the eight different points of the compass, supporting the world—representing perhaps the *kuṇḍalinī śakti* of the world. The Lord is described by Ārūrar as "*Aṭṭapuyaṅka-p pirāṉ*"[201]—'the Lord of the eight great serpents'. There is said to be a precious stone on the head of the cobra of long life—a gem said to shine at night. Our poet refers to this great gem of the cobra—"*Māmaṇi nākam.*"[202] In the phrase he uses, "*Tuṇai mā maṇi nākam araikkacaittu*",[203] '*tuṇai*' means two. Unless we take it that he is referring to a serpent of two hoods and two gems, we must interpret it to mean that the Lord is tying two serpents around his waist.

190. 7: 83: 8.
191. 7: 89: 2.
192. 7: 72: 3
193. 7: 42: 7.
194. 7: 36: 2.
195. 7: 61: 4.
196. 7: 85: 7.
197. 7: 40: 5.
198. 7: 44: 8.
199. 7: 15: 7.
200. 7: 42: 7.
201. 7: 10: 7.
202. 7: 2: 3.
203. 7: 2: 3.

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(d)

The Lord wears the serpent as the waist-string to which is attached His loin cloth which has been separately discussed. He uses the serpent as a kind of belt or sash for tightening the skin of the tiger He wears.[204] But the Lord uses the serpent also as a variety of ornaments. It is there up above His matted hair — "*Ceñcaṭaimēl āṭaravam cūṭi*".[205] It is there tied round his neck and the shoulders as necklace and armlets[206] and on His hands as bangles or wristlets and on the head as a crown.[207] Because of the gem, the serpent possesses, it is really a necklace of gems — "*Āram pāmpu*",[208] "*Āramāvatu nākamō*".[209] It is worn as an ear-ring.[210] Because of the serpent surrounding the Lord thus, Ārūrar speaks of God as the flaming light of the surrounding serpents— "*Cūḻūm arava-c cuṭar-c cōti*',[211] suggestive of the description of *Kaṅkāla mūrti* by the *Āgamas*. The poet rhetorically interrogates, 'Do you live adorning with (tying round) the serpents?' — "*Kaṭṭi vāḻvatu nākamō*".[212] '*Kaṭṭi*' may mean neutralizing their cruelty or poison when this will mean, "Do you live by neutralizing the serpents?". In the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, He is described as coming with a serpent held in one of His hands.[213] This is referred to in other places also.[214] The love-sick maidens become afraid of this serpent and beg of Him not to come with it.[215] This form of serpent adornment is looked upon as beauty, '*Aḻakaṉ*'.[216] But the Lord in this form is described as deceitful, "*Patiraṉ*',[217] probably because it is all a show implying something mystical especially when He goes a-begging. Not only He is called "*Paṭiraṉ*", He is

204. 7: 2: 8; 7: 4: 1; 7: 23: 6; 7: 48: 6.
205. 7: 83: 8.
206. 7: 2: 2; 7: 36: 10.
207. 7: 9: 8.
208. 7: 5: 9; 7: 18: 1.
209. 7: 36: 1.
210. 7: 40: 8.
211. 7: 77: 8
212. 7: 33: 2.
213. 7: 36: 4.
214. 7: 2: 1; 7: 4: 2; 7: 14: 8; 7: 14: 10; 7: 36: 2; 7: 44: 1; 7: 64: 6.
215. 7: 36: 2.
216. 7: 48: 6; 7: 80: 8.
217. 7: 86: 7.

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also derided as a "*Paṭṭi*"[218] — a lawless and unbridled person, because of His unbridled Love for the soul — "*Naccaravārtta paṭṭi*".[219]

(e)

The serpent seems to play an important part in the dance of Śiva. It is one of the weapons which grew out of the great sacrificial fire of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dāruka vana*, for being hurled against Śiva. Śiva caught hold of it and danced. 'In the hands which dance fast, the Lord, holds the drum, the plate of fire and the dark serpent and dances' — thus sings our poet.[220] The serpent as held in one of the hands of Śiva is seen in some of the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple. In Rea's Plate XXXIV, fig. 1, one of the right hands, the third from the front holds a three headed serpent. So is the fig. 1, Plate CIX, holding the serpent in the right hand, the third from the back. In fig. 3, Plate CXVIII, Śiva dances holding a three-headed serpent in the left hand, the third from the back. In Plate LXI, the *Bhikṣāṭana mūrti*, in addition to his clothes hanging in front has also a serpent round his waist and a loin is seen hanging down in the front row. Another three-headed serpent is twining round his right hand; the three headed serpents are found in abundance in the sculptures of the Kailāsanātha Temple. There is a serpent near the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form in Plate LXII. In Plate CIX in the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*, we find the snakes of the waist also moving fast hanging low. So also in fig. 3 of Plate CXVIII.

(f)

The serpent is mentioned in juxtaposition to the mat-lock, the crescent moon and the Ganges.[221] There is a suggestion of the serpent spreading like a creeper round the mat-lock.[222] The harmony which we have been often emphasizing is described by the grouping of '*kurā*' flower, '*koṉṟai*', the moon, the *datura* flower, the damsel of Ganges and the serpent and the poet used the suggestive word '*viravukiṉṟa*' — commingling.[223] In another place, he speaks of the serpent, *vaṉṉi* and moon and the *datura* flower in

218. *Kali.*, V. 51.
219. 7: 59: 10.
220. 7: 90: 1.
221. 7: 42: 9.
222. 7: 91: 10; 7: 93: 1.
223. 7: 6: 8.

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the mat-lock.[224] The contrast is emphasized between the moon and the serpent and their harmony is described as the beauty of divinity.[225] The Lord makes them sleep together in peace.[226] In another place the poet brings about a group of terrible things — the serpent, the bones and the ashes and he asks the Lord, 'What is the significance of this?'[227]

There is one phrase which is not clear in Ārūrar. He speaks of "*Aravuri irantavar*".[228] No story is known where the Lord begs for the serpent's skin. One wonders whether the correct reading may not be "*Naravuri īrntavar*" as referring to Śiva's feet as *Śarabēśa*' flaying the skin of Narasiṁha.

X

Dress :

Coming to the dress which Lord Śiva wears, His wearing of the tiger's skin, elephant's skin and the lion's skin as heroic feats has already been described in another place. Śiva, the Absolute depending on nothing, is represented as being nude. Therefore, He is called as '*Nakkaṉ*' (*Nagna*) from the time of Mohenjodaro. This is poetically described as wearing the *Ākaśa* (space) as His clothes.

Next to this comes the form where He wears the loin cloth alone. The history of dresses and clothing of man shows us clearly that these were not at first intended to hide his nakedness but to bring into prominence certain parts of the body. Therefore, even the loin cloth does not go against his naked form. In the ceremony of begging prescribed in the *Kāpālika vrata*, this want of clothes heightens the moral seriousness. The great beggar, coming to beg our souls and our love, has nothing but a loin cloth. This kind of idea makes His Absolute dependence on our love, glorious and beautiful in the eyes of worshippers. Our poet is, therefore, very much captivated by this idea of our Lord having nothing but loin cloth, which almost became an emblem of godhead. The waist-band is a serpent and to this the loin cloth is tied

224. 7: 44: 8.
225. 7: 15: 7; 7: 61: 4; 7: 85: 7; 7: 97: 6.
226. 7: 23: 1; 7: 38: 3.
227. 7: 9: 9.
228. 7: 72: 2.

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up. 'His dress is the loin cloth' — "*Uṭaiyōr kōvaṇattar*",[229] "*Uṭai kōvaṇavaṉ*"[230] He is the Lord, rich in this dress of loin cloth — "*Kōvaṇa āṭaiyuṭai aṭikaḷ*".[231] He has tied the loin cloth to the serpent — "*Paitta pāmpu ārttōr kōvaṇattoṭu*".[232] This serpent coming in as a waist-band is very often referred to.[233] The poet calls this waist-band as a waist-band of very great precious gem — "*Mā maṇikkaccu*"[234] because of the tradition that the serpent possesses a ruby on its head. He also says that one end of this band has many heads referring to the tradition of the serpent possessing many hoods.

He calls this waist-band "*Araikkaccai*";[235] "*Arai nāṇ*",[236] '*Kīḷ*',[237] "*Pūṇ nāṇ*".[238] '*Pūṇ*' or jewel emphasises its beauty. '*Kaccu*' is a ribbon; '*Ṉāṇ*' is a string. '*Kīḷ*' comes from the verb '*Kiḷ*' to tear. Strip of cloth is torn and used as a waist-band on ceremonial occasions even now. Our poet makes this clear by referring to "*Tuṇi vār kīḷ*".[239]

The verbs used are "*Ārttal*";[240] "*Acaittal*";[241] "*Kaṭṭutal*"[242] "*Vīkkutal*";[243] "*Cārttutal*";[244] "*Puṉaital*".[245]

'*Arttal*' comes from the root '*ār*', to be full, spreading all over, to abide and stay there by making the whole thing beautiful and ultimately to adorn. '*Ārttal*', therefore, is to make a thing adorn and, therefore, to bind a thing as an ornament. Therefore,

229. 7: 6: 3.
230. 7: 97: 4.
231. 7: 7: 3.
232. 7: 14: 1.
233. 7: 2: 3; 7: 15: 2; 7: 19: 6; 7: 30: 5; 7: 31: 3; 7: 33: 5; 7: 33: 7; 7: 36: 10; 7: 40: 5; 7: 41: 2; 7: 48: 6; 7: 48: 10; 7: 50: 3; 7: 52: 2; 7: 56: 10; 7: 57: 4; 7: 59: 10; 7: 62: 1; 7: 75: 8; 7: 78: 5; 7: 80: 3; 7: 80: 8; 7: 86: 7; 7: 89: 7; 7: 99: 5.
234. 7: 76: 3.
235. 7: 30: 5.
236. 7: 48: 10.
237. 7: 78: 5.
238. 7: 92: 8.
239. 7: 53: 6.
240. 7: 2: 1; 7: 2: 3; 7: 33: 5; 7: 33: 7; 7: 36: 10; 7: 50: 3; 7: 57: 4; 7: 59: 10; 7: 62: 1; 7: 80: 8; 7: 86: 7; 7: 99: 5.
241. 7: 2: 3; 7: 41: 2; 7: 48: 6; 7: 52: 2; 7: 56: 10; 7: 78: 5; 7: 80: 3; 7: 89: 7.
242. 7: 15: 2.
243. 7: 75: 8.
244. 7: 76: 3.
245. 7: 9: 8.

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the idea of ornament is suggested by this word '*ārttal*'. '*Acaittal*' is related to '*acaital*' which is again related to '*ayartal*' and has come to mean also to resting in a particular place and, therefore, 'to be lying'. "*Acaittal*" is, therefore, to make it rest in a place without moving out. In this way, it has come to mean being tied up. Therefore, there is a suggestion of a rest to the ever-moving serpent. It is the stage of involution. The contrast between its movement and rest is brought about by the statement "*Ūr aravam araikkacaittāṉ*".[246] It does not come to rest all at once. It dances with its hood before the complete rest and the poet speaks of "*Araikkāṭaravā*",[247] 'the Lord of the serpent which dances in His waist'. "*Kaṭṭutal*" is to fasten. But there is an underlying suggestion of making the serpent powerless. "*Vīkkutal*"[248] is the transitive form of "*Vīṅkutal*" and refers to the tightness of the tying, thus to make the serpent absolutely at rest and powerless. The word "*cāttual*" is used in the sense of putting on or adorning great persons. The Tamil Lexicon traces it to the word '*cārttu*'. "*Puṉaital*" is to adorn.

XI

Kōvaṇam:

"*Kōvaṇam*" is traced to the Sanskrit word '*Kaupīnam*' by the Tamil Lexicon. Our poet uses the word very often.[249] The word "*kōvaṇam*" is interpreted as to mean '*Vasiṣṭa*' as one who is very near the '*Gō*' or '*Kāmadēnu*'. This form "*Kōvaṇam*" is found in all the Dravidian languages and some are tempted to treat it as purely a Dravidian word. This '*Kōvaṇam*' is pure *jñānam* aspect of God, wherein the serpent of the Universe lies at rest or involuted. Therefore, this *kōvaṇam* is spoken of as being pure white — "*Veṇkōvaṇam*".[250] While the serpent lies at rest completely tied down, the purity of God spreads out as is implied by the poet's reference — "*Araiviri kōvaṇattoṭu aravārttu*".[251] This '*kōvaṇam*' or loin cloth as described as "*Tuṇippaṭum uṭai*"[252] because it is a torn piece of cloth. He calls it in another place as stitched up cloth — "*Tuṉṉa āṭai.*'.[253]

246. 7: 89: 7.
247. 7: 92: 4.
248. 7: 75: 8.
249. 7: 5: 10; 7: 2: 1; 7: 6: 3; 7: 7: 3; 7: 49: 7; 7: 53: 6; 7: 84: 4; 7: 97: 4; 7: 99: 5.
250. 7: 49: 7.
251. 7: 99: 5.
252. 7: 14: 10.
253. 7: 36: 3.

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In some places, in addition to the skins and the loin cloth, the Lord is said to wear silk — '*Paṭṭu*',[254] '*Kōcikam*',[255] and fine cotton cloth — '*Tukil*'.[256] This is contrasted with '*Paṭṭu*' here[257] as in *Nālaṭiyār*.[258] In all these places, the poet is probably referring to the "*Ardhanārīśvara*"" from where the *Kōvaṇam* refers to the Śiva's masculine half, whilst the cotton and silk refer to the Pārvatī's feminine form. But it must be mentioned in passing that the *Āgamas* in various places speak of the image of Śiva dressed in silk, skin and cotton, and the sculptures of Kailāsanātha Temple seem to justify this *Āgamic* reference.[259] But the difficulty is about the reference, to this *kōvaṇam* which cannot be visible if other clothes are used and it is this which make us suggest that the references to *kōvaṇam* in Ārūrar's form wherever there are descriptions of the cotton or silk cloth, one to the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.

XII

Ornaments:

(a)

Ear:

In the image forms of Śiva, even in the absence of the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, we find some distinction made between the right half and the left half especially with reference to the ear-rings worn. In the right ear, there is usually the "*makara kuṇḍala*" or a "*siṁha kuṇḍala*", whilst in the left ear there is "*patra kuṇḍala*" or "*padma patra*" or "*śaṅkha patra*" or "*ratna kuṇḍala*".

The *Tēvāram* writers usually distinguish between "*kuḻai*" and '*kuṇḍalam*' on one ear and '*tōtu*' and '*curuḷ*' on the other. The palmyra leaf is wound round and inserted in the ear-lobe by poor women even today. This is the '*tōṭu*' or '*uru*'. Golden ornaments sometimes studded with precious stones are made in this form. Poor women who cannot afford to possess rubies, usually colour the palmyra leaf, by dying with either red or green before wearing it. The '*kuḻai*' is in the form of a ring, perhaps a hollow

254. 7: 5: 10.
255. 7: 84: 4.
256. 7: 5: 10.
257. 7: 5: 10.
258. V. 264.
259. Rea's Plates No. XLVI, fig. 1, LXI.

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ring worn in the ear-lobe, as hanging down. This is made of gold or conch. Sometimes this is made in the form of '*makara*' or '*nakra*' or crocodile.

Ārūrar often speaks of the '*kuḻai*' adorning the ear of the Lord. It is the shining ear-ring– "*Viḷaṅkum kuḻai*".[250] Sometimes he speaks of '*kuḻai*' alone without any qualification—"*Kuḻai-k kātu*",[261] "*Kuḻaikoḷ kātu*",[262] "*Kuḻai viravu vaṭi kātu*".[263] He differentiates between the ear-ring made of gold and that made of conch. It is only in one place he refers to this golden ring of the ear—"*Kātilār kaṇaka-k kuḻaiyaṉ*".[264] In another place he speaks of the sturdy and long ring of the ear—"*Tiṇivār kuḻai*"[265] and this may refer to the weighty gold. The shining ear-ring above referred to —"*Viḷaṅkum kuḻai*"—may also imply that the ear-ring is of gold. In other places, he speaks of the "*caṅku kuḻai*"[266]—the ear-ring of conch,[267] also "*Caṅka-k kuḻai*"[268] and "*Caṅka veṇ kuḻai*".[269] In other places, he speaks of the white ear-ring made of conch—"*Veṇ kuḻai*"[270] and this interpretation is justified by our poet's reference "*Caṅka veṇkuḻai.*"[271] The qualification of white is used with reference to the ear-ring of conch. In one place the poet speaks of "*Cantār veṇ kuḻai*",[272] where '*cantu*' may mean the joint, where the two ends meet or it may mean beautiful. He also refers to the "*Makara-k kuḻai*", the ear-ring in the form of a *makara*; 'the low hanging *makara-k kuḻai*'—"*Tāḻ makarak-kuḻai*".[273] He speaks of this *kuḻai* as *kuṇḍalam.*[274] In one place, he speaks of "*Kuṇḍalam kuḻai tikaḻ kātu*"[275] and hence it may be said that *kuṇḍalam* is

260. 7: 4: 8; 7: 26: 3; 7: 28: 8.
261. 7: 33: 1; 7: 70: 6; 7: 86: 9.
262. 7: 81: 9.
263. 7: 89: 1.
264. 7: 56: 7.
265. 7: 53: 6.
266. 7: 10: 4.
267. 7: 47: 2; 7: 61: 6.
268. 7: 47: 2.
269. 7: 61: 6.
270. 7: 27: 5; 7: 42: 5; 7: 58: 1.
271. 7: 61: 6.
272. 7: 27: 5.
273. 7: 84: 9.
274. 7: 40: 9; 7: 58: 5; 7: 61: 4.
275. 7: 58: 5.

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different from *kuḻai*. In one place, the poet speaks of the Lord having the serpent as an ear-ring.[276]

These ear ornaments hang down from a very big ear-lobe—"*Vaṭi kātu*".[277] Even now we find some people wearing these, so as to touch almost their shoulders. The poet, therefore, speaks of the ear-rings dashing against each other whilst the Lord dances —"*Kuḻai vaḷar kātukaḷ mōta niṉṟu kuṉippatē*".[278]

The poet speaks of the '*tōṭu*'[279] as adorning the ear of the Lord and also "*Veḷḷai-c curuḷ*".[280] He mentions both the "*Veṇ kulai*" and "*Curuḷ veṇ tōṭu*" as adorning His ears.[281] How these are worn is made clear in another verse where the poet speaks of the Lord wearing '*tōṭu*' in one ear and the '*kuḻai*' in the other,[282] which evidently means that the '*tōṭu*' is worn on the left or *Śaktī's* half and the '*kuḻai*' on the right or Śiva's half. It is because of this we have interpreted this to refer the *Ardhanārīśvara* form when describing that form.

(b)

Feet:

In the feet of the Lord are found ornaments but our poet specifically mentions the "*Kaḻal*". It is found midway between the foot and the knee-cap, perhaps a little higher-up. It is an ornament worn by warriors as the sign of their heroism and valour, their greatness being sometimes inscribed on this ring-like ornament. This has a hanging clasp. It is usually worn on the right leg. Unfortunately, it has not been noticed clearly by Rea and therefore, we do not get it sketched in his pictures. However, in the photographic plate of *Yogadakṣiṇāmūrti* found in the Kailāsanātha Temple appearing as plate LV, fig. 2, this ornament can be easily identified in the middle of the knee muscle with its hanging clasp. If this is compared with the Plate LXXII, fig. 1, LXIV,

276. 7: 40: 8.
277. 7: 89: 1.
278. 7: 43: 6.
279. 7: 56: 4.
280. 7: 88: 2.
281. 7: 42: 5.
282. 7: 87: 1.

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fig. 1 and LXXIX[283] our interpretation will be correct — "*Kālar kaḻalarō*".[284]

In the *Ardhanārīśvara* form, on the right leg appears this heroic ring and on the left appears the feminine ornament, the anklet of the "*Cilampu*" which we have already discussed when we were describing the *Ardhanārīśvara* form.[285]

(c)

Caṭai:

Śiva is said to possess matted hair or *caṭai*. It is said to be red in colour. It flashes like lightning when the Lord dances, up above his body of golden hue. Our poet speaks of it thus — "*Miṉṉār ceñcaṭai*" above his "*Poṉṉār mēṉi*".[286] It is very curious that his friend and contemporary Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār, starts his '*Antāti*' with a reference to the golden hue and the lightning like matted hair — "*Poṉvaṇṇam evvaṇṇam avvaṇṇam mēṉi purintilaṅkum miṉvaṇṇam evvaṇṇam avvaṇṇam vīḻcatai*".[287] The ancient man standing entranced by the beautiful rising sun colouring the spreading clouds with golden hue spoke of the Lord dancing on the horizon or on the infinite space with his body of gold and the dancing matted hair of red colour of the dawn. The sun-set reveals the same poetic glory which can be easily spoken of as the dance of sun-set — "*Antinaṭam*". The matted hair is cool, because of that Ganges there, and, therefore, our poet speaks as cool matted hair — "*Kuḷir caṭai*",[288] "*Kūtaliṭu caṭai*".[289]

The matted hair is described in various forms as already described in our images: "*Jaṭābhāra*", "*Jaṭābandha*", "*Jaṭāmaṇḍala*", "*Jaṭāmakuṭa*". When the Lord dances, the matted hair also dances and spreads out, in eight parts representing the eight points of the compass. Our poet is enamoured of the posture of the rare dance when the eight tufts of Śiva's matted hair whirl around.[290] In another place the poet expresses his experience of divine bliss by referring to the Lord of sugar-cane. The leaf-blades of this

283. *Hindu Iconography*.
284. 7: 33: 5.
285. 7: 41: 2.
286. 7: 24: 1.
287. *Poṉvaṇṇattantāti*, V. 1.
288. 7: 40: 8.
289. 7: 84: 2.
290. 7: 19: 7.

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plant are spoken as "*caṭai*". Here is an occasion for punning and the poet loses no opportunity. Of punning on this word which means both the blade of the sugar-cane and the matted hair and speaks of the "*caṭai*" of a sugar-cane of the Lord branching off "*Kōṭaram payil caṭai uṭai-k karumpu*".[291] In some form of the '*jaṭā*', the front portion appears to be tied up whilst the back portion seems to be spreading out. Probably, it is this that our poet refers to as "*Piṉ caṭai*".[292]

'*Piñṇakar*' is a name of the Lord very popular among the *Tēvāram* writers and Ārūrar also is fond of this word.[293] The Tamil Lexicon traces this word to the Sanskrit root, '*Piñj*' to destroy. But, unfortunately, this word '*Piñṇaka*' with this meaning is not found in Sanskrit dictionaries. The tradition among the Tamil scholars is to interpret this word as referring to the Lord Śiva, because the particular way of dressing His hair. The *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu* speaks of '*Piñṇakam*' as a kind of dressing the lady's tresses of hair and the Tamil Lexicon traces this word to the Sanskrit word "*Piñṇakam*" which means only the tail of the peacock. Nor is this Tamil usage known to Sanskrit dictionaries. There has been a tendency from the days of *Cilappatikāram* to the days of *Tēvāram* to palatalize the dental-nasals. Appar writes "*Ceyñ-ñiṉṟa*", "*Ceynniṉṟa*", *etc.* Even '*ṉa*' which probably was lingual nasal underwent this change and *Cilappatikāram* uses the form '*Añṇai*' for '*Aṉṉai*'.[294] These forms may suggest that the original form of '*Piñṇakam*' is '*Piṉṉkam*' and, therefore, the old traditional meaning given by the Tamil Scholars may be after all correct.

There is another term "*Kuḻaṟcaṭai*" used by our poet.[295] '*Kuḻal*' is the tresses of the ladies' hair and, therefore, we can trace this phrase to the *Ardhanārīśvara* where the matted hair is on the right side and the ladies' tresses of hair on the left.

XIII

Uṭukkai:

In a few forms Śiva is found to hold the '*Ḍamaruka*' or '*Uṭukkai*' especially in the form of Naṭarāja at Cidambaram, in the right

291. 7: 62: 10.
292. 7: 81: 9.
293. 7: 38: 7; 7: 48; 10; 7: 81: 9.
294. 7: 9: 24.
295. 7: 7: 10.

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back arm whilst the burning faggot is held on the back left arm. In plate XL, fig. 2 and plate CXVIII, fig. 3 (*Rea*), the hindmost right hand near the crown seems to hold this drum or '*uṭukkai*'. In one of the right hands, right of the hand holding the drum, there is a serpent. Ārūrar seems to be describing this form of the very great swift action "*Kaṭuttāṭum karatalattil ḍamarukamum eriya-kalum kariya pāmpum piṭittāṭi*".[296]

XIV

Fire:

The fire was also sent against Śiva from the Sacrifice of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana*. It was held in the left back hand of the Lord of Dance. Not only in the fire ordeal but also during the worship, the fire is held in the hand to prove one's purity. Even today worshippers of *Māri* carry a mud vessel of fire in their hands. God Śiva is holding the plate of fire—"*Eri akal*".[297]

Ārūrar mentions the fire in Śiva's hands in 12 places. In the Kailāsanātha temple sculptures, Plates LI, fig. 1, LXII and CIX, fig. 1, *Rea*, reveal this fire in the form of torch almost like the Grecian torch. In Plate LI, the torch is bent downwards. The confusion of '*Maḻu*' with the fire has already been explained. That the fire is mentioned along with '*Maḻu*' has also been noted.[298] The fire is called '*aṉal*',[299] '*eri*',[300] '*Taḻal*',[301] and '*Ti*'.[302] He holds the fire in His hand—"*Kaiyil aṉaluṭaiyār*",[303] "*Aṉal cēr kaiyiṉaṉ*",[304] "*Aṉal cēr kaiyāṉ*",[305] "*Viṭṭilaṅku eriyār kaiyaṉāṉ.*"[306] It is held with His palm or '*aṅkai*'—"*Aṅkaiyiṉ nal aṉalēntum avaṉ*",[307] "*Eri aṉṟi aṅkai-k koṉ ṭillaiyō empirānukkē*",[308] "*Taḻal aṇkaiyiṉāṉ*",[309]

296. 7: 90: 1.
297. 7: 90: 1.
298. 7: 11: 4; 7: 87: 5; 7: 93: 8.
299. 7: 10: 9; 7: 11: 4; 7: 27: 8; 7: 47: 2; 7: 47: 3; 7: 86: 2.
300. 7: 44: 8; 7: 56: 7; 7: 93: 8.
301. 7: 68: 1.
302. 7: 87: 5.
303. 7: 11: 4.
304. 7: 27: 8.
305. 7: 47: 3.
306. 7: 56: 7.
307. 7: 10: 9.
308. 7: 44: 8.
309. 7: 68: 1

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"*Aṅkai-t tīyukappar.*"[310] The palm is kept upwards and the fire is in it—"*Kaimicai-k kūr eri*".[311] The same idea is conveyed by the verb "*ēntu*"—to hold—"*Aṉal ēntum avaṉ*"[312] and '*ēnti*'.[313] In other places the Lord is said to be possessed of the fire—a symbol of His divinity—"*Eriyum..... uṭaiyāṉ,*"[314] and the poet asks, 'Is there nothing else for the palm except this fire?'—"*Eri aṉṟi aṅkaikku oṉṟillaiyō?*"[315] The fire is said to reach or to be attached to the hand signifying physical contact"...*Aṉal cēr kaiyiṉaṉ.*"[316]

The fire glistens—"*Viṭṭilaṅku eri*".[317] It is an ever increasing fire on the palm—"*Kai micai-k kūr eri*".[318] 'You carry the fire that is never put out and dance at night on the cremation ground' —"*Aviyā aṉal ēnti-k kaṅkuṟ puṟaṇkāṭṭāṭī*".[319] 'The golden heroic anklet resounds; the serpent dances; the Lord adorns Himself with the crescent and the Ganges, and holds up the fire; He changes His modes or postures and dances'—"*Araiyum paiṅkaḻal ārppa aravāṭa aṉalēntippiṟaiyum kaṅkaiyum cūṭi-p peyarntāṭum perumāṉār*".[320] The never to be put out fire—"*Aviyā aṉal*"[321] and the ever increasing fire—"*Kūr eri*"[322] reminds us of the description of '*Bhujaṅga lalita*' dance as described in *Mayamata* when by quick changes in the position of the legs, the fire in the hand of the Lord of dance is blown into blaze.

The Great Lord of dance, Naṭarāja of Cidambaram is also mentioned by *Ārūrar* as holding the "*eri akal*", the plate of fire. 'In the quick dancing hands, He holds the *Ḍamarukam* or the short drum, the fire plate and the black serpent and He dances in *Cirṟampalam*. We have him to save us from Yama.[323] But according to this description we see the *Ḍamarukam*, the fire plate and

310. 7: 87: 5.
311. 7: 84: 5.
312. 7: 10: 9.
313. 7: 47: 2; 7: 86: 2.
314. 7: 93: 8.
315. 7: 44: 8.
316. 7: 27: 8.
317. 7: 56: 7.
318. 7: 84: 5.
319. 7: 47: 2.
320. 7: 86: 2.
321. 7: 47: 2.
322. 7: 84: 5.
323. 7: 90: 1.

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the black serpent only in the hands of Naṭarāja at Pērūr near Coimbatore. Perhaps our poet Ārūrar was very much absorbed in the Naṭarāja form at Pērur when he visited that place and had the same vision at Cidambaram so much so' he had sung that the Naṭarāja of Cidambaram was having these things.

The fire is mentioned in connection with the following forms if at all any form could have been thought of by the poet — the *Gajāri*,[324] *Ardhanārī*,[325] *Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa*,[326] *Nṛtta mūrti*[327] of both the *Tillai Ānanda Tāṇḍava* and *Saṁhāra Tāṇḍava* of midnight,[328] *Gaṅgādhara*,[329] *Liṅgōdbhava*[330] and *Kāpāli*.[331]

XV

Ash:

(a)

Śiva is described as having besmeared the sacred ashes all over the body — "*Poṭiyār mēṉiyanē*.[332] This ash is white — "*Veṅ niru pūci*".[333] The ash is the dust of the cremation ground and the Lord looks upon it as an adornment — "*Cuṭalai-p poṭi aṇintu*".[334]

The *Pāṇṭaraṅka* dance is so called because of the whiteness of the ash on which Śiva dances. When He thus dances, the white dust or the ash of the burning ghat rises up and covers all His body. Ārūrar refers to this with the help of the word — '*Ēṟu*' — "*Nīṟērun tirumēṉi*".[335] The whole body becomes full of this ash and the fullness is referred to with the verb '*Ār*' — *Nīṟārmēṉi*";[336] "*Poṭiyār mēni*".[337] The body gets attached to this dust and the Lord receives this as though it were very precious — "*Poṭi-k koḷ mēṉi*".[338] The dance on the ash amounts to a diving into the dust

324. 7: 93: 8.
325. 7: 87: 5.
326. 7: 87: 5.
327. 7: 10: 9; 7: 47: 2; 7: 84: 5; 7: 86: 2.
328. 7: 10: 9; 7: 47: 2.
329. 7: 11: 4; 7: 47: 3.
330. 7: 27: 8; 7: 44: 8; 7: 68: 1.
331. 7: 56: 7.
332. 7: 28: 1.
333. 7: 49: 7.
334. 7: 53: 6.
335. 7: 86: 4.
336. 7: 26: 8.
337. 7: 28: 1.
338. 7: 34: 2.

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or a sacred bath in the holy ash. The ideas of dance and bath are suggested by the verb '*Āṭu*' and Ārūrar speaks of "*Pōṭiyāṭi*";[339] "*Poṭiyāṭu mēṉiyaṉ*".[340] The verb '*Pūcu*' — to besmear — is also used to suggest the sacred ash which is used by Śiva even as others use sandal paste. The poet asks in one place, "*Nīraṉṟi-c cāntamaṟṟu illaiyō*"[341] — 'Is there no other paste but sacred ash for you?'. In other places, he speaks of the Lord besmearing the ash as '*Cāntam*' or ornamental scented paste — '*Cāntamāka veṇṇīṟu pūci*".[342] The poet uses the phrase "*Paricāntam*"[343] with reference to this sacred ash as the beloved paste of the Lord. Or, it may be, a Tamilian form of the phrase '*pariccantam*' or Royal insignia in which case, it will mean that the sacred ash is symbolical of divinity. The idea of beauty or adornment is suggested by another verb "*Aṇi*" which Ārūrar very often uses with reference to this sacred ash.[344] There is another verb used by the poet '*Caṇṇitta*'.[345] The Tamil Lexicon gives the meaning of this verb as besmearing. The verb in the phrase "*Āmāttūr caṇṇippāṉāi*"[346] has the meaning of living in a place as abode. There is a word '*caṇāy*' for which the meaning given in Tamil Lexicon is 'to be inflamed with passion or lust'. If '*Caṇṇitta*' can be taken as the original form coming from the verb whose corruption is '*Caṇāy*' one can interpret it as that which is loved or liked most. This meaning will be applicable to both the places in which the root '*Caṇ*' is appearing in *Tēvāram*.

With reference to this adornment with sacred ashes, there is what has been referred to as the '*Basma snāna*' or "*Poṭiyāṭal*" when the whole body gets besmeared with ashes. Our poet refers to this as "*Mulu nīṟu mey pūcal*;[347] "*Poṭittāṉ koṇṭu mey muṟṟum pūcutal*";[348] "*Meyyelām poṭikkoṇṭu pūcutal*";[349] "*Meyyai muṟṟa-p poṭi pūcutal*";[350] "*Muḻu nīṟaṇi mēṉiyaṉ*".[351]

339. 7: 81: 4.
340. 7: 50: 10.
341. 7: 44: 2.
342. 7: 49: 9.
343. 7: 19: 4.
344. 7: 18: 2; 7: 33: 3; 7: 53: 6; 7: 68: 1; 7: 83: 5; 7: 83: 7; 7: 85: 1; 7: 93: 5.
345. 7: 38: 6.
346. *Tēvāram*, 1020,8 Swaminatha Panditar's edition.
347. 7: 2: 2; 7: 9: 9.
348. 7: 4: 2.
349. 7: 36: 10.
350. 7: 63: 1.
351. 7: 93: 5.

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The sacred ash is worn as three horizontal lines or '*Tripuṇḍra*' in various parts of the body and it is very prominent and striking in the forehead and our poet refers to this also when he describes the Lord as "*Nīru tāṅkiya tiru nutalāṉ*",[352] 'the Lord of the beautiful forehead, which bears the sacred ash'. The poet refers to the sacred ash specifically besmeared on His chest along with the Mother — "*Tuṭiyiṭai naṉmaṭavāloṭu mīrpil poṭiyaṇivār*".[353] The significance of mentioning the Mother will be explained later.

We have already referred to the sacred ash being considered as a precious toilet paste. It is as soft as a dust '*poṭi*'. It is more ninute, and subtle than the dust—"*Nuṇ poṭi*"[354] The word "*Nīru*" also suggests the softness of the ash. It is completely powdered and is as valuable as the *cuṇṇam* or scented powder in the preparation of which the women of ancient Tamil land spent all their time, energy, money and artistic talent: *cuṇṇa veṇṇīru*";[355] "*Cuṇṇa nīru*".[356] It is white — "*Veṇ poṭi*";[357] "*Veḷḷai nuṇ poṭi*";[358] "*Veṇṇīru*",[359] "*Veḷḷai nīru*".[360] It is white like milk, "*Pāl veṇṇīru*".[361] There is no admixture of any other colour. It is of pure white colour, "*Tū vaṇṇa nīru*".[362] It is beautiful ash — "*Kōla nīru*";[363] "*Vaṭivārnta nīru*".[364] It may be that in these two references the beauty may refer to the beauty of the '*Tripuṇḍra*', the three lines of ash One of the love-sick maidens is so very much enchanted with it that to her the sacread ash on Śiva's form appears like pearls—"*Nīru nuṉ tiru mēṉi nittilam*".[365]

(6)

The Absolute as the unapproachable purity becomes of any significance to humanity only when it embraces Grace or love

352. 7: 64: 1.
353. 7: 11: 5.
354. 7: 76: 4.
355. 7: 14: 10; 7: 29: 5; 7: 73: 5.
356. 7: 2: 8.
357. 7: 24: 7; 7: 70: 5; 7: 81: 4.
358. 7: 76: 4.
359. 7: 14: 6; 7: 38: 6; 7: 49: 9; 7: 89: 2; 7: 91: 6.
360. 7: 7: 3; 7: 33: 4; 7: 68: 1.
361. 7: 22: 7; 7: 40: 9.
362. 7: 17: 5.
363. 7: 12: 3.
364. 7: 19: 2.
365. 7: 36: 5.

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which alone can save us. This is visualized as Śiva's embrace of the Mother. They are not two separate entities but a united whole, where one becomes the other. In poetic language this is expressed as an embrace of the loving pair where the characteristic feature of the one becomes the characteristic feature of the other. The honey from the lotus is taken up to the honey-comb on the sandal wood tree and there is a union effected, a union of sandal flavour and the sweetness of the lotus honey.[366] When the rain from the cloud falls on a red soil, a union is effected; the water takes the colour of the red soil and the red soil becomes liquified taking the characteristic feature of the rain water.[367] Thus the poets of the Caṅkam age spoke of the significance of the union of the lovers. Our poet Ārūrar speaks of the Lord's embrace of the Mother in a similar vein. There are the strong shoulders of the Lord shining as though they will wrestle and become victorious in all such tournaments of wrestling. But there is no wrestling going on. Instead, we have the loving embrace of the Lord. He embraces *Umā*, the lady of the great mountain. The Lord's chest is full of the sacred ash and in that embrace all the ashes are imprinted on the Mother's breasts, and it is probably this that Campantar speaks of "*Parāvaṇamāvatu nīṟu* — "The sacred ash is the form of the great Mother'.[368] The Mother's breasts embrace in turn the chest of the Lord and their impression is eternally there to be praised by the worshippers. Śiva takes the imprint of love and the Mother takes imprint of the pure Absolute. Our poet sings of this in one of his beautiful hymns: "*Maṟṟikaḷ tiṇ puyamum mārpiṭai nīṟu tutai māmalai maṅkai Umai cēr cuvaṭum pukaḻa*".[369] This reminds us of Māṇikkavācakar's "*Tuṭikoḷ nēriṭaiyāḷ curikuḻal maṭantai tuṇaimulai-k kaṇkaḷ tōycuvaṭu poṭikoḷ vāṉtaḻalil puḷḷipōl iraṇṭu ponkoḷi taṅkum mārpiṉaṉē*".[370]

(c)

In addition to the words '*Poṭi*', '*Nīṟu*', our poet at least in one place uses the Sanskrit word '*Bhūti*' otherwise called '*Vibhūti*'. The sacred ash is the wealth of the Śaivites (*Bhūti*) The

366. *Naṟṟiṇai*, V. 1.
367. *Kuṟuntokai*, V. 40.
368. 2: 66: 8.
369. 7: 84: 4.
370. *Tiruvācakam*: *Aruṭpattu*, V. 5.

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Lord carries this '*Bhūti*" in a small bag—"*Bhūti-p pai*"[371] Because of this the ash is called "*Tiru nīru*" or the 'sacred ash'. It is precious to the Śaivites and our Poet uses this terminology of orthodoxy—*Tirūniṟṟaṉ*'i[372]

(d)

We have already seen that the poet refers to it as "*Poṭi*". It is the "*Cuṭalai-p poṭi*" or 'the dust of the burning ghat',[373] and, therefore, it is a hot dust, "*Cuṭu poṭi*",[374] or "*Cuṭuvār poṭi*"[375] "*Cuṭalai-p poṭi*",[376] "*Cuṭṭa veṇṇīru*".[377] It is the ash of the bodies burnt to dust, "*Venta veṇ pōṭi*",[378] "*Ventār veṇ poṭi*";[379] "*Ventanīru*".[380] Thus this ash refers to the final stage of the involution where the Absolute stands pure and unadulterated when nothing but the Absolute exists. Thus it becomes the emblem or "*Pari-c cāntam*" of the gold-head. It is an emblem of purity and unselfishness and of the great sacrifice. It also stands as a symbol of the evanascence of the whole world where everything is reduced to ashes. The whole universe becomes but a handful of white ashes, "*Piṭitta veṇṇīru.*"[381] It is this significance that Ārūrar refers to when he speaks of the Lord besmearing himself with the sacred ash with an import—"*Kurippāki nīru koṇṭaṇivarō*".[382] And it is this import which he wants the Lord to make clear—"*Poṭittāṉ koṇṭu mey muṟṟum pūciṟṟeṉṉē*?".[383] Again he says that his besmearing of the pure white ashes has got a significance—"*Maṟuvilāta veṇṇīru pūcutal maṉṉum oṉṟuṭaittē*".[384] The greatness of this ash and all its implications have been sung in a specific hymn by *Jñānāsambadar* which is reputed to have cured his Pāṇḍya contemporary of the incurable fever, a hymn which is considered to be very sacred by the Śaivites.

371. 7: 57: 10.
372. 7: 82: 7.
373. 7: 53: 6.
374. 7: 33: 1; 7: 83: 5.
375. 7: 80: 2.
376. 7: 53: 6.
377. 7: 18: 2.
378. 7: 70: 5.
379. 7: 24: 7.
380. 7: 57: 3.
381. 7: 14: 6.
382. 7: 33: 3.
383. 7: 4: 2.
384. 7: 76: 2.

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(e)

The poet as usual indulges in colour contrast—the contrast between the red form of Him and His white paste of the sacred ash, "*Cempoṉ mēṉi veṇṇīṟaṇivāṉ*,;[385] "*Ceyyaṉai veḷiya tiru nīṟṟiṟṟikalum mēṉiyaṉ*".[386] His form is red like the '*kuṉṟi*' (the red seed of the creeper called the crab's eye) and on that the Lord besmears the white sacred ash, "*Kuṉṟi pōlvatōr uruvarō kuṟippāki nīṟu koṇ ṭaṇivarō*".[387] The same idea of colour contrast is amplified and made poetic in relation to the various ornaments of different colours which the Lord wears.[388]

In some places instead of colour contrast, he emphasizes the beauty of the uniformity of colour. He groups together the white ash, the white teeth of the skull and the white crescent of the moon.[389] In another place he groups together the *Vēdas* which stand for crystal clear knowledge, the white ash and the white loin cloth all standing for purity, knowledge and *dharma*.[390] In a third place he groups together the white bull that He rides and the sacred ash to be contrasted with the black neck.[391] He also groups the white ash with the white bull-flag and the white loin cloth.[362]

"*Nīṟu*" has the significance of the ash coated on the burning embers and this suggests the poetic description of the Lord by Ārūrar—"*Cempoṉār tī vaṇṇar tū vaṇṇa nīṟṟar*"[393]—'He is of the colour of the fire in which melts the gold and He is full of ashes'. There is another poetic conceit. The form of fire of the Lord is hidden behind the sacred ashes. It looks as though He is putting on this ash to submerge the fire but the fire of poison is emitted by the serpent which He wears. This is brought about by a contrast of the activity of Śiva and the activity of the serpent or Māya—"*Nīraṇi mēṉiyaṉ neruppumiḻ araviṉaṉ*".[394]

385. 7: 68: 1.
386. 7: 57: 11.
387. 7: 33: 3.
388. 7: 2: 8.
389. 7: 49: 9.
390. 7: 49: 7.
391. 7: 7: 2.
392. 7: 7: 3.
393. 7: 17: 5.
394. 7: 72: 3.

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VOLUME III

PILGRIM'S PROGRESS
OR
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ĀRŪRARS' MYSTICISM
AS GATHERED FROM
A DETAILED STUDY OF HIS HYMNS

GENERAL
INTRODUCTION

I

Elsewhere,[1] the life of *Ārūrar* had been studied. *Cēkkiḻār's* version, which is based upon tradition and internal evidence of the verses of *Ārūrar*, had been our basis. But there, though reference had been made to the mystic experiences of *Ārūrar*, the emphasis was mainly on the objective life. What is much more important and interesting to a student of poetry, religion and philosophy is the inner life of the poet, the development of his mind, unfolding and blossoming of his mysticism. The *hymns* sung by him are the expressions of the inner experience.

II

It is advisable to study the *hymns* in groups; for it is not easy for our mind to take all the *hymns* in own sweep, though at the end we must attempt at getting a complete and unified picture of all the *hymns* as an organic whole revealing the march of our poet's life. The *hymns* may, therefore, be grouped chronologically according to the various pilgrimages of the poet. Here the scheme of the arrangement of the *hymns* may be studied with the help of *Cēkkiḻār*.

III

The seventh *Tirumurai*, which consists of *Ārūrar's hymns* has been arranged '*Paṇvār*' — according to the *Paṇs* or Melody types.

1. *Vol.* 1.

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The first twelve *hymns* are in '*Intaḷam Paṇ*'; the next four are in '*Takkarāgam*'; the fourteen that follow are in '*Naṭṭarāgam*'; the next seven are in '*Kolli*'; the nine *hymns* that succeed are in '*Kollikkauvāṇam*'; the seven *hymns* that follow are in '*Paḷampañcuram*'; the next seventeen are in '*Takkēci*'; the next five are in '*Kāntāram*'; the next one is in '*Piyantaik kāntāram*'; the next one is in '*Kāntāra pañcamam*'; the five *hymns* that succeed are in '*Naṭṭapāṭai*'; the three that come next are in '*Puṟanīrmāi*; the next four are in '*Cīkāmaram*'; the next four are in '*Kuṟiñci*', with the one following them in '*Kaucikam*' and another after it in '*Centuritti*' and the last five in '*Pañcamam*'. In all, there are seventeen *Paṇs*. The Tiruppaṇantāḷ edition and a few other editions separate 'the *Tirucculiyal*' *hymn*[2] from the *Naṭṭapāṭai* one and give it under *Naṭṭarāgam*,, a tune which comes as the third in the above order.

The '*Paṇ*' is the *rāgam*, but the same *rāgams* may be sung on various '*tāḷas*' or time scales. If these different time scales are taken into consideration, the *hymns* sung in the same *rāgam* may have various musical forms or '*Kaṭṭaḷais*' and the *Tirumuṟai Kaṇṭa Purāṇam*[3] distinguishes a few varieties in each of these *paṇs* or *rāgas* as may be seen from the following table:

1.	*Intaḷam*	5	9.	*Naṭṭapāṭai*	2
2.	*Takkarāgam*	2	10.	*Puṟanīrmai*	2
3.	*Naṭṭarāgam*	2	11.	*Kāmaram*	1
4.	*Kolli*	2	12.	*Kuṟiñci*	2
5.	*Paḷampañcuram*	2	13.	*Centuṟṟutti*	1
6.	*Takkēci*	6	14.	*Kaucikam*	22
7.	*Kāntāram*	2	15.	*Pañcamam*	1
8.	*Kāntārapañcamam*	2			

It will be seen that *Kollikkauvāṇam* is omitted in the above list. Probably it is included under *Kolli*. *Piyantaikkāntāram* also is omitted, whereas in enumerating the *kaṭṭaḷais* for *Ārūuar's hymns*, this *Purāṅam* speaks of '*Kāntāramākiya piyantaiyām kaṭṭaḷai*'.[4] Therefore, the *Piyantaikkāntāram* should be included under *Kāntāram*. But in the statement in the *Purāṅam*, '*Takkēcip*

2. 7: 82.
3. SS. 40-43.
4. *S.* 37.

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Pēricai yārākki atil kāntāram pirittu iraṇṭam';[5] how *Kāntaram* becomes an integral part of *Takkēci* is not clear. Lastly, there is only one *hymn* in *Kaucikam* while the *Purāṇam* gives two *kaṭṭaḷais* for it. Perhaps there is a mistake made by the copyist. If this assumption is correct, we may amend the poem so as to give two to *Pañcamam* and one of *Kaucikam*. We must leave to the future research scholars in *Tamil* music, the elucidation of these forms of *Rāgas* and *Kaṭṭaḷais*.

IV

But *Cēkkiḻār* does not consider that this scheme represents the chronological order of *Ārūrar's hymns* and he is right in his conclusion. No musician is going to follow this method of singing in one tune in a particular period of his life and in other tunes in the succeeding periods of his life. *Cēkkiḻār* has to weave out a chronological order. He is guided by the traditional story of the life of *Ārūrar*. The *hymns* relating to the *Cēra* country have to come at the very end of *Ārūrar's* life. The references to *Caṅkili* and the loss of his eye-sight have to come only after *Ārūrar's* marriage with *Caṅkili*. So also the reference to *Paravai* can occur only after his marriage with this lady. For the same reason, the reference to *Ēyarkōṉ* and to *Ciṉkaṭi* and *Vaṉappakai* should occur according to the tradition after his marriage with *Paravai*.

V

The second consideration which weighs with *Cēkkiḻār* in arranging the *hymns* chronologically is that of geography. *Cēkkiḻār*, the *Cōḻa* minister, had ample knowledge of the roads and communications of the *Tamil* country and he makes *Ārūrar* follow the Royal roads of *Tamiḻakam*. In some places there are certain deviations. The *hymns* themselves contain evidence for these. On his way to *Muthukuṉṟam*, *Ārūrar* forgets *Kūṭalaiyārṟūr*[6] and he is reminded of it as we had already seen. In the *Tiruppurampayam hymn*,[7] *Ārūrar* mentions that he came from *Āraimēṟṟaḷi* to stay at *Iṉṉampar*.[8]

5. *S.* 41.
6. 7: 85.
7. 7: 35.
8. 7: 35: 1.

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In *Ārūrar's* poems, there are more than one *hymn* to certain temples. On the basis of the traditional story of *Ārūrar*, *Cēkkiḻār* takes some of them to have been sung on an earlier occasion and some on a later occasion. From *Tiruveṇṇeinallūr*, *Ārūrar* proceeds worshipping at certain temples and reaches *Tiruvārūr* where he marries *Paravai* and sings his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. This may be taken as his first pilgrimage. *Tiruvārūr* becomes his place of residence from this time.

The second pilgrimage is to *Kuṇṭaiyūr*, *Kōḷili*, *Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi* and *Valivalam* and the third is to *Tiruppukalūr* and *Tiriuppaṉaiyūr*. These are not long pilgrimages. *Ārūrar* seems to have been going to some of the temples in and around *Tiruvārūr*.

The fourth pilgrimage is a long one. Therein he goes through the *Cōḻa* country and the *Koṅku* country to return through the *Cōḻa* country and the *Naṭu Nāṭu* to *Tiruvārūr*.

The fifth pilgrimage results in his marriage with *Caṅkili* and loss and regain of eyesight. He goes through the *Cōḻa* country, *Naṭunāṭu*, *Toṇṭaināṭu* up to *Tirukkāḷatti* from where *Cēkkiḻār* says *Ārūrar* sang his *hymns* on *Tirupparuppatam* and *Tirukkētāram*. Our saint goes to *Tiruvōṟṟiyūr* and marries *Caṅkili*. He leaves *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* and *Caṅkili*, and loses his eyesight on his way back to *Tiruvārūr*. Here, he goes through *Kāñcīpuram* which he had already visited.

After coming to *Tiruvārūr*, he goes on his sixth pilgrimage to meet *Ēyarkōṉ* to worship with him at *Tiruppuṉkūr* and then to *Tirunākaikkārōṇam*. When he returns to *Tiruvārūr*, he meets *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ* and goes along with him on a pilgrimage, the seventh one, to the *Pāṇḍya* and *Cēra* countries. Whilst worshipping at *Rāmēśvaṟam* in the *Pāṇḍya* country, *Ārūrar* sings the *hymn* on *Tirukkētīccuram* in Ceylon just on the opposite shore in *Maṉṉār*. He returns from *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* to *Tiruvārūr* and again goes on his final pilgrimage, the eighth one, to *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* through *Tiruppukkoḷiyūr*.

VI

It may be noted that *Cēkkiḻār* does not take our *Ārūrar* outside the *Tamil* country but makes him sing his *hymns* on *Cīparppatam* and *Tirukkētāram* from *Kāḷatti* and the *hymn* on *Tirukkētīccuram* from *Rāmēśvaram*. It is not clear why *Cēkkiḻār* comes

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to this conclusion. Probably he feels either the country was in a troubled condition or that *Ārūrar's* life was too short to allow this long pilgrimage. Possibly he feels, if our Saint has visited *Tirukkētāram* he could have sung his *hymns* on other northern temples. In the *Tirukkētāram hymn*, *Ārūrar* refers to *Kurukkēttiram* and *Gōḍavari* along with *Kumari* and *Cīparppatam*.[9] He simply says in that *hymn* that we should mention the sacred name of *Tirukkētāram*. But in the sixth verse, he refers to *Bhaktas* bathing happily in the sacred waters of *Kurukkēttiram* and *Gōdāvari*. In the seventh verse *Ārūrar*, our poet, speaks of the singing of the *Tamil* verses at *Tirukkētāram*. That means there must have been a number of pilgrims going to North from the *Tamil* country. If in a few cases we can assume that *Ārūrar* sang the *hymn* without going to the place mentioned therein, it is difficult to establish that he went and sang the other *hymns* in all the respective temples of the south. Pilgrims have been going from the northernmost limit of India to its southernmost limit and from its southernmost limit to the northernmost limit from the times of the *Caṅkam* poetry. If *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvar* could have gone to *Badarikāśramam* there is no reason why *Ārūrar* in the same *Pallava* age could not have gone to *Tirukkētāram*.

Whatever might be said to the pilgrimage to *Tirukkētāram*, there is no reason why he could not have visited *Cīparppatam* personally. The description of *Cīparppatam*, for there is nothing else but the description in that *hymn*, makes us feel that he is describing his own experience of the elephants, the deer, the boars, the peacocks and the parrots which he met whilst going up through that hazardous route to that mountain.

The same may be said of his *hymn* on *Tirukkētīccurram* in Ceylon. From the *Ramnad* district, one can easily sail to *Maṉṉār* from where one can easily go to this temple. (The boat leaves *Danuṣkōṭi* now to reach *Maṉṉār*). There are other places in the *Rāmnād* district from where one can reach Ceylon by a shorter route. Perhaps, *Cēkkiḻār*, who ought to have known this, does not feel certain that a Brahmin like *Ārūrar* or *Campantar* could have crossed the seas setting at naught the rules against the sea voyage. It is very difficult to reject the description of *Pālāvi* on whose bank this temple stood, the description of the ships standing

9. 7: 78: 6.

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at the harbour of *Mātōṭṭam* and of the gardens round the temple as hearsay. The Ceylon prince *Māṉāparaṇaṉ* was a great friend of *Narasiṁhavarma Pallava* and he fought against *Pulakēsin*. *Narasiṁhavarmaṉ* sent a fleet to help *Māṉāparaṇaṉ* to regain the Ceylonese throne. He returned to the *Pallava* country. Again probably during the reign of *Rājasiṁha* another fleet was sent and he became firmly established as the king of Ceylon. In an age of such intimate relationship between Ceylon and the *Pallava* kingdom where *Ārūrar* was born, one can easily believe his going to worship at *Tirukkētīccuram*. No rule or regulation can stand against holy desires for worshipping at *Śiva's* temples. We know of *Śivācāryas* going to distant eastern islands.

Whether we agree with *Cēkkiḻar* or not about *Ārūrar* not personally visiting *Tirukkētāram* or *Tirukkētīccuram*, we cannot quarrel with the place which he had given to these *hymns* in the chronological arrangement of *Ārūrar's hymns*.

VII

Cēkkiḻār has taken all the available materials including the tradition, for arriving at the chronological arrangement of the *hymns*. To a certain extent the internal evidence itself justifies this arrangement. But it must be stated that if the traditioa is not accepted, the whole arrangement has to be given up. As already been remarked, except for a few points, there is nothing improbable in the traditional story. Therefore, there is no other way but to accept this chronological order and trace as far as possible the development of his poetry and philosophy.

But our examinations of the *hymns* which follow suggests that at least in a few cases a different arrangement is called for. The temples of *Koṅku Nāṭu* perhaps were visited only along with the Cēra. The visit to *Maḻapāṭi*, *Pāccilāccirāmam*, *Āṉaikkā*, *Paiññīli*, *etc.*, also must have taken at about this time. Our study, as will be mentioned later on, also justifies certain other alterations.

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PART I

TO ĀRŪR

Introduction

I

Coming to arrange the *hymns* conveniently, the first group of *hymns* may be taken as consisting of all the *hymns* which our poet had sung before he started on a pilgrimage from *Tiruvārūr* — *i.e.*, from '*Pittā piṟai cūṭi*' *hymn* to the "*Tiruttoṇṭattokai*' *hymn.*

II

These *hymns* express the first flush of the mystic experience, giving expression to the sudden joy of the vision of God so different from what he had known till then, to a realization that he would be no longer born and to the feeling of sudden contrast which sometimes drives the poet to condemn himself. In every one of these *hymns* he is referring to specific mystic experiences; "Having become His slave, shall I deny Him?" (*H.* 1); "O Lord! Bless me with the path of sacrifice and penance (not necessarily rennunciation)" (*H.* 13); "Will I slight Him even for a while?" (*H.* 38); "O, Mind! Take refuge in His feet" (*H.* 64); "I saw the Lord at *Kaḻumalam*" (*H.* 58); "Will the Lord accept me as His servant?" (*H.* 73); "I am the servant of the servants of the Lord" (*H.* 39). Thus are expressed various struggling emotions stirred up by the new experience.

III

The poet in these verses describes Nature — the river *Peṇṇār* from its southern bank to the northern bank and the beautiful city of *Kaḻumalam*. He always thinks of the floods rushing with flowers, fruits, sandal, bamboo, ivory, peacock-feathers and precious gems, These are but the beginnings of his Nature Poetry, the Nature wherein he sees the reflcction of His Lord.

IV

Our poet's love of *purāṇic* stories is also revealed in these *hymns*, stories which have a mystic significance. Perhaps this is one way of our poet speaking to the common man. Salvation is

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for all; to bring about this, God has become enshrined Himself in the Temples and our poet has come to serve the Lord in this sphere by singing the various *hymns* of the temples to be sung by the people of the world.

V

In every last verse, the poet assures the readers of his *hymn* that they will be saved. The first *hymn* has no such assurance; probably this scheme comes to his mind only from the second *hymn*. In some subsequent *hymns* also our poet has not chosen to specify any result flowing from a recitation of his *hymn* probably because he thinks that such a singing itself is a patent bliss. In these *hymns* of the first group, he assures the readers of the blessings of the path of *Tapas*, of the attainment of Truth, Salvation, Fame and *Rudralōka* add of their becoming the followers and lovers of the Lord and suffering no more misery. Thus the ideal is described as absence of misery in a negative way and as Truth, Salvation and Fame in a positive way. These positive aspects further suggest as the other side, the miseries of the world as consisting in delusion, bondage and infamy which are also directly referred to. Fame is something more than the worldly fame. In this connection one must bear in mind the conception of fame as idealized by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*, which must have been in the mind of our poet. The ephemeral and changing world — and our poet also refers to this evanescence in this very group of *hymns* — true to its nature, is there to swallow us and reduce us to dust. The great ones escape this; they die to live for ever. This is fame; this is eternity; this is the achievement of their full life and personality. Taken in this sense, salvation can alone be looked upon as true fame. The bliss is attained through *Tapas* or sacrifice, and penance, through the Love of God and through service unto Him as His follower. Becoming a follower is itself an achievement worthy of note — dedication to His service — submission to His will — taking refuge in Him and living in that divine communion or identity. Prayer and worship are also expressions of this love.

VI

From the very first *hymn* itself, our poet is emphasizing the doctrine that God is all kinds of relationships—*Sarvavida bandhu*—another form of the doctrine of love. Lord loves all and He is the embodiment of harmony. He is the sweetest, the most brilliant—our poet as such is fond of describing the Lord as the great

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Māṇikkam and *Amutu* (*Amṛta*). He is the Master, the *Guru*; He is everything. The eight forms—the '*Aṣṭamūrta*' of *Śiva* referred to as the unique theory of the *Śaivities* in *Maṇimēkalai* are also mentioned by our poet and yet He is the Great Beyond. "He is I", our poet exclaims, suggesting the *Upaniṣad mantra*, "*Aham Brahmāsmi*". This term may be interpreted as an expression of monism or qualified monism, even as the reference to *Rudralōka* may be so interpreted. But this monism cannot be of the extreme type leading to Solipsism but of the type of Practical *Vēdānta* of *Rāmakrishṇa*, for then only there can be room for worship, prayer and poetry. It is because of this practical *Vēdānta* that our saint passes easily from the personal to the impersonal forms of the Lord. He is immanent and transcendental.

VII

These *hymns* mark various stages in the first period of our poet's mystic life. He refers to his earlier life—the life he led before he was saved and condemns it. But these are exaggerations—appearing to him as defects only in contrast to the divine experience he is enjoying. Even in the midst of condemnation, there is a feeling of bliss and confidence. His confidence in the very first *hymn*, that he will have no more births is significant. He speaks of himself becoming a slave of Him. He begs for the path of *Tapas*. *Tirukkaḻumalam hymn* is important as giving an autobiography of his mystic life up that time. It makes direct reference to his experience of the Lord coming to save him who had been in quest of the Lord, though under delusion. The importance of the cult of the *Bhaktas* or the worship of the *Bhaktas* as God Himself is very well brought out by *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* where we have noted the ancient Indian conception of *Mahāvīra*, the *Tamilian* abhorrence of the word 'No', the *Śaivite* ideal of kingship, the doctrine of Grace, the characteristic feature of the *Bhaktas* consisting in truth, sincerety and self-sacrifice, the doctrine of *Tēvāram* that the Lord can be attained through Art, the importance of inner vision, the significance of the outward forms of worship and the life of self-surrender and communion.

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CHAPTER I

TIRUVEṆṆEINALLŪR

(*Hymn* 1)

I

In the first *hymn*, when *Ārūrar* speaks of being blessed with the unique Grace of God, '*Peṟalākā Aruḷ*', (2)* the poet must have had some mystic experience of the Lord. He refers to his previous condition, his futile life of wandering like a ghost, only to become fatigued and tired without any thought of the Lord. He condemns his past life as that of a cruel liar, an ignorant fool, wasting life even as an idiot would his wealth. But, on receiving the Grace of God, he asserts that he is always thinking of the Lord without ever forgetting Him (1, 3). The Lord, he feels, is there to bless him. He does not want to prattle about things not yet clear to him and he begs of the Lord to tell him what the worshippers receive at the hands of the Lord (5). He feels certain that he will be never born and that even if he were to be born, he will never grow old (4). He addresses the Lord as the father (1); as the mother (3); as the great *svāmin* or the master (4); as the beginning of everything (5); as the great path (8); as the beautiful person (9) and as the precious things of the world (7). The words denoting the relationship occur at the most emphatic place—in the beginning of every fourth line. Like all great mystics, he sees God in everything and sings of the Lord becoming the flesh, the life, the body, the world, the space, the land, the sea and the mountains (7).

Again, like the mystics, he speaks the language of the *Purāṇas* or allegories or parables. The Lord is crowned with the crescent jewel (1, 6). He is like fire (6). He burnt the three castles of the air (6). He rides on the bull (4). He carries the *māḻu* (9). He sings the *Vēdas* and is with the damsel (9).

II

Tiruveṇṇeinallūr is on the southern bank of *Peṇṇār*. According to the tradition, the Brahmin who claimed *Ārūrar* as a slave

* *Note:* Numbers within the brackets denote the numbers of the verses in Arurar's *hymns* except otherwise mentioned.

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disappeared into the temple. The temple itself was known as '*Aruṭṭurai*'. Our poet speaks of his being blessed with the special Grace of the Lord and addresses Him as '*Aruḷāḷā*', the Lord of Grace or *Aruḷ* (1). All the activities of the Lord consist in removing the sufferings of those who worship Him (9). One wonders whether it is because of his receiving signs of divine Grace in this place, or whether because the place is itself called '*Aruṭṭurai*' our poet describes the Lord as '*Aruḷāḷā*' (1). '*Aruḷāḷāṉ*' is a beautiful conception of the Lord and we find it popular even among the *Vaiṣḥṇavites* for *Aruḷāḷapperumāḷ* is one of the beloved names of their Lord.

III

"*Uṉakkāḷāy iṉi allēṉ eṉalāmē*" — 'After having become your slave, can I deny my slavery?' — This is the burden of all the verses in this *hymn*. It is probably because of this that the tradition speaks of *Ārūrar* first denying his being a slave and later on reconciling himself to the inevitable. With the addition of a word describing the Lord as forming various kinds of relationship, this refrain forms the fourth line in every verse inclusive of the last verse. The third line runs, if we exclude the first word which varies according to the poetic assonance, as follows: "*Peṇṇaitteṉpāl veṇṇei nallūr aruṭṭuraiyuḷ*" — '*Aruṭṭurai* of *Veṇṇeinallūr* lying on the southern bank of *Peṇṇār* or *Peṇṇai*". The first two lines describe the Lord except in verses 2, 3 and 10.

In verse 3, the second line describes the *Peṇṇār* and in the tenth verse the first two lines describe the river. The flood carries bamboos (2) and other plants (4). It dashes and pushes along gold, gems, and diamonds (3); therefore it appears to be full of lightnings (3). The river is full of pollen dust (5) and honey (7), probably because of the flowers it carries. It thus looks as though specially adorned, The phrase, "*Miṉṉār Peṇṇai*" (3) seems to involve a pun on the word '*Peṇ*' suggesting the beautifully adorned bride. It is rich in fertility (9). It receives all the waters of the cloud streaming into it (10). It begin to hew down its own bank, with its hands of waves (10). It is famous in all the cities of the world, pushing along many a valuable shining gem — thus runs the famous *Peṇṇār* (10). All through this *hymn* runs his love of Nature, here the beautiful river of *Peṇṇai* wherein probably he sees the reflection of God.

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CHAPTER II

TIRUTTURAIYŪR

(*Hymn* 13)

I

The second *hymn* which is sung at *Tiruttuṟaiyūr* is included as the 13th. After the spiritual revolution, there is naturally a revulsion of feeling against the world. He, therefore, prays in this *hymn* for the path of renunciation and sacrifice (*Tava neṟi*). Here again, he addresses the Lord in endearing terms of worldly relationship, as the lover (1), the father (2), the mother (3), the brother (9), the master (7), the *Guru* or *Siṣṭa* (6), a loving friend (4), an elder brother or chief (*Aiyā*) (8), and God (10); in short, as one who assumes all forms or roles (*Vēṭam*) (5). The poet's love of nature, representing, as it were, the concrete form of the Lord, is definitely expressed in this *hymn*, for, in all the verses, the first three lines are taken up by this description of *Tuṟaiyūr*, on the banks of the river *Peṇṇār*, wherein bathe *bhaktas* and beautiful damsels. The saint has reached a state of self-confidence. No more does he condemn himself as a liar. He assures us, in the last verse, that he will never speak any falsehood and that those who follow Him will attain nothing but truth.

II

If *Veṇṇeinallūr* is on the southern bank of *Peṇṇār*, *Tuṟaiyūr* is on its northern bank. The mountain streams roll together as the unique *Peṇṇār* pushing along precious gems and dashing them against its banks (1); thrusting along the white tusks of the elephant, bringing and dashing the pearls, runs *Peṇṇār* (2); thrusting along the sandal and black '*akil*', casting their fragrence all round, the red cool waters of *Peṇṇār* descends (3); uprooting *champakam* and *mallikai*, full of buds and bringing them and casting them away with force for the bees to swarm and enjoy, runs *Peṇṇār* (4); tossing down the mangoes and jack fruits on the sides, it casts them away for the whole country to feast on them (5); pulling down the *koṉṟai* of honeyed flowers and *vaṉṉi*,

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it brings and dashes them all so full of buds (6); rushing along with the beautiful peacock feathers and white foam, it brings them full of pollen dust and dashes them all (7); pushing down *vēṅkai* and *kōṅku*, of unplucked flowers, it brings and dashes them to fill up the fields (8); the clouds of the sky stand and shower their rain and the river brings and dashes the water to enrich the lands with alluvial soil (9).

III

On its northern bank stands *Turaiyūr* wherein bathe in the waters the damsels of broad collyrium-fed eyes (8), and the doll-like virgins (9) of waists adorned with *mēkalai* (1) speaking musical words like sugarcane (4). It is thus surrounded by ponds full of flowers blooming and ready to bloom (7) — this is the state of beauty. Many monkeys dance—even the animals seem to imitate the dancing Lord (3). The music of songs, dance and drum, does not cease (6). *Bhaktas* frequent the place praising and worshipping the Lord (2). Human art is not absent; the palaces full of gold surround the temple (5).

IV

The pattern of the verses is as follows: the first two lines describe the *Peṇṇār* and the third line *Turaiyūr*. The fourth line, as already stated, ends with the words '*Uṉai vēṇṭikkoḷvēṉ tava nēṟyē*'. The first line ends in '*unti*' (1, 2, 3, 7) or '*cāṭi*' (4, 5, 6, 8) or '*poḷiya*' (9). The second line ends in the words "*Koṇarnteṟṟiyōṟ Peṇṇai vaṭapāl*' except in verse 3 which ends in the words '*Puṉal vantiḻi Peṇṇai vaṭapāl*' and the 5th which ends in '*Vanteṟṟi ōr Peṇṇai vaṭapāl*''. If '*eṟṟi*' is taken as a conjunctive participle, here is no other verb with which it can go, unless we take '*ōr*'' as one such in the sense of 'coming to senses and cogitating'. Therefore, it has to be taken as a noun (that which dashes) put in apposition with *Peṇṇai*. Or, it must be changed into some other verbal form such as '*eṟṟa*' making thus possible the beauty described in the third line. The 10th verse, we had suggested (in our essay on Numbers), may be an interpolation and it does not follow the pattern. The uniformity of the pattern extending even to lines, stamps this *hymn* as an early poem of our saint, inspite of the reference to *Tapas* which naturally does not mean renunciation.

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V

In the first *hymn*, our poet gave out his name as *Ārūraṉ* but did not specify any good emanating from its recitation. In this *hymn*, he states that those who are masters of this, of *Ūran* of unfailing or neverlying *Tamiḻ*, (or, it may mean the *Tamiḻ* of *Ūraṉ* who never speaks falsehood), will truly be blessed with the path of *Tapas*. Our poet, in singing the *hymn*, has experienced the attainment of this path of *Tapas* and that is why he assures the readers that they will undergo the same experience (11).

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CHAPTER III

TIRUVATIKAI VĪRAṬṬĀNAM

(*Hymn* 38)

I

The starting point of the next *hymn* (38) is his remembrance of his past disregard for the Lord, but here, there is no sorrowful feeling of remorse. The disturbance, therefore, in his mind has come to an end. "Will I ever slight Him even for a moment"?— that is the refrain of the verses in this *hymn*. It amounts to saying he shall not. "I live in the hope of being crowned with the feet of the Lord,', he cries (1). Is there any one in his world who does not know his father or Lord?" — he asks (1). He, it is true, calls himself a foolish dog (1), but this is an expression of self-surrender — revelling in the service of God rather than an expression of self-condemnation. There is a feeling of hope colouring this *hymn* . The poet escapes from the burden of sinfulness and asserts, "What does it matter if I had forgotten in the past, my Lord? What if I had remembered Him then? Today I live happily blessed with a heart which shall never forget Him" (2). His is an expreience of bliss. The Lord is as precious as gold, good rubies, white and shining pearls and He is like the coral mountain (2). He is the nearest of the nearest, the father (and the mother) (3), nay, He is the father of his father (4) — perhaps the saint feels that his heritage has been purified. God is sweet like the sugarcane and the candy (3). He is everything sublime — the four directions, the wind, the fire, the sea and the mountain top (4). He is the Great Beyond, who is at the same time the very 'I' (4). Like other great mystics, our poet revels in his feeling of identity with God. The identity and uniformity reveal the Absolute of the great law (*vidhi*) (4, 6). It is the law of union of the loving Lord inseparable from the loving saint (3). "Even he had been saved", (7) this our saint had already expressed. The Lord, out of His love and pity, showers the blessing of salvation on the souls struggling in the sea of *Karma* (7).

He loves all, the sinner and the saint, and this harmony, our poet sees in its concrete form, in the matted hair of the Lord

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where sleep together the crescent moon and the serpent (3, 6). There is the eternal Grace in the form of the mother (3, 5, 6). He is the great father of the beautiful *Muruka* (5, 8) and He is with the Mother overflowing with beauty and sympathy (5). The sufferings, He destroys. Has He not swallowed the poison and does not the throat shine ever blue? (1, 7). He has killed the elephant and covered Himself with its skin (1, 6). He is the Lord of the bull of *Dharma* (1, 10). He has destroyed the three cities, the three castles of the air (7, 9). Egoism can never stand before Him and the pride of *Rāvaṇa* came to naught (9). He dances on the burning ghat (1) with the bones as His ornament (10), that eternal dance of the Absolute spreading its hands (7) on the eight points of the compass, when nothing but that exists swallowing everything within its omnipresence. "I have disregarded Him in my speech. But all the same He is my lover though unknown to others. How can I slight Him even for a moment?" (10).

II

The Lord is impersonal and personal. The beauty of the Lord, like the red glow of sunset, captivates our poet's heart (8). "Though He is the Lord of the *Dēvas*, He is mine" (8) exclaims the saint.

III

Our poet feels that God has a special love for this *Tamil* land which lies on the South (8) and this probably makes him all the more happy. He repeats the significance of this name he has coined for the Lord, *Teṉṉaṉ* by explaining it as the One whose mind never goes to the North, East or West. He is the Southerner on the crown of the great Southern *Pāṇḍya*, *Neṭu Māraṉ*, the contemporary of Campantar. (8).

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CHAPTER IV

TIRUTTIṆAI NAKAR

(*Hymn* 64)

I

Once again the world and its temptations become visible. The mind, which is a creature of habits, attempts to remember with pleasure the temptations which appeared to be pleasant. There is also a terror, born in the mind, because of the new spiritual awakening. Our poet, therefore, addresses his mind in the next *hymn* (64), sung at *Tiruttiṇai nakar*, now known as *Tīrttaṇakiri*. Whilst this internal struggle is going on, there comes to his mind the vision of the Lord with His shining forehead besmeared with the sacred ashes, the symbol of purity that which shines as the Absolute, when everything is swallowed in it. In the fore-head shines the eye destroying all egoism and obstruction. The damsel on the left represents to our saint the great divine principle of Grace. The Lord appears to him as perfect without any defects, a beautiful personality holding up the Ganges within His matted hair, the great flame of Divinity beyond the reach of the eternal ones. This is the Sprout of *Śiva* (1).

II

Encouraged by this vision, our poet calls his mind to take refuge at once in this glorious Sprout (1). He begs of his mind to listen to his words and assures it that there is no cause for fear. The only way to get rid of birth is to take refuge in the Lord, the Lord who destroyed the three castles in the air— probably *Árūrar* feels that this destruction, as already explained by *Tirumūlar*, is the destruction of the effect of the three *malas* which lead to birth and death (2). He further proceeds to advise his mind not to end his life by becoming a prey to the disease, deluded by passionate attachment to women of beautiful eyes. The Lord of *Dharma*, the bull, the Beginning of everything, the father of His followers, the Lord of Grace,—the form of our Mother,—who alone could save us—in Him we have to take refuge (3). "Doing sinful acts and prattling many things in this wide world with a confused mind, you tire yourself out for your livelihood and fall down unconscious crying, "Alas!" To escape from this calamity, using your reasoning capacity think of the

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greatness of the Lord who removed the obstructions of the rude elephant and wore its own skin as the symbol of His greatness. He is a precious gem, who is the Almighty (or near to us as our son) sweet like the heavenly nectar and who is the Lord of all Gods. Take refuge in Him" (4).

"You think much of this life which counts for nothing and you go on amassing wealth. Your body suffers in this effort and yet you speak that you can live for ever; alas! my mind! be convinced that this is all a delusion. Take refuge in the Lord with shoulders firm like pillars or mountains, in the great Dancer of happiness moving us all" (5). "Leave off this evanescent life of falsehood. Even the bodies of the monarchs who ruled the world and performed *Dharma* decayed and they suffered and died in the end. He is the great power, greater than all. He holds in His hand, the serpent (of this Universe, which expands its hood as an act of creation and contracts it as an act of destruction). He is the great father. Oh, my mind! take refuge in Him" (6). "But for His support we cannot cross the sea of life, however much we may purify our hearts, perform *tapas*, grow matted hair and wear bones as ornaments. These, but bespeak our egoism. Take refuge in the Sprout of *Śiva* praised by all, as the Great Beginning" (7). "This life will depart from this world, whilst the loving relatives, powerful allies and others, keep awake and watchful, only to weep in the end. Realize this, get rid of this turmoil of foolish life and take refuge in Him· the Lord of our Mother, our very life, the destroyer of Death, the great God" (8). "Take refuge in Him, leaving off the vain paths, before many come to speak ill of us" (9). "Slighting this life of great falsehood, we can escape" (10). Thus our poet, convinced in his mind, assures that the salvation will result to those who sing these verses.

III

Our poet is said to have sung a *hymn* on *Cidambaram*. This *hymn* is not available. A summary, however, of it, is given by *Cēkkiḻār*. The world does not consist merely of wealth, women, relatives and egoistic *tapas*. It also reveals to us the Grace and the beauty of the Lord. The beautiful forms are but incarnations of the Lord, inspiring reverential love for Him. Therefore, when he saw the vision of the dance of *Śiva*, our poet confessed, according to *Cēkkiḻār*, that his birth in this very world giving him this vision was the purest and the most blissful of births.

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CHAPTER V

TIRUKKAḶUMALAM

(*Hymn* 58)

I

At *Tirukkaḷumalam* or *Cīkāḻi*, he had another spiritual experience and he explains in every verse of this *hymn* (58) that he has seen and realized Him. In the last verse, he says he has realized the feet of the Lord, unknown except to those who weep, bearing no separation from Him. This *hymn* is an expression of his bliss.

II

"I have seen the Lord who had showered His Grace on me, ordaining me for that purpose and saving me from birth and death" (1). "He has blessed me, with a mind which never forgets Him, that great gift of not being born without ever escaping from the Lord. Who can get this gift like me? I sing of Him to have a glimpse of His blue throat. I am capable of going unto Him and embracing Him" (4). "I worship Him whilst my mouth goes on uttering His names with reverential fear. The mind which fritters itself away in many ways because of its old *karma* has been made one pointed. I have been asking for the temples of the Lord for many days. I have now realized Him at *Kaḷumalam*" (5). "Once I was afraid of the powerful and great *karmas*. I suffered but I have been blessed with a mind which can never forget the Lord. I have become all love. My whole body has become happy and I am praying unto the Lord and worshipping at His feet; that is the law. I have realized the Lord, that sweet sugar-cane, removing the birth, root and branch, that sweet honey, that nectar. Slowly springs up as a bud and blossoms into a flower in my mind, that Great Master, the embodiment of *Dharma*" (6). "I know of no other prop for me in this birth or the next. I do not consider even my loving relations as of any help. I think of Him that brilliant Light I worship, as my great prop and support. I do not know of anyone but Him that is the

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knowledge I had received for being saved" (2). He is the youngest of the youngest, and the oldest of the oldest. In my dream He has been one with me and when I have opened my eyes I could not see him. I have realized Him at *Kaḻumalam*" (3). "He has taught me and made me realize salvation, true knowledge and the various paths, unknown even to the eternal ones" (2).

"Others were praising Him; the saints were worshipping Him; imitating His lovers I also followed them. It is said that the elephant will fall into the net spread out for a hare. I followed those who struggle for attaining Him and I have realized Him at *Kaḻumalam*, that cloud which is so dear to the cultivator, the wealth and brilliance of gold, that flash of lightning, that thing which I can call all my own" (7). "Even the sins born of thought are destroyed by those who think of Him and worship. That is the brilliant flame, the Lord of the Mother, the precious gem, the secret of the *Vēdas*, the fame of all descriptions. Our shining light, unknown to the two, I have realized at *Kaḻumalam*" (8). He is everything in all the eight forms, our Lord who has become one with the mind of a stranger like me, even as the water consumed by red hot iron becomes one with the iron" (1). "Those who are sure of their '*Maṟai*' reside in the "house". That is how delusion works. They bathe in the "tanks"—thus goes the world. All this life and ceremonies appear to be very real. Unfortunately I have not realized that all these appear true because of His support" (9).

This verse (9) is not clear. The following meaning may be suggested: "*Maṟai iṭaittuṇintavar*"—He who had been realized through the *Vēdas*, *i.e.*, *Śiva*; "*Maṇai iṭai iruppa*" —whilst the Lord resides in this house of a body; "*Vañcaṉai ceytavar*'—the five organs duped us all; "*Poyakaiyum māya*"—their falsehood and activities were made to die away; "*Tuṟai-yuṟakkuḷittu*"—the Lord made us approach the ford or path of *jñāna* and bathe in (the experience of) the divine bliss; "*Uḷatāka vaittu*"—thus He had made us to be the truth of existence; "*Uytta*"—He had taken us along the path of salvation; "*Uṇmai*"—this is the Truth; but it is also, "*Takaviṉmai*"—my unfitness: "*Ōrēṉ*"—this I have not realized"(9).

Then came the sight of the spouting cresent moon on the matted hair. He is our Lord, the embodiment of infinite Grace, swallowing all our sins of poison; there shines the blue throat reminding of this—I have realized *Him* at *Kaḻumalam* (9).

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III

It is clear that our poet had a great spiritual experience when he sang this *hymn*. The blissful, so precious and so significant that he is sure that he will never die. This dream reminds us of a love-sick maiden and the word he used '*viravi*' (3) justifies our interpreting it in terms of mystic love. The simile of the red hot iron consuming water emphasizes this mystic unity or identity (1).

IV

The *Purāṇic* stories are also mentioned—the Lord sharing the body of the damsel of the mountain (1), the mat-lock carrying the *Ganges* (1), His white ear-ring (1), His fatherhood of Subrahmaṇya (3), His dance (3), His *koṉṟai* flower (4), His blue throat (4), His battle axe (5), His form of lightning (7), His being beyond the reach of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8) and His crescent moon on the mat-lock (9).

V

Our poet calls the Lord, the chief (*Talaivaṉ*) (1), the father (*Emmāṉ*) (1), the patron (*Pirāṉ*) (1), the transcendental reality (*Kaṭavuḷ*) (2), the master (1), elder brother (*Aiyaṉ*) (6), the Person of *Dharma* (*Aṟavaṉ*) (6), Wealth (*Poruḷ*) (7), the significance of *Vēdas* (*Maṟaipporuḷ*), (8), the Ruler of great Grace and mercy (*Pēraruḷāḷaṉ*) (9), the *Guru* (*Aṭikaḷ*) (9), (10). (We had to distinguish among these terms, some of which are often used as synonyms). The term ("*Pēraruḷāḷaṉ*") (9) is significant. He also refers to God as '*Eṇvakai Oruvaṉ*' (1), One who appears in eight ways—the five elements, the sun, the moon and the soul.

The other important term which is the basic truth of *Śaivism* is *Paśupati* (5), the Lord of the fettered souls. Our poet describes the Lord as the sweetest thing (6) (honey and so on) gradually developing as a great spiritual bliss (6) (the bud, the flower and so on), the most precious thing (8) (the gem and so on). *Māṇikkam* (8) is a description of which our poet is very fond of, and the brightest light of knowledge (8) (*Oḷi*). He is fame itself (8). He is full of Grace but He is also the law and *Dharma* (5, 6). The only way to reach Him is to weep and cry for Him (10).

VI

The description of *Kaḻumalam* is also given. It is the oldest city which floated on the sea at the time of the destruction of the

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world (1). It is even now on the sea shore where go and come the tides of the dark roaring sea on the '*kaṇṭal*' grown banks of lagoons (5). The city is beautiful with many a garden of plantains and sugar-canes (4) and with fields where grow thick the great paddy (6), where play the swarms of '*kayal*' (carps) with *vāḷai* (sword fish) (7). Our poet also refers to *Tiruttiṉai Nakar* (3). Our poet calls himself '*Ūraṉ*', a contracted form of *Ārūraṉ*, and the loving (son of) *Caṭaiyaṉ* (19). Those who sing this *hymn* of ten verses with hands raised high in worship are the followers of the Lord; and misery and affliction will never come near them—that is the assurance our poet gives (10).

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CHAPTER VI

TIRUVĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 73)

I

Tiruvārūr became the permanent place of *Ārūrar's* residence and his *hymns* reveal a special attachment of the poet to this place. It is here he is said to have married *Paravai*. The first *hymn* according to *Periyapurāṇam* sung here, *viz.*, *hymn* 73, is not a *hymn* of joy or bliss. Feelings of joy and despondency succeed each other in the lives of the mystics. When they think of the mystic experience, they are full of bliss. But when they open their eyes to the world and contrast their previous condition with this state of divine joy they pass into a mood of self-condemnation and this *hymn* gives expression to one such feeling of despondency.

II

In the first verse, the poet speaks of *Śiva* as *Rudralōkaṉ*, the Lord of the *Rudra* world. It is not always clear in Indian poetry, whether the divine world the poet speaks of, is an actual world or a spiritual plane, representing the highest spritual experience. Here itself, our poet speaks of our Lord as commingling in all our speech whether in the morning or in the evening, whether on the bank or on the sea or on the mountain (1). This may either mean that everything we talk ultimately refer to Him; for nothing exists apart from Him. Or, it may mean in the midst of worldly talk, He suddenly inspires our speech. Either way this description emphasizes the omnipresence of *Śiva*.

III

It is another characteristic feature of the mystic poets especially in India, that they pass without any difficuly from the personal to the impersonal forms of God and *vice versa*. Here, in the very first verse, *Ārūrar* speaks of the Lord as the husband of the damsel of the mountain; the king of the *vānavas* and *tānavas* (1). Our poet speaks of the Lord with the matted hair, shining with the crescent moon, the serpent and the water (4); He who is besmeared with the ash (5); He who has adorned Himself with

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koṉrai wreath (7); He who had restrained *Rāvaṇa* (8); the Eternal God worshipped by *Kumāra*, *Brahman*, *Viṣṇu* and other *Dēvas* (9); the Lord who had swallowed the poison (10). In every one of the verses, our poet assures that *Śiva* resides at *Ārūr*. All these verses are addressed to worshippers of *Śiva* begging them to ask the Lord whether He will accept him as his servant. The spiritual mediator, a *Guru* or a brother worshipper holds an important place in the practical religion of the Hindus. He is a *ghaṭaka*, who brings about the inter-relationship between the thirsting souls and God. In the mystic language of love poetry, the lovesick maiden addresses the birds and others (*H.* 37) to carry her message of love to the Lord and the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators have interpreted these as referring to their spiritual *Gurus*.

IV

As usual the first words of the last lines emphasize the varied relationships God bears to us. He is the king (1); He is the Beginning (5); He is our father (7); He is the Lord of the Universe (8); He is *Īśa* (10) or the Leader He is '*Iraivaṉ*', the Lord who is all-pervading (4); He is '*Aruttaṉ*', the wealth or that which matters (6); He is '*Iṉiyaṉ*' or the sweetest (2); He resides where the *Vēdas* and their subsidiary '*aṅgas*' are recited (3).

V

All the verses, except the first, the second and the fifth are self condemning. We expressed our doubts about the genuineness of the 5th verse, where the poet praises himself as one who has never departed from the path of justice, as one who brings about freedom from trouble or danger, as one who never gets angry with *Vēdic* scholars and who never goes to those who become angry (5). In the second verse the meaning is not very clear; in the second line, he says he is displeased with those who displease him; that he never speaks flatteringly. But the first line is a glow with his love for the God. "I had not known slighting Him on the ground that He stands lonely." All of a sudden he is reminded of the greatness of God and he speaks of Him in honorific plural as '*tammai*." "I love Him or regard Him a good deal". The first verse is only a description of the Lord. In the other verses the poet is condemning himself; "I never speak things direct. I am never a help to those who follow me. I am as hard hearted as a stone" (3). "The path I follow, my knowledge my attachment of continence and my justice are all very bad. I love

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or regard highly, faults and cruelty. I go about doing things as I like" (4). "I love or regard most, the wealth. I go about teaching without practising. I offer no help even to one among the many who suffer. I am no prop to those who come unto me" (6). I do not cut myself away from the varying rhythms of activities of this world. I do not fall at the feet of those who had taken refuge in You" (7). " '*Neṇṭikkoṇṭēyum kilāyppaṉ*' — 'Though moving like a worm, I am sure to be enraged.' This is certain. Even unto those who are proud of their strength, I speak only in an arrogant way. I know nothing but the fundamental principle of the universe" (8).

This statement does not harmonize with the self-condemning spirit of the poem; but the poet may be seeing nothing good about him except his reliance on God (8). In verse 2, also, he has said he has the greatest regard for God. Or, the word '*aṟṟi*' (8) may be interpreted as becoming angry; and the word is used in this sense in verse 10. In that case, the poet must be saying, "I lose my patience and get enraged at the discussion or statement about the fundamental principle and therefore I know nothing about it."

VI

"I know not who are our people and who are others. I live continuing to see the same things in this world — relying upon its phenomenon, rather than on its noumenon. I am fond of the bustling noise of the world" (9). "I do not cut myself away from the fetters of attachment. I speak defying everyone. If I speak, I speak nothing but wickedness. My mind is full of faults. I love very much the bustling noise" (10).

In this way the poet condemns himself, feeling penitent for his past life, in a confessing mood; but when analysed, these exaggerated condemnations disclose nothing but his anger or frustration and his helplessness in this world. Thus this *hymn* reveals only the moral greatness of the poet. It is only great minds who had a vision of their ideal that would confess like this. In the last verse the poet speaks of him as one who is capable of thinking in these terms. It is this impatience which our poet talks of in this *hymn* that reminds us of the episode of his first quarrel with the Lord coming as the old Brahmin in *Periyapurāṇam*. His

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attachment to the beauties of the world and his feeling at home in the midst of the bustling noise, make him unique among the *Śaivite* saints. But even in the midst of the varying phenomena in the world and its attractions he confesses, he loves only the Lord. These characterists give a picture of our saint and remind us of Great *Janaka* living in the midst of Royal splendour, though always concentrating his mind on the Absolute. This *hymn* therefore reveals the subsequent life of our saint. The spiritual revolution effected remains unchanged. His firm dependence on God is never affected. There is no fall. His worldly life is but a life of divine communion. The *Śaivities* look upon this as the great message of our poet's life.

VII

References to the *Purāṇic* stories and descriptions are found in this *hymn* as well: *viz.*, the Lord's bride, His sovereignty over the Angles and demons (1), His mat-lock with the crescent moon, the serpent and the waters (4), His sacred ashes (5), His bull and His wanderings all over the three worlds (7), the vanquishment of *Rāvaṇa* (8), the God worshipped by *Kumāra*, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma* and other *Dēvas* (9), His feast of poison (10).

The description of *Tiruvārūr* as a place of fruit yielding arecanuts in the groves of many fruits is significant (2). The city of *Nāval* where our poet grew into manhood is full of fertile fields and resounds with the soft music of the drum. (11).

The poet describes himself as *Ārūraṉ* of *Nâval*, as one with the round and strong shoulders embraced by the goddess of wealth (11). Perhaps our poet like so many Brahmins of the age like *Mayūrasarmaṉ*, the founder of the *Kaḍamba* family of rulers, was politically great as a chieftain. He describes this *hymn* as Chandam — a rhythmic *hymn* sung according to a specific time or *ṭāḷa*. It is a musical composition and those who can sing it as such will attain fame — so assures the poet. That seems to be the preoccupation of his mind.

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CHAPTER VII

TIRUTTOṆṬATTOKAI

(*Hymn* 39)

I

The next *hymn* which Nampi *Ārūrar* sings whilst living with *Paravaiyār* at *Tiruvārūr* is the famous *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* which we have discussed at length at another place.[1]

II

Certain ideals portrayed in this *hymn* may be generalized on the basis of the descriptive terms used with reference to the saints enumerated herein. Residence in a particular place itself becomes a glorious life as is made clear by the phrase '*Thillaivāḻ Antaṇar*'.

III

Refusing to say 'No' when a request is made is the greatest ideal of the Tamilians since the *Caṅkam* age, and *Nampi Ārūrar* realizes that this is the message of some of the lives of the *Śaiva* saints, and he, therefore, glorifies this kind of munificence; "*Illaiyē eṉṉātā Iyarpakai*" (1) "*Vaḷḷal Māṉakkañcāraṉ*" (2), "*Cīrkoṇṭa pukaḻ-vaḷḷal Cirappuli*" (6), "*Kārkoṇṭa Koṭai Kaḻarirrarivār*" (6).

IV

True to the ancient Indian conception of *Mahāvīra*, *Ārūrar* speaks of the path of the Śaivite saints as the path of victory. "*Vellumā mika valla Meypporuḷ*" (1) and perhaps the lives of some of the heroes must have appeared glorious to his eyes from this point of view of self-sacrifice and patronage. The victory here is born of self-conquest as is made clear by the description of "*Niṉracīr Neṭumāraṉ*" (8), as "*Niṟaikkoṇṭa cintaiyāl Nelvēḷi veṉra Niṉracīr Neṭumāraṉ*" (8).

1. See Vol. IV.

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V

Sovereignty is a symbol of divinity as explained by us in another place. It is not a symbol of the power of inflicting punishment. It is that peculiar form of Grace which protects its subjects. It is this idea he emphasizes when he speaks of his contemporary ruler as "*Ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ*" (9). We have already brought out the special significance of Tamil and Southern cultures which are the very forms of Śiva; and to rule as the very embodiment of this culture appears to *Nampi Ārūrar* as the greatest glory, for instance of that great saint "*Teṉṉavṉāyulakāṇṭa Ceṅkaṇār*" (11). This conception of *Śaivite* rulership is further elaborated in the phrase "*Mummaiyāl Ulakāṇṭa Mūrti*", the three being *Vibhūti*, *Rudrākṣa* and *Jaṭā*, symbolizing the divine, love and renunciation or *Tyāga*. The conception of *tyāga* or renunciation is made clear by the very name *Aiyaṭikaḷ*.

VI

But it is not a negative philosophy, not a mere running away from the world that *Śaivism* preached to *Nampi Ārūrar*. The world is beautiful, with its rich growth of nature, which are all but the various playful forms of the Lord. As *Appar* sings, 'the Lord has no form other than that of *Umai*, the embodiment of the Grace and the whole world is but His dress' — "*Umaiyalāturuvam illai, Ulakalātu uṭaiyatillai*" and also "*Tānalatulakam illai*".[2]

There are the ever-expanding groves — "*Viripoḻil cūḻ kuṉṟai*" (1); the waters with the ripples — "*Alaimalinta puṉal*" (2); ever resounding with the praise of the Lord — "*Olipuṉal*" (4); the city surrounded by the sea — "*Kaṭarkāḻi*" (6). The coral on the shore drives out the darkness in the old Mylapore of *Vāyilāṉ*—"*Turaikoṇṭa cempavaḷam iruḷakarrum cōtit toṉ Mayilai Vāyilāṉ*".

This is merely the message of *Ñāṉacampantar's* poems and in describing the Lord, *Nampi Ārūrar* experiences Him as the Lord of the flower *koṉṟai* full of honey and sweet fragrance where the bee hums — "*Vamparā varivaṇṭu maṇanāṟa malarum matu malar nāṟkoṉṟaiyāṉ*" (5). Not only is the world the incarnation of His

2. 4: 40: 9 and 1.

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Grace but the enjoyment of the things of Nature is the very communion with God. That is the message of the life of *Nampi Ārūrar*. He describes the saints as being adorned with flowers, and other ornaments from this point of view: "*Allimel mullai am tār Amarnīti*" (1); "*Ārkoṇṭa vēṟ kūṟaṉ*" (6); "*Matalcūḻnta tār Nampi Itaṅkaḻi* (9); *Varivaḷaiyāḷ Māṉi* (11).

VII

Truth and sincerity are the other characteristics of the saints which appeal to *Nampi Ārūrar*—"*Meymmaiyē tirumēṉi vaḷipaṭā niṟka*" (3); "*Poyyaṭimai yillāta pulavar*" (7); "*Meyyaṭiyāṉ*" (7)—are some of his descriptions of the saints. This upright path is the path where stands firm the Grace of the Lord and it is this path that, according to *Nampi Ārūrar*, Appar followed: "*Tiruniṉṟa cemmaiyē cemmaiyāk koṇṭa Tirunāvukkaraiyaṉ*" (4). Scholarship and art shine only when they take the form of truth and sincerity. The glory of art and knowledge lies in divine realization. Even illiterate *Kaṇṇappar* could be the greatest artist because of his spiritual realization. Art thus becomes a mode of divine life; it is the art of life. Even the blind can be blessed with this ideal and divine life—"*Nāṭṭamiku Taṇṭi*" (5), where one does not forget the feet of the Lord: "*Maṟavātu kalleṟinta Cākkiyarkkum aṭiyēṉ*" (6). This life of self-surrender is important. No other protection is needed; it is the greatest armour—"*Kaṟaikkaṇṭaṉ kaḻalaṭiyē kāppukkōṇṭirunta*" (8). But that does not prevent the knowledge of the *Vēdas*—"*Maṟai Nāvaṉ*" (11). *Rudra hymn* of the *Vēda* is important as is made clear by the name "*Rudrapaśupati*". Honour and love are equally important as is made clear by the names "*Māṉi*" (11) and "*Nēcaṉ*" (11).

VIII

The life of service is another characteristic feature of the *Śaivite* saints—"*Meyyaṭiyāṉ* (7)—they are all humility. Acting according to the divine intuition or ideal is another mark of saints, *viz.*, "*Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭar*" (3). They may assume any form and be in any walk of life, king, minister, hunter, shepherd, Buddhist or leader like *Campantar* or mystic like *Tirumūlar* or wanderer about the world as no more than a ghost or *pēy*. It is the inner vision and realization that are important. They become one with the Lord and every one of their acts is inspired like the inner reality. They have no prejudice or passion and what appears to our limi-

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ted vision as acts of sin become dear to the Lord or the Universal Consciousness as acts of love and He, out of love, swallows as nectar what out of fear we look upon as poison and sin.

IX

There is a note of intimacy in the last verse where our poet calls *Hara* as "My own" (11). He calls himself the loving son of *Caṭaiyaṉ* and *Icaiñaṉi*, the ruler of *Nāvalūr* (11). This *hymn* represents this kind of slavery and service unto the Lord's followers. Those will be happy, who, at listening to this description of service—our poet is sure—will become the lovers of the Lord of *Ārūrar*.

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PART II

IN THE CŌḶA COUNTRY

Introduction

I

Hymns No. 8 to 22 have been grouped together as belonging to the period of his married life with *Paravai*. He describes himself in one of the *hymns* as the father of *Ciṅkaṭi* (15: 10). The *Tirukkōḷili hymn* (20) is said to have been sung for transporting to *Paravai's* house the paddy he received. But it is not a mere prayer for obtaining labourers. It is a *hymn* of self-surrender revealing our poet's complete dependence on the Lord. In the other *hymns* also the poet reveals this self-surrender to the Lord. He points out that some of the stories about the Lord have inspired him to take refuge in God.

II

Our poet in these *hymns* exclaims to the Lord that he shall not think or sing of any one else but the Lord. In the *Tiruvalivalam hymn* (67) he speaks of the vision of the Lord he had there. In the *Tiruppukalūr hymn* (34) he assures the poets, that there is no doubt whatever in their ruling the heavens if they sing of the Lord. *Tiruppaṉaiyūr hymn* (87) speaks of the Lord as the beautiful one. The *Naṉṉilam hymn* (98) asserts that the Lord has come to *Naṉṉilam* for saving us all. In *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai hymn* (88) he begs of the Lord to bless him as well. The *Tiruvāñciyam hymn* tells us the Lord will never allow His followers to suffer. The *Tirunaṟaiyur hymn* (93) points out that, that holy place is the favourite resort of the Lord. In the *Puttūr hymn*, he addresses the Lord as the purest and the most beautiful. In the *Tiruvāvaṭuturai hymn* (66), he speaks of the various stories of the Lord inspiring him to take refuge in Him. In the *Iṭaimarutu hymn* (60), he condemns himself and begs of the Lord to show him a way of escape. In the *Nākēccuram hymn* (99) he raises a series of questions about the inner meaning of His *purāṇic* activities. In the *Kalayanallūr hymn* 16, he describes a few *purāṇic* stories and concludes that *Kalayanallūr* is

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the favourite place of the Lord. Thus, greater emphasis is placed on the temple cult in these *hymns* In addition to that popular appeal because of the stories narrated. In other cases they are *hymns* of self surrender emphasizing the beauty, purity and the Grace of the Lord.

III

In this period, our poet was probably engaged himself in political life but his has not been a happy life that way. The *Tiruppukalūr hymn* condemns the patrons and chiefs of his times and begs of the poets to place their reliance on God rather than these men of no worth. In that *hymn* our poet states that the Lord is One that gives us food and cloth. Once again, it must be remembered that our poet is not addressing beggars but emphasizing the fact that the Lord is the moving force of the whole universe and as such the Giver of all, even to the kings of this world and of the Heavens. As against these kings, our poet feels that the Lord is the real prince—*Nampi*.

IV

Our poet exaggerates his own shortcomings, probably because of the contrast between the divine vision which he is blessed with the state of the world in which he lives. Or, he is identifying himself with the shortcomings of others. He, however, asserts that he never forgets the Lord and that God has come into his mind. He accuses that even if the Lord forgets him, he will not forget the Lord. The saints usually speak of the two ways of the Lord coming to save us: one is the way of the cat which of its own accord takes care of its kitten; the other is the way of the monkey where the young one of its own accord has to embrace forcibly its mother. Our poet has spoken of the Lord of his own accord like the cat coming and saving him, but when he is overburdened with the miseries of the world all round, he speaks of the way of the monkey though he does not mention that word. There is the fear of death emphasized—probably the starting point of his message of release from *karma* and misery. He speaks of the Lord as the beginning of everything, as the most wonderful principle, as the embodiment of *Dharma*, as his friend and *Guru*. He is beyond the reach of the Great, though near to His followers. The poet is often emphasizing the beauty and the purity of the Lord.

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V

There is one great assertion made by our poet that God cannot be proved objectively. He is one to be experienced. This reminds us of *Ñana Campantar*:

"Ētukkaḷālum eṭutta moḻiyālum mikku-c
Cōtika vēṇṭā cuṭarviṭṭuḷaṉ eṅkaḷ cōti
Mātukkam nīṅkaḷ uṟuvīr maṉampaṟṟi vāḻmiṉ
Cātukkaḷ mikkīr iṟaiyē vantu cārmiṉkaḷē".[1]

VI

In these *hymns* our poet refers specifically to *Campantar* and *Appar* to whose school he belongs. He also refers to other saints like *Ēyarkōṉ* and *Kōṭpuli*, The worship according to the *Vēdas* by the Brahmins of *Vīḻimiḻalai*, *Kalayanallūr* and *Valivalam* is emphasized. Worshipping the Lord, at *sandhi* or morning and evening with water and leaves and with words, actions and thought, the *trikaraṇas*, is also referred to. Our poet also mentions the sacred *mantra Praṇava*. The *pañcagavya* is mentioned more than once. The worship of the Lord in His universal form and as assuming the *Aṣṭamūrta* or the eight forms is again and again emphasized. More than all these, the worship though self-sacrifice and through musical compositions, is the unique method of worship which our poet follows. Our poet mentions five kinds of followers in the *Tiruvalivalam hymn*: (1) *Pallaṭiyār*, the numerous followers serving in various ways; (2) *Pattar* or the lovers who sing and dance; (3) *Cērntavar*, those who are in communion with Him; (4) *Nallaṭiyār* to whom He is the treasure in times of trouble and (5) *Vallaṭiyār* to whom He is their very desire.

VII

He speaks of *Śivlōkam* very often in these *hymns*. It may be taken as referring to the highest spiritual state or the highest heavens. Attaining the *Śivalōka* is the goal of the *Śaivites*. He also speaks of it as *Paralōka*, the highest world and as *Imaiyavar ulaku*, the world of the eternals. The last verses of his *hymns* give us the result which will flow from a recitation of his *hymns*.

1. 3: 54: 5.

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In *hymn* No. 76, he begs of the *bhaktas* to recite his *hymn* probably because he feels that mere recitation itself is a divine joy. The recitation of the *hymn* will take the *bhaktas* beyond the contraries to the great beyond. They will rule the universe devoid of all miseries. The biggest spiritual experience is described as an embodiment of beauty, love and harmony completely free from *karmas* and miseries. God is described as nectar and light. He is the medicine for our *karma*.

VIII

Our poet has an eye for the beauty of the places both natural and artistic. This time the river is *Aricil*. He does not even forget the crabs and the children. He describes the places as Heaven on earth, full of dance, harmony and joy, women, beautified by monkeys and fish, flowers and birds. Sometimes these descriptions of nature seem to be but reflections of human life. Sometimes they appear as reflections of the activities of the Lord, especially the acts of the Lord's destruction turning out in the end as His blessing. In other places they appear more and more like the worship of the followers.

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CHAPTER VIII

TIRUKKŌḶILI

(*Hymn* 20)

I

After *Ārūrar* had sung the Tiruttoṇṭattokai *hymn* where he fell at the feet of the servants of the servants of the Lord, according to *Cēkkiḻār*, *Nampi Ārūrar* sings the *Tirukkōḷili hymn*, where he begs the Lord to give him some labourers for transporting the paddy he received at *Tirukkōḷili* to the house of *Paravai* at *Tiruvārūr*. This juxtaposition brings out clearly *Ārūrar's* realization of divinity of labour.

The story speaks of a mountain of paddy. *Nampi Ārūrar* himself speaks of only '*cila nel*' (1, 3, 4, 6, 8) — a small quantity of paddy. But this is only a modest way of referring to the gift. If it was a very small quantity there was no necessity for any labourer at all.

Ārūrar's complete self-surrender to the Lord is seen in this *hymn*. Except unto the Lord, he does not turn to any one else for anything which he wants. He makes this appeal from a universal point of view; for he addresses the Lord as one who has become the whole universe as beyond the reach of even the *Dēvās* (9). If the Lord has become the universe the suffering of every individual including that of *Ārūrar* and *Paravai* is the suffering of the Lord. But it is curious that the poet does not whisper a word of his own suffering or his want.

II

He refers to *Paravai*, the damsel of the sword-like eye and to her fatigued, famished and starving condition: "*Vāṭi varuntāmē*" — (1); "*Paci varuttam*" — (6); "*Vāṭukiṉṟāḷ*" — (8); "*Varuttam*" — (3). It is not clear whether the sorrowful feelings of Paravai are purely one of her own hunger; for though in one place he refers to hunger, this referenee, in other places, to her plight, must be something more than her individual need. It must be the wants of her household consisting a number of *Nampi Ārūrar's* followers

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or of those whom she as a housewife has to feed when approached. It is because of this that *Ārūrar* has to transport an appreciable quantity of paddy with the help of labourers. This explains the great Tamilian conception that the duty of running the household is that of the lady of the house, '*illāḷ*', a word for which there is no corresponding word in the masculine gender. If it is the feeding of his own retinue of followers of those who resort to his house, one can understand *Ārūrar* making this universal appeal to the Lord.

Reference to *Paravai* brings to *Ārūrar's* mind the mythological description of the Lord. If *Ārūrar* is wedded to *Paravai*, the Lord is wedded to *Ūmai* and therefore ought to know the sufferings of women (6). (According to one reading it is '*Nātar Nallār*' whilst according to another reading it is '*Mātar Nallāḷ*' (3) According to the latter reading *Paravai* alone is referred to. Apparently the former reading is merely a general statement about the sufferings of women. Because in other verses he refers only to *Paravai*, it is better to take it in the latter sense). What more, one wife occupies a part of His body, while the other He places inside His matted hair (3). Not only that. The Lord goes a-begging (5) and, therefore, must know the pangs of hunger. Sub-consciously, the thought, that he was after all making a request on behalf of his own wife whilst renunciation is praised as a higher ideal, must have been working in his mind and inspiring another thought that the wedded life was equally divine. This makes him explain: "What have I to say about you? Has anyone raised any commotion about you when you embraced *Umā* and placed her on your left?" (4). Therefore, he feels that married life is, according to divine dispensation, a faithful reflection of divinity representing the combination of knowledge and love, law and Grace.

III

He refers to two other mythological stories, the story of *Tripuradahana* (2) and the crushing of *Rāvaṇa* (8), stories which not only point out that the Lord removes obstructions but takes pity on these very obstructionists themselves, converting them at the end to become recipients of divine blessing. Perhaps these suggest his request to God to remove the obstructions to a smooth sailing domestic life. In addition to his belief, that these obstructions are failures, he takes them as many stepping stones to divine blessing.

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VI

His mind is captivated by the natural beauty of *Tirukkōḷili* in the midst of rich pastural tracts (4), (5), (10), surrounded by paddy fields, full of crystal clear water (2, 9) wafted into ripples. He is equally impressed with the art of man who has built palatial buildings looking as though made of pure gold (7). This is the place of the temple where he begs the Lord to take pity (8) on him and to show his love (7). He is also impressed with the beauty of the place *Kuṇṭaiyūr* where he has received the paddy, a place surrounded by gardens of spotless beauty (3) full of doll-like *kurava* flowers (6), where the monkeys jump and play (8) in the midst of a beautiful pastoral tract (4).

V

He assures the Lord that he worships and praises Him every day contemplating on Him for a long time and that he always thinks of Him and none else (1). Therefore, this *hymn* ought not to be looked upon as a private and selfish request for paddy, but as a *hymn* of self-surrender to the Lord who is the beginning of everything — '*Ātiyē*' (3) and the most wonderful principle — *Arputaṉ*, (3) which has become this universe '*Aṇṭamatāyavaṉē*' (2) the innermost principle which sustains the universe, relying on which principle, our poet prays for every one of our needs, even as the Christians pray, "Give us our daily bread", a prayer offered not only by the beggar but also by the Emperor. It is because this *hymn* is made from this universal point of view, realizing the truth and the power of the inner principle, that *Nampi Ārūrar* concludes his last verse that those who master this *hymn* will remove the miseries of the world and rule the world (10) — "*Allal kaḷaintulakiṉ Aṇṭar Vāṉulakāḷpavarē*" (10). (There are two readings — *Aṇṭarvāṉ* and *Aṇṭavāṉ*).

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CHAPTER IX

TIRUNĀṬṬIYATTĀṆKUṬI

(*Hymn* 15)

I

The *Naṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi hymn* reveals more of the personality of *Nampi Ārūrar*. It is in this *hymn* we have the reference to the *Śaivite* Saint and Chieftain, *Kōṭpuli*, one of the saints of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. This reference shows *Nampi Ārūrar's* friendship with the Chieftains of the day and the part played by him in the political world of his day. In coming to *Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi* of a political chieftain, our poet's mind chooses to address the Lord as the great Prince '*Nampi*' in every one of the verses of this *hymn*. The kings and chieftains are there to rule on behalf of the Great Being or the Prince whom they have to crown, God is the Lord, the King. He is the king who resides in the *Pāccil* of the west — "*Kuṭappāccil urai Kō*" (6). He is the Lord of the *Dēvas* — "*Amararkaḷ Talaivā*" (7).

II

Nampi Ārūrar has grown into a father with all the necessary worldly experience. It is here that he speaks of himself as the father of *Ciṅkaṭi* (10). We had occasion to discuss the reference in narrating the life of *Ārūrar*.

'*Nampi*' suggests its similarity to '*Tampi*'. '*Nampi*' is derived by *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* from '*Nam*'. It means 'Our Brother'as addressed by the King. *Nampi* was a title usually assumed by Royal Princes and conferred on those who are great like the Royal Princes, when a landed estate called '*Nampi Pēru*' and a golden flower '*Nampi-Pū*' were to be given as insignia. Because of the unique greatness of the people holding this title, it has come to mean the best of men. The *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators always interpret the words as '*Pūrtti Uṭaiyavar*' (the perfect) or '*Nirvāhakan*' (the Lord). Therefore, we may interpret the term *Nampi* as our perfect Prince.

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III

This *hymn* is important as showing his pre-occupation with the mythological stories and descriptions of *Śiva*—stories and descriptions which at the first flush excite fear and revulsion, the stories about the ornaments of serpents (1), and white skull (3), the crescent laurel on the ruddy mat-lock (3), about the midnight dance on the burning ghat (2) and the graveyard (1), about the company of the Mother (3), about the ride on the bull (9) and the pilgrimage of beggary (8), about the singing of the *Vēdas* (6) and about the feast of poison (3) and the conquest of Death (6). He feels that these express in a way his inexpressible experience of Godhead. He, therefore, protests, "I shall not deride your Dance" (1); "I shall steal it all" (2); "I shall not speak ill of your life of beggary" (8); "I shall not abuse you even if you ride on the cow (bull)" (8); "I am not afraid of the serpents" (1). "It is a beauty, this harmonious commingling of the serpents and the crescent moon" (7). "His is a divine form (*Tippiya Mūrti*—2)". "He is the gem beautiful of the colour of the precious carbuncle stone" (2 & 3).

IV

The kind of thought excites him to express his confidence in God. "I am capable of serving you without any fear. What shall I desire for?" (3) he exclaims, suggesting he wants nothing but the Lord. "You may not care but I realize your greatness" (1). "You are the Supreme Being—*Paramēṭṭi*" (3). He is sure there is no more birth for him, but still he exclaims, he will never forget the Lord (1). "Even if the Lord forgets him he shall not forget Him" (12)—such is his resolution. "You may not care to see me but I am able to see you with my mind's eye. You may not think of me but I shall not leave off singing your praises" (1). "I shall not like anyone, except yourself" (2). "I shall not press hard on anyone else except you" (8). "Even if you do not love me, I will love you and I am happy with you. I have come to serve you not for suffering" (7). "Even if you are not attached to me I am attached to you" (5). "You may walk away from me but I shall walk (to the very end of the universe) to reaeh your feet" (6). "I do not know anything but you. Even if the heretics by their mean acts achieve anything, even if I see their success with my own eyes, I shall not think of it as of any worth" (9).

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"I have seen your followers worshipping you and serving all and (therefore) I am also worshipping you so that my *karmas* may take leave of me" (9). The usual method of worship, the *abhiṣēka* or bath of milk, curd and ghee of the *Pañcagavya* is also mentioned (6).

"In exercise of the best of my thinking power or faculty or as long as my mind acts I have resolved to reach the target fixed up for being aimed at. I thought of being saved and have taken refuge in your feet" (7). "I, the slave, have become the slave of those who had taken refuge in your feet. But yet, I shall not cease singing your praises. I have befriended you so as to realize you through my songs and quests after you. Therefore, I cannot forget you" (5).

All these assertions do not mean that *Nampi Ārūrar* has not realized the loving aspect of God. "O, Lord of the pure and divine form, pray tell me how you have entered and continued to stay in my mind—I, who am the meanest of the mean. Having placed (one) in the midst of suffering, you are capable of removing those miseries" (2).

Nor is he oblivious of his own shortcomings which as usual he exaggerates. "It is not that I have not been educated. I read and learnt many things except your greatness and my servitude. It is not that I cannot stand firm in any undertaking. But I cannot think of the right path of those who are firmly established in your path. I cannot praise your feet of gold. I cannot think of the future. Yes, I am good to no one but yourself' (4).

V

A rich life—political and social, domestic and public religious and spiritual—is full of varied experiences and conflicting situations, creating problems. *Nampi Ārūrar*, who has taken the Lord as his friend, philosopher and guide, is sure of God's help but when trying situations arise, in the midst of his certainty of Lord's love he feels as though God is loosening His hold because of his imperfections, but only to make *Ārūrar* to tighten his own grip on the Lord. It is the complicated situation that is reflected in this poem. He says that he is proud (or happy or in the midst of pomp—*kaḻiyēṉ*) but he asserts that on deeper consideration, this human life when thought of as something substantial, draws out but tears from his eyes. Therefore, he says, "I cannot but fall

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at your feet even forcibly—even against your wish. I shall not worry any one but you" (8). "I shall not recount my miseries and blame you stating that you have caused me to suffer all that I have undergone though they are not to be experienced by me". ("Because they have to be undergone according to my *karma*, I shall not blame you that you have made me suffer these miseries which I have experienced"—this is another interpretation) (6).

The Mythological stories seem to express this truth. What appear to be cruel, frightful and mean, seem to be all love on further consideration. The Hound of the Heaven is but our beloved and none else. He is indeed so loving—He is the cool showers or the clouds so dear to the people of South India (6).

VI

In this spirit of humility, the poet notes even the tiny crab playing in the fields of the city which has the groves as its fence (9). Having given expression to his conflicting emotions, he feels relieved and whole, sinless and pure. This inspires him to advise the *Bhaktas* to recite this song of a *hymn* even if they were not accustomed to sing hitherto—for he feels sure that such a recitation will completely wipe out their sins (10).

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CHAPTER X

TIRUVALIVALAM

(*Hymn* 67)

I

The Tiruvalivalam *hymn* gives another vision of the Lord which *Nampi Ārūrar* had. *Cēkkiḻār* calls this '*Eṅkum nikaḻnta Tamil mālai*'[1] or the universal *hymn*. *Nampi Ārūrar* explains herein his own experience of God, sometimes as something personal, sometimes as something universal. Every verse ends with the assertion, "I have come to *valivalam* and have seen the Lord". He explains in the rest of the verses how he had experienced the Lord. "He is the very breath in the body and yet He stands in the form of '*Ōm*' becoming all the Universe" (1). Thus our poet explains God as the inner and the outer principle. "His munificence is immeasurable even unto those who have renounced everything looking at even the pleasures of heaven as bitter. He becomes the very light of the mind of His followers, springing up in their minds as the nectar by whose side the honey of their minds turn bitter" (1). Thus is expressed the subjective experience of the Absolute. The poet passes from this esoteric experience to its concrete representation in the image form. "He is the Lord capable of holding in His hand the deer" (1).

II

In the next verse, God is experienced as one who blesses His followers. Our poet speaks of five kinds of devotees: (*i*) First come the innumerable followers with their varied services and the Lord is full of sympathy for them. (*ii*) The *bhaktas*, those who are full of reverence and love for Him, sing and dance in divine ecstasy and the Lord is all love unto them. (*iii*) There are again those who walk in the narrow and strenuous path following the footsteps of old, never swerving therefrom even by a hair-breadth and reaching the goal. Success and freedom are created for them by the Lord. (*iv*) To the good or the great, He is like the wealth

1. *P. P. Ēyar.*, V 43.

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or treasure in reserve, for times of trouble or misery. (*v*) There are the followers firm in their resolve, hard and unshakable as the mountain, like the saints of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. To them, He is the very desire of the heart. The poet hastens to include himself amongst those blessed by the Lord: "He blesses me knowing my own wants" (2).

III

In the next verse *Nampi Ārūrar* harps back to the truth of the Lord beyond the reach of all, though within the reach of the lovers. "His beginning and His end grow deeper and deeper, broader and broader and higher and higher, (never to be reached) but He is so close to those who fall at His feet". Who are these followers? "They are like other people of the world, sinners, all to start with, but transformed into saints, by the company of the Great. The stupid serve their family sustaining nothing but falsehood. They suffer and then their heart melts, they finally come and mix with the community of true *bhaktas*. Thus, they come to live and to them the Lord shows the unerring path." The poet combines his own redemption with the salvation of others: "He removed my blot even from my future birth" — All these seem to represent the inner meaning of the image from where *Śiva* is happy with *Umā* or the Mother Goddess (3).

"He is always my confidant, my guide, friend and philosopher. My tongue will not swerve from the path of singing your praises and it is so sweet like the nectar collected there to be oozing out" — thus he expresses his experience of his compositions. "This very Lord is He that is worshipped by innumerable and varied *Dēvas* taking refuge in Him. He is the great, unknown to *Tirumāl* and Brahma; though unknown to them, He had made me great" (4).

IV

Our poet thinks more about the importance of music compositions. "The Lord enjoys most the praises sung in the *hymns* of *Campantar* and *Appar* and loves them to be repeated often and often". From this it has to be noted how in the time of *Nampi Ārūrar*, who followed *Campantar* and *Appar*, not at any distant date, the *hymns* of *Campantar* and *Appar* came to be sung by devotees with fervour and reverence and what high esteem *Nampi Ārūrar* himself had for the *hymns*. Our poet is giving in his *hymns* expression to those ideas of *Campantar* and *Appar*. "God knows my ignor-

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ance, the igorance of a slave. He has made the stone of my heart melt in love unto Him. He has shown me His victorious feet. He has removed the weeds and the obstacles". Who is He? "He is the Lord who stands firm while the *Dēvas* of great prowess worship round Him" (5).

Nampi Ārūrar gives us still more of his experience of the Lord saving and blessing him: "I know not to sing; and worship; I know not to praise thereby; I know not to go in quest of Him; I know not to get myself reformed thereby; I know not to walk in the path and to lead my mind therein. How am I to reach you, I cry. He showed distinctly the path and brought me thereto. He accepted me saying, 'Do not not thou feel miserable and pine away in vain." (6).

"He helps us to escape from the deep expanse of the sea of birth completely removing the taints of cruel *karma*, which holds fast and fetters us all. Communion with Him inspires a capacity in us for great service. He yokes us on to His service to amass the results of *tapas*. Those who had amassed like this can easily think or contemplate on Him and to them He opens the *Śivalōka* of His glorious feet to which he raised them. He is always inside the mind of those who worship Him" — thus our poet expresses his own experience though the verse is couched as expressing the objective truth about God (7).

V

"Innumerable *Dēvas*, *Ṛṣis* and kings and infinite number of people stand everywhere and praise Him and He blesses them with whatever they want. He stands firm so that those who take refuge in Him may rest in Him. He is the Grace overflowing unto these all. He is my *karpaga* ocean that will give anything that is "wanted". I cried unto Him, "O, Lord! bless me!". "Thereafter He has snatched my soul and became one with my mind". In this way, the poet tries to make his experience a universal fact of God's Grace (8).

VI

The two verses that follow refer to the story of *Tripura*, *Ravaṇa*, the feast of poison, the Mother Goddess and the *Kāpāli* form expressing in the language of mythology, the very great experience vouchsafed to *Nampi Ārūrar*. "He comes after every thing and goes before every thing, unknowable even unto the *Vēdic* scholars of kindness falling at His feet" (6). "It is im-

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possible to bring in any evidence to prove His existence objectively. But, He is easy of reach and experience. To the minds which do not think of Him, He never reaches and He creates confusion therein" (10).

VII

Valivalam is praised as the place where the learned *Vēdic* scholars raise the sacrificial fire to reduce the evil powers of '*Kali*' (11). No other description is given of this place and this description is significant and to the point, emphasizing the spirit of sacrifice and the great light or the fire of sacrifice ever kept alive for the good of the Universe. This *hymn* is an outpouring of his heart, a sweet music of pure *Tamiḻ*. The poet has known the elation he felt, when he sang this *hymn* and therefore assures the recitors of this *hymn* that those who can praise the Lord by singing these verses with all their heart and with all the bliss, will reach the world or place praised by even the *Dēvas* who know no suffering (11).

VIII

This *hymn*, therefore, gives us a picture of the spiritual development of *Nampi Ārūrar*, realizing God in his mind and in the Universe as a great principle of love, light and happiness, ever ready to help the fallen and the depraved — the great power worshipped by all, the fundamental principle preceding and following everything beyond the reach of all learn ing and power, though at the beck and call of the loving heart.

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CHAPTER XI

TIRUPPUKALŪR

(*Hymn* 34)

I

The Tiruppukalūr *hymn* is addressed to the brother poets of his age. The poet has realized that God is the real moving force sustaining us all. This conviction flows in his very blood and as the result he advises others to rely upon God and none else for anything and everything, This is not a negation of activity but a realization of the inner truth of this universe.

II

We get a picture of the poets hovering about the patrons of the day. We have noticed *Ārūrar's* intimacy with the chieftains of the land and this *hymn* shows that he is sick of most of them. "You may praise them and depend on them but these cheats will not yield and benefit" (1). The usual praises showered on the patrons by these poets are in a sense caricatured in this *hymn* and therefore, we get a picture of the world of the patrons and their coterie of poets of the age. The powerful *Bhīma* (2), the victorious *Vijaya* (2), the munificent *Pāri* (2); the beautiful *Kāma* unto women (10), the glorious *Murukā* (10) are some of the descriptions of these patrons even when they do not possess an iota of qualification for being praised thus. Some are described as the learned (9), the perfect Lord of the lands and relatives (3), the lord of hospitality (8), the scion of the God family (6) and the mother unto poets (7). The old man may be praised as possessing shoulders like mountains (4), the cheat, the liar, the lawless, the wicked, the revellers in five great sins may be praised as saints, alas! to what purpose! (5). "The men who will search for the sesame seed who will not give an iota even unto the fly may be praised as great patrons but none of these will part with anything" (8). "Why then this futile attempt at pleasing the patrons and this prostitution of poetry?"

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III

"What a beautiful place is this *Pukalūr*! The bulls plough the fields and the sacred birds scream" (3). "The fields are full of sweet fragrance (6), and the lotus proudly rises up its head" (11). "The owls in the hollow of a tree never cease to sing their songs" (9). "The buffaloes rush into the tank" (10). "Why then speak of any want in this place?" "Here and now, the Lord will give us our food and clothes" (1).

IV

This is the pleasure of prayer along with the destruction of misery. "In the next birth we can rule the *Śivalōka*" (1). "There is no doubt about this, our ruling the rising tiers of the worlds of *Dēvas*" (2) "becoming as it were their axle" (3), "ruling there as the king" (4), "as the father" (9) "as the leader" (10), "without any perplexity or obstacle or any fear of getting lost in the mire of a hell" (8). "All the sufferings of the mind will be removed and we all can be saved" (5). Our poet feels sure that those who recite this *hymn* of appeal to the scholars based on the truth of the sustaining principle of God—*Karma*, will reach the feet of the Lord who is in the form of Dharma (11).

V

Therefore, this *hymn* is a *hymn* on *Śiva's Dharma* or nature rather than a cheap promise of food and clothes—a *hymn* teaching the value of surrender to God, realizing that whatever we get is from Him. This *hymn* further falsifies the theory that Indian poets and philosophers are always other-worldly, losing the present world for the future. This *hymn* assures us in no unmistaken terms of the present and the future.

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CHAPTER XII

TIRUPPAṆAIYŪR

(*Hymn* 87)

I

The conviction which grew up into the message to the learned in the previous *hymn* develops in the *Tiruppaṉaiyūr hymn* into his exquisite joy resonating with the dance of the Lord sustaining the universe, a dance which he sees reflected in the buildings and natural beauty of *Tiruppaṉaiyūr*, a beauty which makes the poet exclaim at the end of every verse as if in chorus, "He is alone the Beautiful".

II

It is the dance of the divine from which is both masculine and femine, a dance unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (7), which makes the followers also dance in beautiful harmony (1). The sacred ash (2), the beautiful crescent (3, 8), the laurel of a river (2), the fire (5), the deer (5) and the axe (5) in his hands, the victory over the elephant (6), the worship by the *Dēvas* and men (8), the crushing of *Rāvaṇa* (9), the *pañcagavya* bath (6) are all beautiful because of the underlying harmony of love. There arises the grandeur of moral beauty in this very form, for there overflows from it His Grace and compassion. His followers therefore dance (1). He dances within the mind of those who contemplate on Him (2), removing all their *karmas* rushing on them (3). He is capable of saving them, though cruel to the cruel and egoistic *Rāvaṇa*-like men (9).

III

The same harmony, dance and joy, our poet sees in *Tiruppaṉaiyūr*, in those '*māṭamāḷikai, gōpuram* and *maṇṭapam*' growing as it were in the midst of groves in and around which the bees hum and sing in that city of fertile fields (1), of rich soil, on which grow the harmony of varied fragrant flowers, *viz.*, "*ceṅkaḻunīr, mallikai, ceṇpakam*" (2). The ruddy eyed buffaloes, after having laboured hard in the fields, rush into the ponds and this

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makes the smaller fish jump and dance in the fields (3). The dance continues. The sword-fish jumps, creating a commotion rather a fluttering or *gamaka* amidst other fishes which frisk into the fields surrounded by the beautiful arecanut palms (4). God's love takes the form of the Mother and we see her varied reflections in the damsels who bathe in the ponds making the water flowers usually blossoming at different times bloom in harmony at one and the same time (5), in that land of *Cōḻar* surrounded by the *Kāviri* — the land which sings the praises of that Ocean of love through the poets of *Tiruppaṉaiyūr* and through their ever expanding poetry (6). With the buffalo (3), the fish (4) and the damsels (5), the monkeys also dance on the *maṇṭapas*, *māṭas*, *māḷikais* and *gōpurams* (7) and the peacocks dance on trees (7) whilst the drums resound (8) everywhere and the music of the harp proceeds from the *māṭamāḷikai gōpurams* (8). This dance of happiness spreads everywhere whilst the monkey dances and jumps (9). The honey-comb bursts and overflows (10).

IV

The divine joy has coursed through every pore of his body, every part of his soul and his aesthetic experience of divine beauty makes our poet assure the world that those who listen to and enjoy these beautiful words of his, are indeed themselves but embodiments of beauty (10).

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CHAPTER XIII

TIRUNANNILAM

(*Hymn* 98)

I

The ecstasy of experience in the harmony of God slowly starts to ebb away in the midst of the world of conflicts and dualities. The feeling of harmony is still there, but the conflict becomes more pronounced at the subsequent stage. The Lord, however, is aware of the conflict and the need of the message of the harmony, and comes down on this earth to save the prodigals and the stray lambs, incarnating Himself in forms of beauty, in the images and the architecture of the temples. It is because of this according to *Nampi Ārūrar*, that the great Lord of varied feats and flowing love has become fond of the great temple of *Naṉṉilam*.

II

The poet begins with the contraries in the physical world, *viz*., heat and cold, the symbols of all dualities of the world resulting in happiness and misery — "*Taṇṇiyal vemmaiyiṉāṉ*" (1). Ye, He is the very harmony of the heat in the cold (according to another interpretation of the phrase) (1).

He is the beggar and clandestine lover and yet He is praised by the spiritual scholars of the righteous path (1). He woos two women and yet He is the ascetic of the mat-lock (2). He is the Lord of the *Pallava* capital, yet He loves the ordinary but sweet city of *Karuppūr* (3). He lives on alms but yet He is the Lord of all the Universe (3). He sings the highest truths of the *Vēdas* though a devil dancer (4). He kills *Jalandhara* with a discus; but He bestows the very same discus to the Lord of the Damsel of Earth, *i.e.*, *Viṣṇu* (5). He is white with the ash but His throat is dark blue (6). His ruddy mat-lock hides a woman; yet He deprived *Brahma* of his greatness and head alike (6) He is the ascetic of the *koṉṟai* flower decked mat-lock but He carries the battle-axe and covers Himself with the skin of the elephant He flayed (7). His mat-lock is a harmony of conflicting objects,

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the moon, flowers, serpent and the *Ganges* and He is the Lord of the Bull or *Dharma* (8). He fights with and blesses *Arjuna* (9). He crushes down *Rāvaṇa* and blesses him (10). Is not all this a vivid representation of His form of the Mother of Love and His form of Lordship—*Umāpati*? (10).

This is He who is fond of the great temple of *Naṉṉilam*, where come the great to fall at His feet and to praise Him (1); where the groves, like unto Him, reach the crescent moon, to adorn it, on their crown (2). There shines the harmony of plants and animals represented by the beautiful walk of the swan on the great lotus (7), the harmony of the varied flowers reflecting the divine harmony shining on the crown of the Lord (8) and the harmony of the festivities where throng the troupes of wordly relatives and the other-worldly *tapasvins* and *Śaivites* of our fold (9), the latter coming to serve with an outward form of strenous discipline but with an inward form of love, very much like the Lord going to *Arjuṉa* (9). This is the place where the temple was built by the great *Cōḻa* King *Ceṅkaṇāṉ*, the Lord of the *Kāviri* whose devastating flood was conquered and dammed so that it could be blissful in feeding the world (10) as another symbol of harmony, reflecting *Śiva* vanquishing and blessing *Rāvaṇa* (10).

Vēdic scholars pray and worship (1, 6) but anything is good for performing His loving worship, any green leaf and pure water (3). The worshippers take refuge in His feet with all their heart praising Him with many *hymns*, raising up their hands above their crown (4)—the trinity of thought, speech and art in the harmonious unity of worship. The poet is sure of the redemption of the world; The Lord becomes the very crown of the followers, the crown of those who contemplate on Him with a heart melting in love (3).

III

The riddle contradictions has been solved in the very form of the Lord and the love of the Absolute. Our poet giving expression to this has gone beyond the sphere of contraries to the divine bliss of harmony and he feels that those who master this *hymn* will similarly enter like him, the great Beyond (11).

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CHAPTER XIV

TIRUVĪḶIMIḶALAI

(*Hymn* 88)

I

The conflicts of the world gain upper hand in our poet's mind. When he turns worldward they become inescapable, except through the Grace of God. He, however, sees in the world the saved souls who remain unperturbed in the midst of these miseries and he, therefore, cries to the Lord, "Will you not bless me even as you have blessed others?" He is indeed himself a saved soul but the world is still too much with him, tantalizing him whenever the old habits of thoughts occur and hence this cry of his. But even this cry implies his strong conviction of the conquest, by the chosen few, of the contradictions and miseries of the world.

II

Tiruvīḻimiḻalai is the very heaven on earth. It is the Heaven with its towers of lions descending on this world (2), where come and dance even now the dancing girls of Heaven whilst *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* stand worshipping Him (4). It is not for merely resolving the contradictions and dualities that He is here in this temple. It is the greatness of the worshippers here that draws Him there (9), *etc.*

Tiruvīḻimiḻalai is a colony of a class Brahmins, who fill the whole of that place (6, 7). *Tiruvicaippā* of *Cēntaṉār* (2-8) speaks of the 500 of *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* even as others speak of the 3000 of *Tillai*. These with others worked for the Hindu revival as against the *Buddhists* and *Jains* whose stronghold was asceticism. The *Digambara Jains* went a step further, refusing salvation to women. As against this, the *Tēvāram* praises the devinity of women and the holiness of the right kind of domestic life (1). It is here that *Śiva's* form of *Umāpati* and *Ardhanārīśvara* become significant (1, 2, 3), the very forms which receive worship at *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai*. The contemplation of this form takes a firm hold in the minds of these Brahmins enabling them to protect the world from the evils of *Kali age* (2). What is more, in the sacrifice, they

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perform—the sacrifice which is the home of the sacred *Vēdas*—the poet sees shining their women glorious like *Lakṣmī*, the Goddess of Wealth and Beauty (1). *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* is great because of this beauty (1, *etc.*) Is not this the very message of the life of *Nampi Ārūrar*?

Brahmins as the worshippers of God are further described. They are *Antaṇar* (1, 6, 7), those of beautiful and loving character who bless those that have faith in them, in short, they are the *gurus*. They have obtained harmony, peace and repose (*Taṇinta Antaṇar*—7); they have mastered the *Vēdas* (6); they sit on the edge of the sacrifice where they kindle the holy fire with a fire drill (9). They are the Brahmins of the *Vēdas*, reciting the *Vēdas* and following the morality of the *Vēdas* (10). Social service is not foreign to them. There is the rosy hand of righteousness and munificence (4). In their strong palatial residence wealth abounds (7). It is a characteristic feature of the place where even the dark groves of flowers shower drops of honey (6).

Tillai 3000 are reputed to be identical with *Śiva* and it looks that *Nampi Ārūrar* is identifying the Brahmins of *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai*, those who become great and worship the Lord, with *Śiva* who rides the chariot to destroy the three castles of the air (5). Their mind remains firm in Him (2). They contemplate on Him as the creator of all fetters and salvation, a great deceipt, that way (4). They daily perform the ceremonial worship out of Love (6). Every day at the *sandhi* worship, at dusk, they shower flowers on Him, which the Lord adorns Himself with all grandeur (7). There are other descriptions of the Lord which may be taken as the forms which these worshippers contemplate on. The Lord comes within the body and becomes its very life. He is the three great lights (3). He is fond of the honeyed bath of *Pañcagavya* and clear water (3). He is fond of the begging surrounded by the ghosts (8). His deer (3), battle-axe (3), His consort (1, 3), His beggary (9), the destruction of the three castles (5) are all mentioned; but of all these the begging tour seems to be very important; for the poet says, 'to those who seek the esoteric significance, the Lord shines as the greatest truth' (9).

The *Vīḻi* Brahmins are thus the beacon lights for those groping in the darkness and misery. Our poet's mind has become chastened by the worship of the saints of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. The thought

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of *Śiva's* followers has been peeping in here and there in the previous *hymns*. In the *Vīḻi hymn*, it becomes the central idea. Their example encourages him to cringe at the feet of the Lord for a similar redemption. The Brahmins of the place suggest other saints *Arjuna* (7), *Baghīrata* (7), *Caṇḍi* (6) and *Kaṇṇappar* (6) to whom the Lord has assigned a high rank. They are mentioned specifically whilst others are generally grouped under the terms *Bhaktas* and *Siddhas* (6, 7). That the ghosts of the burning ghat represent the *Śaiva* followers has been explained elsewhere. The great form of worship our poet likes most is as explained by *Cēkkiḻār* "*Arccaṉai pāṭṭu*", *i.e.*, the worship with the musical *hymns*. Therefore, he is reminded of his leaders in this line, the two great saints *Appar* and *Campantar*, whose songs the Lord was so fond of, that He gave them gold coins at *Vīḻi* (8).

III

This *hymn* thus expresses the poet's way of looking at the communion which the *Bhaktas* have with the Lord, and, therefore, according to him those, who recite these lines of good *Tamiḻ* of our poet of *Nāvalūr* where even the bees hum the music of supreme '*nāda*' are sure to achieve the same communion with the Supreme (10).

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CHAPTER XV

TIRUVĀÑCIYAM

(*Hymn* 76)

I

The reverence for the '*toṇṭars*' who are often looked upon as the very form of the Lord, leads to the conception of *Śiva* as the great saint and *guru*, the great Lord of all, which in turn brings back the idea of His being the only refuge and His hastening to remove our sufferings. In the *Tiruvāñciyam hymn*, the idea of the Lord as "*Aṭikaḷ*' (1,2,3,4,5,8) becomes the heart of the song — six verses at least mention the word — and as such we are told that He will not allow the inescapable hard law of *karma* to inflict on His followers (1,6,8).

II

Those who contemplate on His feet of shining lotus are never inflicted by *karma*. He is the true medicine for the disease of *karma* or the nectar bringing back life from the cultches of fatal *karma* (6). He is the only One who can do this (1). His resounding victorious feet alone are our refuge (7) — none else will we consider as our Lord (9) — He of the sacred thread (1), of the blue throat (5), the consort of the Mother (1,5,9), who is the very embodiment of love, the great fighter (3), the destroyer of the three cities (3), the archer aiming at *Arjuna* (3), the Supreme Lord coming surrounded by the ghosts (6), the unknowable even unto the two (7) — these descriptions of the *purāṇas* are enumerated for emphasizing this great truth, for, as pointed out, these stories have and inner singnificance. His blotless ash has an esoteric meaning (2); it represents the great idea of purity in which ends everything and therefore, He never leaves off this extraordinary act of besmearing ash (4), The ash reminds the poet of (the ashlike pollen dust of) '*kaitai*' plant whose sweet fragrance fills this holy place (5) which that way reflects the Lord of the ashes. The commingling of the moon and the serpent is His characteristic feature (5). One end of His gembedecked girdle of a serpent has many a head, a symbol of the evolution of many

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from one (3). Thus our poet's preoccupation with the *purāṇic* stories is made clear even by this *hymn*.

III

The idea of the saints is not forgotten in this *hymn* — these men full of the riches of God's Grace (1). Has he not described Appar, "*Tiruniṟṟa cemmaiyē cemmaiyāk koṇṭa Tirunāvukkaraiyaṉ*".[1] They fall at His feet and praise Him and He shines in that glory (1), in that beautiful city of towers of evergrowing perfection (6), and holy ponds of spacious lotuses and crystal clear water (3). He is worthy of the sight by those whose mind harbours no vegeance (2). The Lord, the Saint and the *Guru* explains the universe as a vision to the saints of pure and unsullied heart.

IV

This *hymn* suggests various reflections of real life, seen as a poetic vision of that holy place of nature, beautiful. The bull from the cattleshed bellows; frightened by this thundering noise the sword-fish in the field runs away only to scare and drive out the carps for taking refuge in the lotus (2). The white flower of the *vaḷḷai* creeper on the bank is mistaken for the crane by the tiny fish and in terror and confusion it leaps into the mouth of the sword fish, (as though it were its hiding place) (4). The streams flow incessantly into the fields and there bloom the '*kuvaḷai*' flower — like the eyes of the damsels, keeping guard over the crops (7). Their song for scaring away the birds by its very music invites the tiny birds and the parrots to swarm around them and what is more wonderful, this mad rush of the birds scares away the crane and other water birds of the moat in which, therefore, the stout fish leap with joy, now free from their enemies (7) The fields near the thrashing floors feed the bees with their overflowing honey and they intoxicated, sing with all their heart, the song of their pride which echoes in the heavens (8) — ah! what a beautiful sight! (8). Thanks to the tanks, the *cuckoo*, (like *Daksiṇāmūrti*) frequents the cool shades of the banyan tree (8). The apes dividing amongst themselves the sweet plantain fruits and the

1. 7: 39: 4.

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honeyed jack fruits remonstrate and fight, over the inequalities of the divided shares with the trunk of the plaintain and the '*tāḻai*' (9). Are these not, in more senses than one, reflections of human life seen from a remote distance and unconcerned height. Looked at from the heights of divinity this world of delusion and passion rushing with mad speed to escape from the divine blessings showered on it appears as so much poetry and romance.

V

Our poet is so much overpowered with the expression of his poetry that he begs of the *Bhaktas* to sing this *hymn* of a garland, because he feels that singing is itself a bliss, revealing the working of the inner principle of God within this universe.

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CHAPTER XVI

TIRUNARAIYŪRC CITTĪCCARAM

(*Hymn* 93)

I

In the *Tirunaṟaiyūrc Cittīccaram hymn*, the *hymn* on the temple of the *Siddhas*, the mythological stories and descriptions of *Śiva* are enumerated — the mat-lock of the river, the flowers, the moon and the serpent (1), the flaying of the elephant to appease His beloved (2), the destruction of the three cities (3), the crushing down of *Rāvaṇa* (4), the stealing of the hearts of the damsels (5), His beggary (6), His handling of the deer, fire and the battle-axe (8), the feast of poison (7), the discomfiture of *Dakṣa* (9), the conquest of Death (10) — all emphasizing as usual, love as harmony, and power as Grace, and destruction as salvation.

II

Where does He reside? A befitting description follows of a heaven on earth and, therefore, after giving expression to this vision of the mundane abode of the Lord — our poet is certain that those who master this *hymn* will reach the Heaven of beauty (11).

III

Nature seems to be a mirror reflecting God and his company. The meandering stream throwing to the shore, gold and precious stones remind the poet of the crawling serpent of the Lord (1). The frightened Mother Goddess is reflected in the damsels with bangles, enjoying their bath in the stream (2). Even the destruction of the three cities and the crushing down of *Rāvaṇa* are but acts of love and, therefore, these remind us only of reflection of the Mother Goddess in the faces of the ladies of the place, in the midst of lotuses of honey blossoming as though awakening fully from sleep (3). His sporting with the damsels and begging tour are but episodes of love and beauty, best fitted for a poetic spot or background where in the rich waters the fish

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frisk about making the sweet flowers full of the sweetness of the overflowing honey (5) yield up their fragrance and where (*Śiva*-like) grove stands crowned with the moon of the heavens (6).

Feasting on the poison, the Lord stands with the River-Maid sneaking into His mat-lock and this is reflected in the royal roads of the city where move the chariots in the midst of the flocking damsels (7). He is the Lord of the weapons whose significance is great and, therefore, the spiritual scholars of this place in quest of God learn the full significance of these words (8). The discomfiture of *Dakṣa* was so much festivity for the Lord and in this city, in its festivity resound to the Heavens, the song, the flute and the drum (9). The conquest of Death is no breach of the established law and, therefore, there crowd in the city those who follow the law of divine Will, never swerving from the righteous path (10). Thus we get here a description of an ideal city of material prosperity and fertility, of feminine beauty and chastity, of mystic experience and moral grandeur, reflecting in all its natural beauty Śiva of the *Purāṇas* which is so full of mystic significance.

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CHAPTER XVII

ARICIRKARAIPPUTTŪR

(*Hymn* 9)

I

A description of the beauty of the holy city was attempted in the previous *hymn*. Holiness and beauty are not separable. This implication of the previous *hymn* is made explicit in this *hymn* on *Aricirkaraipputtūr*, the new city on the banks of *Aricil*, the river. The conception of beauty of the divine harmony and the purity of the unselfish divine love have been growing steadily in the previous two *hymns*. This *hymn* of *Puttūr* delivers this truth as the important message. God is spoken of as Beauty and Purity in its alternate verses respectively (See the introductory part of our thesis, following the suggestion of *Campantar's hymn* on this temple. This is the very message and importance of the *purāṇic* stories.

II

The flaying of the elephant (1), the destruction of the three cities (1), the ride on the bull (1), the begging tour (1, 8), the eightfold form (3), the worship by the *Dēvas* (5), the destruction of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice (7), His lady-love (the Mother), and the *Gangas* (9), His ornaments of serpents (8, 9) and bones (9), and the feast of poison (10) are described in relation to the beauty aspect of the Lord. The nipping of *Brahma's* head (2), *Vishṇu's* worship (2), the destruction of the three cities (1, 4) and of *Kāma* (4) the bestowing of His blessing upon *Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṉār* (6), His grave dance (8), and His ornaments of serpents (8) are thus mentioned with reference to both the aspects and this gives a clue to the correct understanding of the message. The beauty is the beauty of harmony, an expression of divine Grace and unselfish love and, therefore, it becomes the moral beauty of purity. What appears to be two different aspects on surface are found to be one and the same at bottom. The last verse, therefore, refers only to divine purity (11). These mythological stories have this meaning and that is why the poet asks, "Why this and

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what for?" (4, 5, 7, 8, 9). The language of mythology helps him, therefore, to deliver the message to the world, easily and impressively and in a fitting manner in a language used by the devotee classes.

III

The verses addressing the Lord as the Beautiful (1,3,5,7,9,10) couple Him as such with the beautiful city of *Tirupputtūr* on the bank of the *Aricil*, whose floods the poet describes at length, whilst the verses addressing the Lord as the Pure (2,4,6,8,11) have no such description, but after the enumeration of the *purāṇic* feats of the Lord they all exclaim, "You are the only pure One of *Puttūr*, full of groves". It looks as though there is an inter connection between the Beauty and the description of the river, suggesting perhaps that the floods reflect this Beauty.

The Lord flays the elephant, destroys the three cities and goes a-begging at every door; the flood tumbles up tusks of elephants and horns of stag, tossing up hither and thither the peacock feather and the '*akil*', only to reach through the river our city (and our homes) (1). If the Lord cut away the head of Brahma to beg therewith, (2, 3) the flood breaks down the sandal tree with its leaves along with the bamboo, carrying them all with its noisy hands of waves and dashing and collecting them against the banks even as the beggar gathers alms little by little (3). Here also Nature is described in such a way as to suggest, it is a mirror held up before God.

The begging tour amidst the loving souls contemplating which the Great become chastened, is reflected in the flood where rush in, the varieties of fish making the smaller fish jump up in groups whilst the swan observing this, feels miserable at first and thereafter becomes chastened (5). The destruction of the sacrifices of *Dakṣa* is reflected in the destructive flood which pushing along the peeping feathers of peacock and cardamom carries along the gems, pearls, and gold (7). The Lord of the Mother and the Ganges adorning Himself with the serpents, bones and ashes is reflected in the flood robbing on its way the sugar-canes and the fruits of the plantains and the arecanut palms, and calling all to share this booty at the beautiful city of *Puttūr* (9). The feast of poison seems to be reflected also in the flood which seems to be forcibly drawing the thundering clouds to rain, whilst the stream

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which runs on either sides, beats against the banks with its resounding hands of waves (10)—a war on the two banks, throwing up the bamboos and *akil* carried in the stream after the showers of the dark cloud (11).

In some cases, it is very difficult to explain how the particular description of the flood can be the particular description or reflection of the Lord. If the message is understood, there will be no difficulty. The cruel and frightful feats of the Lord turn out to be acts of the unselfish love intended to save the very person seemingly destroyed. So does the devastating flood appear as cruel and destructive whilst in reality it is the flow of love coming to feed us all. The suggestive force behind the description of the flood beautifully brings out the esoteric meaning of the mythological stories. God is not merely All Power and Cruelty, but also a Beggar at our doors hungering for love. The importance of this begging inspires the poet to mention it often and often (1, 3, 5).

IV

The contemplation of the saints is another trend of his *hymns* and their worship is not here forgotten. The worship of *Viṣṇu* and his self-sacrifice (2) and of the starving *Pukaḻttuṇai* (6) are elaborated in two different verses of his *hymn*. They give us their all to win His unselfish love.

V

The Lord is the purest and the most holy. The joy of beauty arises out of our love and this conception of beauty is our experience of that purity. Beauty thus is an aesthetic experience and takes form in the expression of the great Truth which is Purity—a subjective experience of the Absolute—a poet's vision or a vision of the mystic—unique as the vision of a particular mystic soul expressed in its language giving an expression and a poet's organic form to the inexpressible Truth. "*Tiruppuṭṭūrp puṉitartammai .....aḻakāl uraippār*"—this is very important in explaining the *aesthetic theory* of *Nampi Ārūrar*. Beauty is heavenly; Purity is divine. Therefore, according to our poet, those who can exprience aright aesthetically this *hymn*, will along with the beauty loving denizens of heaven reach the *Śivalōka* of purity.

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CHAPTER XVIII

TIRUVĀVAṬUTURAI

(*Hymn* 66)

I

Our poet's preoccupation with the mythological stories inspired him with their esoteric and mystic message which he has already tried to explain in his various *hymns*. He has raised rhetorical interrogations suggesting that these stories have a deeper meaning. In the *Tiruvāvuṭuturai hymn*, our poet points that the greatest message of these stories is the message of redemption for all; for, such is the love of God — a message which he himself confesses has inspired him to take refuge in the Lord — a message which will inspire the fallen and the down-trodden with the new hope of their certain salvation. Unfortunately, all the verses of this *hymn* are not available; only five have reached us.

II

The story of *Mārkkaṇḍēya's* conquest of death (1), of the spider becoming an Emperor (2), of *Viṣṇu's* worship with his own eyes (3), of the gift of *Pāsupata* to *Arjuṇa* (4) and of the blessings showered on the rulers of the three burnt cities (5) are here specifically mentioned as inspiring our poet. The significance and implication of these stories lie in their inspiration leading to the self-surrender unto God, which he explains in the latter half of the verses. "I always praise you as the king and my Lord, standing with folded hands, and taking refuge in your feet with all my love" (1). "I fall at your feet coming rolling on the ground (in ecstasy) and exclaiming your praises with all my love. I took refuge in you afraid of the *karma* rushing on me" (2). "I praise, Oh, God of Gods! your shining feet babbling your glories! I took refuge in you afraid of the consuming *karma*" (3). "Out of love and attachment I praise your names worshipping you and contemplating on your greatness and there melting away in love. I took refuge in your feet with all my heart" (4). Thus he expresses the change brought over him by this inspiration from the mythological stories, those good old stories which came to him thus with a new revelation.

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CHAPTER XIX

TIRUVIṬAIMARUTŪR

(*Hymn* 60)

I

Our poet has been very much impressed with the springing forth, all of a sudden, of the message of the old folk tayes of the *Purāṇas* which he must have been listening to with rapt attention from his childhood without ever consciously suspecting that they had any such message. The inner meanings seem to agree so much with his own spiritual and mystic experience vouchsafed to him by the Grace of God, that he feels a remorse for having missed this message of these popular stories. He has been singing of his achieving the deathless stage; but this revelation of a new message almost springs up from the unconscious and inspires him to take refuge in the Lord. The love of the Lord for the people to be saved is, indeed, delineated so graphically by those stories going very much beyond the expectations of his experience that this *purāṇic* personality of God appears to him nearer than before, almost appearing to be wonderfully new. He has been seeing reflections of this Lord in the beautiful visions of Nature in the various holy places he visited almost making them Heaven on Earth. The Seer is said to sleep in this world keeping himself awake in the sphere of Truth; but as in our case, dreams disturb the Seer's sleep also where as long as the dream lasts, everything therein appears as true and real, frightening, irritating or cheering as the case may be. Therefore, when the old habits of thought return, the Heaven on Earth gives place to the well known miseries of the world. This remorse, his new vision of the Lord, and his miserable dream — all lead him to condemn himself to exaggerate his imaginary faults by the side of the loving Lord who is all Goodness and to despair of an escape from the clutches of the world of death and misery and its allies of five senses and women, but he is sure that God alone can save him and that He will save him. It is in some such state of mind our poet sings this *Tiruviṭaimarutūr hymn.*

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The *hymns* of *Nampi Ārūrar* seem to be so many waves of spiritual experience with their troughs and crests alternating. The same ebb and flow of joy of the mystic union is found in *Nammāḻvār's* poems. The commentators there explain that the Lord is playing a game of hide and seek, inspiring, at one time the *Āḻvār* with joy, so that he may not become ultimately crestfallen and then alternately disappearing from his presence so as to make him feel miserable and express that feeling and depression, in verses which He loved to listen and which He knew would save the suffering world. It is for consideration whether what we have described in the previous paragraph from the point of view of *Nampi Ārūrar* may not be spoken of as a game of hide and seek from the point of view of the Lord. This mission of the saints' lives for saving the world suggests one other idea. These loving souls, feeling ever for the world, identify themselves so very much with it that all its sins and deceits they speak of as their own; and this explains their periodic feeling of depression and despondency whilst as a matter of fact they have reached the highest level of spiritual experience and divine bliss.

II

This *Tiruviṭaimarutūr hymn* is but a continuation or a consequence of the *Tiruvāvaṭuturai hymn*. There he took refuge afresh in the feet of the Lord. Here, he begs of the Lord — the Father and the munificent Lord of *Iṭaimarutu* — to show a way of escape and redemption — "*Uyvakai aruḷāy Iṭaimaruturai entai Pirāṉē*" — that is the refrain of the song. The God of *Iṭaimarutu* is all Love. He is our Father (*Entai*—1-10), Mother (*Entāy*—1) and the Lord (*Emmāṉ*—4). The Lord of the *Dēvas* (4) is the Great *Śiva*, the Good (8); The sacred name considered by the *Śaivites* to be the proper name of the Absolute — "*Śivaṉeṉum nāmam taṉakkē yuṭaiya cemmēṉi emmāṉ*".[1] He is of the beautiful eyes (1); He is of the loving *Antaṇar* — This is another reading (1); He is the destroyer of all obstacles and the bestower of peace (*Araṉ*) (1); the Dancer on the Fire (8); He is of the colour of the flame (*tī vaṇā*) (8); One who adorns Himself with the crown of the crescent moon to save it (4).

1. *Appar* 4: 113: 9.

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III

If God is all love, our poet feels he himself is all bad by His side. He is conscious that he, as a saved soul, was walking all along in the path of the Lord. But his remorse, great by the side of the new vision of the love of the Lord and the misery of the world, makes him cry for further salvation. He feels as though all his spiritual practices and experiences were like the habitual act of the ass carrying the fragrant *kuṅkumam* without ever being conscious of this precious burden (1). No wonder the ass is so neglected — slighted — when it can no longer serve as of old as though it had done nothing worth remembering. "I have" cries our poet, "laboured in vain; and with a confused mind caught into the dangerous whirlpool; O mind! you sit and weep. What can you do? I am a fool not even capable of crying: 'O, Lord of Loving eyes! Destroyer of obstacles!' This life is of no account like unto the ass" (1).

He thus condemns himself, therefore, for not reaching the Lord. "I state and confess. I have not known anything of that life experiencing the way to reach your rosy feet; but I speak; but this, all noise and meaning" (2). "I have not already reached your rosy feet as I must have. The time flies whilst I become an obstinate fool" (3). "I do not contemplate on you to place or enthrone you in my mind" (4). "The sense organs have kicked me aside, as something worthless." (5). "At length, I have become an eternal burden unto you" (5). "In the path of the foolish people I had not known True Wisdom and Reality—alas! me a poor soul!" (8).

IV

He prays for a way of escape from the world of death (9) and deceit (8). He condemns himself as falling a prey to the world and cries for help to escape from its clutches (7). This *hymn* gives such a beautiful expression to this worldly suffering of gray hairs, old age and trembling misery (2) and to the saving love of the Lord, that the poet himself assures out of his own personal conviction rising after the completion of the first nine verses, herein, that those who can with all their heart and joy praise the Lord with this garland of shining beacon light of a *hymn*, will reach the rosy feet of the Lord, without being attacked by any gray hair, old age or trembling shocks (10).

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Fear of death is a wholesome fear and, as is told in the life of the *Buddha* who seeing an old man, a man of disease and a corpse renounced the world, brings about a real conversion of the heart. The first solution of the problem of the mysterious sufferings of the world is the law of *karma*; but *karma* is a never ending chain—every act creating its future effect—an ever grinding wheel which none can ever escape. This knot has to be cut by the Grace of God. The sin grows through the five senses which become our Lords with their net of women (8 & 9).

"Gray hairs, old age and disease will come. Alas! I am spent up having resolved on acts of no good (or ungrateful acts). I now realize that I have been the well ground turmeric—(to be used and to be thrown out). I am afraid of the Lord of Death"—this is one confession of our poet (2).

The ephemeral nature of life is another way of expressing the same fear of old age and death.

Like the tiny dew drop on the crown of the grass blade disappearing at the sight of the hot sun, life is of no substance. "What now for me—today, tomorrow—thus every day I have been setting down only to feel miserable. As an obstinate idiot, I have allowed time to be wasted—"*Mūrkkaṉākik kalintaṉa kālam*"—this phrase is again repeated (3, 4). What I did in the previous birth inflicts me in this birth and I have wasted time—an obstinate idiot. Have I done anything to overcome this evil *karma* by doing any good act?" He confesses that he has resolved on only acts that are not good. Again he repents for the past: "I do not give even an iota to those who beg" (4). "I cannot give away the glorious wealth. What is the result? I cannot leave off the sins, anger, vengeance and craving. The five organs are not under my control. I feel miserable, afraid of being thrust into the Hell by the Lord of Death when the trembling old age comes" (7).

"The women not as life companions but as play things of pleasure—those of the beautiful but subtle waist, create the illusion of life" (6). "These young ones spread their net of deceit contemplating on this pleasure of this poor human life. I have stayed there caught within the net" (9). "Really this is the net of deceitful but inescapably hard *karma*. The plantain plant will yield its fruits only once but like a fool I expected it to bear fruits once again for me. Thus in the hope of further happiness I was

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getting myself enmeshed in the fetters harder and harder. That is the way of the foolish people" (9). They are the well ground turmeric already referred to (10).

It is true this life of pleasure is not all evil; there are good aspects as well. "I have increased my good aspects as well as evil" (6). This assertion of his good deeds is very significant. "Engrossed therein, I have not studied many arts or achieved true knowledge" (6). "Alas! I am a sinner and I have committed many sins". The remorse reaches its zenith and he cries, "Why am I alive?" (6).

"The life of pleasure is a life of slavery to the senses. The five sense organs established to protect us by receiving reports of danger from outside, without in any way suffering any decrease in their power of hegemony over us—destroy our life". "They kick us away (to die)" (5). "The five senses are not within my control" (7). "These are the five kings or rulers. Having caught hold of this sovereignty they will not ever leave us. That is the way they desire (me to be their slave). I am in despair—I do not know what to do after having obediently carried out their commands according to their whims and fancies. What is the way (out) for me?" (8).

V

Is there no escape from the eternal action of *karma*? There is the Grace of the Lord as our poet has suggested so often. Repentnace and true change of heart will save us, thanks to the Lord of Love. To win the heart of this Lord of Love, we must become like Him, merciful and kind unto the poor and the needy. If one does not thus give out of love, one never escapes from *karma*. That is why our saint cries for all—"I do not give even an iota to those who beg" (4). "I cannot part with the wealth that appears all shining to me" (7). This mercy blesseth one who takes and one who gives. When this mercy springs in our mind, vengeance and anger and hankering after pleasures no more haunt us and, therefore, no more mistakes arise; no more are we slaves to the senses, and old age disappears; death holds no threat of hell (7). All this springs from our reliance on God or the contemplation on Him, or on enshrining Him in our heart or mind. Hence this cry: 'Alas! I cannot enshrine you in my mind and contemplate on you' (4). God is the greatest prop and support. "I

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have no other prop to lean on (except yourself)" (6). This is the significant cry proving his great reliance on the Lord even in the midst of this doleful *hymn*. It is a cry of self-surrender inspired by the vision of God and not a cry of despair of an ordinary man! "After the sense organs have kicked me aside, I have become an eternal burden unto you. I woke up and opened my eyes. I saw the True Reality (the Lord). If this is the human life—the miserable life of the senses—I do not want it and I despise it. Help me with a way out" (5). That is the cry of a developed soul.

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CHAPTER XX

TIRUNĀKĒCCARAM

(*Hymn* 99)

I

Why all this suffering of this world? Why this fall? "It is *Karma*"—that is the *prima facie* answer. Our sense of justice, our feeling of uniformity of nature and our conception of law bringing out the inter-relation of cause and effect demand this theory of *Karma* and we are satisfied with it. But this becomes mechanical in a way. The human thought demands a spiritual explanation. All these are but romantic dreams—that is one way of looking at things as already stated. Why, however, this illusion and delusion? It is a process of spiritual education, the world appearing in different ways according to various mental levels reached.

In the world of ours where law is administered, the conception of punishment has been growing and developing through various stages; vengeance and vindictiveness first took the form of punishment. But hatred thus nurtured, demands more than it receives. Then develops the idea of retribution demanding an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth and no more. Talk of compensation also arises. The human heart of love can never be satisfied with such infliction even when just. The idea of punishment for preventing others, therefore, develops. Inflictions like capital punishment can never be said to prevent the criminal from repeating the offence; for, he does not remain thereafter. It prevents others from committing the same crime. But the criminal cannot be a mere scape-goat and the idea of punishment as a way of reformation develops. This shows a priggish sense condescension and it is felt that society is responsible to a certain extent for the crime. Crime comes to be looked upon as an infection and a disease—a mental disease requiring as such medical treatment rather than vindictive punishment. The doctor inflicts pain, but out of necessity and love. The theory of *karma* also develops in all these ways and we reach the conception of God as the

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doctor and the medicine. The *Tiruvāñciyam hymn*, we saw, spoke of the Lord as the medicine for chronic *Karma*. This *hymn* on *Tirunākēccaram* tries to give a concrete explanation on these lines.

The previous *hymn* spoke of the net of *Karma* giving rise to gray hair, old age and trembling. The *Karma* will lose its hold, our poet assures us, on the masters of the present *hymn* which is devoid of all shortcomings. How is it achieved by this *hymn*?

II

The same pattern of a sentence occurs in all the verses but the last. "The Lord of *Tirunākēccaram*, of such poetic and mystic beauty leading us to expect all love and munificence, bliss and sympathy had done this act upsetting all such expectations. Why is it that He has done so?" This is the pattern. "Like unto one committing suicide, why does He swallow poison to the great height of His consort making her chaste heart almost collapse?" (1). "Leaving the company of the Mother and Her domestic life, has He become a natural ascetic to bless the *Tapasivans*?" (2). "Why has He been moved by the idea of destroying the Lord of Death?" (3). "Why has He flayed the elephant?" (4). "Why does He love the elaboration of the *Vēdas* (to the dismay of the simple-minded?)" (5). "Why does He wear the skin of the lion, the tiger and of the elephant springing out of the sacrifice?" (6). "Why does He burn to ashes *Kāma* and the three cities?" (7, 8 & 9). "Why does He appear, naked and wandering, like the heretic?" (10).

III

One does not ordinarily expect such acts as these from a person whose aesthetic taste has led Him to choose a beautiful spot like *Tirunākēccaram* by our poet. The bees of beautiful gossamer of wings, as the very life and connecting link of the flowers are found in communion with the row of short plants of jessamine and '*kullai*' and they ultimately reach the higher and more cool '*mātavi*' creeper (1). Enthroning themselves on the lotuses and feasting on the honey, the bees hum about and the carps frisk about and dance (7, 9). The roving bees mix freely with jasmine and *canpaka* and sing in joy (8). The bees on the pollen dust hum whilst the cuckoo and the peacock frequent the groves of flowers surrounded by the cocoanut palms (11). There is nothing

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of the frightful appearance there except the '*kuruntu*' whose buds assume the form of a serpent's tooth (2); but everything seems to be munificent there; where '*cerunti*' blossoms like gold (2). The fields are full of the beautiful flowers of '*kuvaḷai*' and *kaḻunīr* whilst in the surrounding moat the fish, big and small, dash in an ecstasy of joy (3). In the front-yard of houses stand the young arecanut palms with their flowers full of honey, besmearing which the zephyr enters and walks about as though in procession (4). The waves of the new flood dash against the cool fields pushing in the great gems together with sandal and '*akil*' wood of the mountains (5). That is the beautiful place of cool fields full of ripples of the crystal clear water — the beautiful place of the Lord — the Heavens of an arcadia full of sweet smelling flowers of beautiful forms with bees humming about and singing tunes, intoxicated by the honey, whilst the *cuckoo* and the peacock frequent there to sing and dance where the fish dash and frisk about in joy amidst beautiful groves and fields forming the promenade of the zephyr and wherein flow the new waters in floods carrying there all the wealth of the mountains.

This inspires the followers of the Lord in their vociferous Hallelujah of their joyful worship to bow down before Him ordaining themselves for various acts of divine service and praising His glory (10). This mention of the *Bhaktas* and their joy in the almost concluding verse of the *hymn*, instead of description of the joyful bees and birds of the previous verses seems to imply that the later description of the joyful bees and birds of the previous verses is but an allegorical representation of the *Bhaktas* doing their duty in joy, a new way of looking at His description of Nature thus suggested by our poet — is this not the way, the commonfolk look at this birds as revealing the future through their advent and their noise appears to these simple minded as a divine language?

IV

The question propounded in every verses is really a rhetorical interrogation, implying that there is a meaning in the seemingly contradictory acts of God. Here comes in the message of the stories. The law of *Karma* is found working in the case of those who suffer at the hands of the Lord. But as *Māṇikkavācakar* states, "It is the great glory of the vanquished that they suffer defeat at His hands — "*Ayaṉai Aṉaṅkaṉai Antakaṉaic Cantiraṉai*

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vayaṉaṅkaḷ mārā vaṭu-c-ceytāṉ eṉṉēṭi? Nayaṉaṅkaḷ mūṉṟuṭaiya Nāyakaṉē taṇṭittāl jayamaṉṟōvāṉ avarkku-t-tāḻ kuḻalāy cāḻalō" (*Cāḻal*: 4). God's acts are the acts of the doctor aiming at making the sufferers whole and healthy; they are thus saved and blessed with God's love. Therefore, they are His acts of moral grandeur and beauty. They are as beautiful as the flowers, bees, fish, peacocks, *cuckoos* and all these suggest the joy of the *Aṭiyōrs* of *Tirunākēccaram*, discharging their duty as worshippers of the Lord. No wonder that this kind of experience expressed in this *hymn* makes the poet feel the loosening and breaking away of the fetters of *Karma*. There is a freedom from the mechanical pressure of *Karma*, which stands revealed as the Love of God, and that is why the poet assures us that those who read this *hymn* will also undergo the same experience and attain the same freedom and joy.

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CHAPTER XXI

TIRUKKALAYA NALLŪR

(*Hymn* 16)

I

The same idea of the holy place appearing as the Heaven of innocence, beauty, joy and duty continues to retain the central place in the mind of our poet. There is now no more feeling of seeming contradiction between the acts of divine punishment and the appearance of Beauty. Contradiction is resolved in the underlying divine love.

II

This *hymn* on *Tirukkalaya Nallūr* (*Ūr* is a city, from '*Ūra*' or '*Ulā*' to move about). *Nallūr* is one variety of cities called as such because of its greatness — '*Naṉṟu pēṟitu ākum*'[1] — or goodness or holiness: See *Veṇṇei Nalḷūr, Karivalam vanta Nallūr, Tirunallūrp perumaṇam, Tiru Nallūr. Kalaya Nallūr* is the city of *kalai* or arts. The description '*kalai aṭainta*' in the 4th verse seems to support this view. *Kalayaṉār*, (the saint may be *Kalaiñaṉār*, the learned in arts), emphasizes the loving beauty of the Lord and His place. If He is the life, Nature is His body. Life takes the body that befits it. This *hymn* is a masterpiece of poetry and music full of rhythmic assonance and sweet flow. Its verses are what we call '*Eṇ cīr kaḻi neṭil aṭi āciriya viruttam*' or '*Iraṭṭai viruttam*' each line of eight feet splitting into two halves of four feet — three '*kāys*' and one '*mā*'. The first halves of the verses describe the story of the Lord and the second halves describe the beauty and greatness of *Kalayanallūr*. The pattern of the sentence in every verse is the same. "If you ask what is the city of this Lord of these activities, look ye, it is this *Kalayanallūr*!" The second lines always end in '*Ūr viṉavil*' and the fourth lines always end in '*Kalayanallūr kāṇē*!"

1. *Tol. Col., S.*, 343.

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III

The joy and the holiness given expression to in these *hymns* are, indeed, so infectious that the author himself feels that those who can sing this musical ten, with love, will be rid of all their misery and sin and, therefore, recommends its daily recitation (11). There are a few significant descriptions of the Lord in the light of which this *hymn* has to be read. The Lord is the Lord of the *Dēvas* — '*Viṇṇavarkōṉ*' (1); the king or the All Pervasive — '*Iṟaiyavaṉ*' (2); He of the Natural Beauty — '*Viṭaṅkaṉ*' (3); of the art form of Beauty — '*Vikirtaṉ*' (5); the Best, '*Uttamaṉ*' (4); the Loving *Śiva* — '*Aruḷ peruku Civaperumāṉ*' (6); the blotless — '*Nirmalaṉ*' (7); the Supreme — '*Paraṉ*' (10); the Beyond — '*Paramaṉ*' (11).

IV

The *hymn* begins with the story of the Lord marrying the damsel of *Tapas*—He is the Lord of the eye in the forehead which burnt *Kāma* (1). The Lord is again described as the father of the Destroyer of *Tārakāsura* — the father who burnt *Kāma* (9). These, apart from representing the Love aspect of God as the Mother, also suggest the correct attitude towards married life. Married life is divine, provided it is a life of *tyāga* where one is the master and not a slave of passions. There is a play of the consort coming from behind and closing the eyes of the Lord and its results are described. The Lord is all pervasive and the whole world becomes blind and enshrowded in darkness which necessitates the Lord creating for Himself an eye in His forehead (4). He is All Pervasive (2). He is everything — the five elements of the Universe, the firmly rooted things of the world and the moving lives (7). But He is beyond them and, therefore, not contaminated by their blots or defects. He is the Great, beyond the reach of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8) — the loving Lord of the crescent moon (8), the All Merciful swallowing poison (8), the Lord of the Bull and of the Mother Goddess (8) and the Begging bard (11). There are the stories of the burning of the three cities (5), of the destruction of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice (6), of the crushing down of *Rāvaṇa* (7) and of the victory over *Andaka* (2), *Indra* (2) and *Jalandhara* (2). These are victories of His love — "*Tēyvittu aruḷ peruku Civaperumāṉ* (6) — the Lord Śiva of ever increasing Grace which takes the form of His crushing moon".

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Viṣṇu was blessed with the discus which killed *Jalandhara* revealing the mystery of the act of the *Lord's Grace* which at once becomes a salvation for *Jalandhara* and a gift for *Viṣṇu* (2). This story of *Viṣṇu* is a story of his worship with his very eye as the flower (2). There is again the story of the worship by *Brahma* in a befitting manner (10). Above all, there is the worship by *Caṇḍēśvara* renouncing all mundane relations (3). The Lord goes ever in quest of him to receive his services. This reminds us of the christian conception of the Good Shepherd. The *Vaiṣṇavites* speak of the soul as the life jewel of God. If the soul goes astray the loss is His and, therefore, He goes in search of it; He is never happy till He regains it and the soul is saved.

V

The description of the place as a fitting receptacle of Divine Love follows. The bees slowly approach the buds. The insects of six legs sing. The row of peacocks dance in the beautiful groves. Nearby, the blue lilies sleep beside the sugarcane, as though the song were a lullaby. The lotus blooms and beams up with joyful face as though enjoying the concert and the dance. In passing, it may be noted that there is an implied suggestion that the Love of God affects various people according to their spiritual development and nature, even as the same tune of the bee acts as a lullaby to some and a waking up song to other (1).

If the Lord of *Nampi Ārūrar* is All Pervasive, our poet has a broad heart of love to which everything makes a poetic appeal. The great intellectual giants engrossed in the spiritual significance of the *Vēdas* recite them aloud out of pure joy. There comes the rhythmic sound of the musical drums perhaps in accompaniment to music and dance in the feasts and festivities, public and private. Groups of children jump and play creating their characteristic sound. These sounds from innumerable groups swell up. The buffaloes in confusion dash into the water; the frightened carps rush to the lotuses for safety wherefrom the scared bees which have drunk deep the honey of the lotuses flee away. Here is another attempt of a higher joy scaring the foolish away (2).

There are the works of art and architecture — *Maṇṭapas* (Halls), *Gopurams* (Towers), *Māḷikais* (Palaces) with *cūḷikais* (Terraces)—everywhere in this holy place where the sacred sounds of the *Vēdas* and sounds of festivals overflow and fill up all streets.

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The hearts of the sight-seers are full. More than these architectures, this sacred music commotion of the festivals, their minds and eyes are captivated by the natural pond of lotuses where joyfully dive and bathe the beautiful damsels — a harmony of the beauty of art and nature, of spiritual and secular music (3).

VI

This place is on the southern bank of the river *Aricil* which our poet has already described. The waters heave up in waves of the flood, tumbling the tusks of elephants and pushing forth '*akil*' and sandal wood (4). The flood, like the crown of the Lord harmonizing various conflicting things brings out a harmony of the white *chauire*, the blue tail of the peacocks of the animal life — and of the *Vēṅkai* and *kōṅku* flowers of the plant life, the streets in the zephyr full of fragrance of the honey of the flowers of the arecanut palm (10). The flood brings about harmony of all things of enjoyment: fruits, gems, gold, flowers and fragrant woods — but all these are under the terrifying and loathful exterior of muddy water which whilst appearing to be dirty, washes clean all things it casts forth. Does not this remind of the world where people escape from the Lord's Grace even as the carps rush away from the honeyed flowers of the floods to the shallow fields? (7).

There comes the river *Aricil* on whose southern bank stands this *Kalayanallūr* appearing beautifully as a group of clouds because of the smoke of sacrifice performed, for driving out the evils of the *Kali* age, by the *Antaṇar* or Brahmins in whom the Arts and knowledge have taken refuge (4). There these Brahmins reside and live everywhere happily studying the arts, listening to and learning the various aspects of the Lord, praising Him and reciting many *hymns* and *Vēdic* songs full of meaning words (5). (The significance of this description has been explained elsewhere). These are the people of melting heart — loving and sympathetic heart, falling at the feet of the Lord in the morning and in the evening, so much that Nature seems to resonate with their worship (8). The *cuckoos* of the grove call out and the beautiful peacocks dance; the bees hum the musical tune whilst the green parrots recite and repeat the praises as the central worshippers in accompaniment to music and dance (8).

The dark waters whip up white waves battering on the two banks and throwing up and down the fragrant cardamom and

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cloves. On the banks of the river stands *Kalaya Nallūr* surrounded by the shining and fragrant groves where occurs a series of metamorphoses — worthy of Ovid's song — the dark trees of *Puṉṉai* with buds like white pearls and these are metamorphosed into flowers of gold and again changed so as to exhibit the beauty of the coral (9).

The waves of the floods reaching the river *Aricil* dash against the spreading creepers of *Mullai*, *Mallikai* and *Ceṉpakam* and on the southern bank of the river stands the city of fields which present the sight of the most natural schools where the milch cow with its motherly instinct feeds on the fragrant *Kaḻunīr* flower whilst her group of calves learn to graze the sprouts of sugarcane— a lovely rendezvous of love and learning with a message to the modern leaders of education (6). Thus the descriptions become more and more centring round the worship of the Lord.

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CHAPTER XXII

CŌRRUTTURAI

(*Hymn* 94)

I

This *hymn* is on the pattern of the *Cittīccaram hymn* (93) both on the pattern of the sentence and the pattern of the verses. The place of the Lord is *Cōṟṟutturai* — "*Iṭam* ..... *Cōṟṟuttuṟaiyē*" — that is the pattern of the sentence. The second lines end with '*iṭamām*' (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, & 9), '*patiyām*' (6) and '*kōyil*' (7) and the fourth lines end with '*Cōṟṟuttuṟaiyē*'. The slow flowing of the music of the previous *hymn* moves very fast in the present. The rhythm here is the jumping '*Kali*' rhythm reminding us of the galloping horse. The poet's joy reaches its height in this fast moving *hymn* like a dance of ecstasy. The stories of the *Purāṇas* are not narrated elaborately. The first verse however is still reminiscent of the previous *hymn*. In the other verses, the references to the *Purāṇic* stories are only casual. The important and impressive dramatic situations therein alone, are made lifelike. The *Purāṇic* descriptions of His form are given as beautiful visions. It is not that we got only still pictures instead of moving pictures. It is rather, that we get paintings of His lovely forms and of His victorious acts full of dynamic force. The beauty and the love of God underlying the stories have been left in the previous *hymns* to be understood by us. Here, they are more patent. The beauty and the holiness of the place are more explicitly identified with the holiness of God. The fact of His blessing us becomes as important as the *Purāṇic* stories.

II

A few descriptions of the *Purāṇic* form are lifelike and poetic. "He is the Lord of the tiger's skin still wet with the flowing blood and of the mat-lock appearing like the flow of fire and water; "*Aḻal nīr oḻuki yanaiya caṭai*" — This is really beautiful and dynamic suggesting the flow of the *Ganges* inside the flowing mat-lock looking like fire" (1). "The sacred thread on the Lord's chest is like a crystal flow on a coral reef' (4). "The beautiful serpent, the feather of the crane and the crescent moon of the dusk are

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arranged and harmonized in the crown of the Lord" (3). "He dances in the graveyard with dead bones and flowers of '*erukku*' " (7). "A kick to Death and a capital punishment to the proud *Brahma* (or *Dakṣa*), the creator, He administers" (5) — this is a dramatic and forcible way of describing the incidents (5). "The foolish and simple Lord who swallows the poison" — is another description (6). "A gaze of His eyes reduced *Kāma* to ashes for He is a sea of the sacrificial fire" (8) — this is another description suggesting that all His acts are sacrifice or *tyāga*. "He is the first cause of this Universe standing firm and capable of breaking up the old fetters of *Karma*" (2). "Those who worship Him out of love even with insignificant things like leaves, He helps to escape this ephemeral life" (9). These last two descriptions emphasizing the universal aspect of God's love and His significance to us in the present, are enumeratered along with the other descriptions, with a view to show that they are as important as the other activities of God, activities which in the last resort signify the Grace of God, removing the fetters of this ephemeral life (9).

III

In this connection, the other descriptions of the Lord become significant. God is '*Uṭaiyāṉ*', or the Lord of the possessions (1); '*Amalaṉ*', the blotless or the One who removes blots (2); '*Vaittāṉ*', One who ordains things (3); '*Kōmān*', the king (4); '*Maintaṉ*', the strong or the youth (5); *Perumāṉ*', the Supreme (7); '*Puṉitaṉ*', the Pure (7) and '*Mutalvaṉ*', the First (10).

IV

In the last two lines of each verse, our poet usually describes the beauty of the place; he mentions in verse 2, the worship and the praise of the '*toṇṭar*' of incessant love worshipping with garlands of flowers. He again describes the followers of *Śiva* who renounce wealth and all other important attachments as forming the beauty of this place (7). Here is the imperishable wealth of *Cōṟṟutturai*, the imperishable wealth to the *tapasvins*, who, bow down their head before Him (9). These are '*Aṟṟār aṭiyār*' (10), those who have taken refuge in Him, cutting away all other attachments of theirs.

The other descriptions of *Cōṟṟutturai*, on the banks of the *Kāvirī*, the river of gold (1, 5), descriptions of its wealth (9), of

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its beauty of groves and birds (3) and of the beautiful and chaste women (8) have to be interpreted as carrying the same message of the joy of self-surrender unto the Lord. The pearl from the bamboo and heaps of gold whirl in the eddies of floods of the *Kāviri* (1). In its grove, the trees '*ātti*' and '*matuvam*' (*iruppai*) give a shower of honey drops (4) wherein are accumulated pollen dusts with all sorts of bees flocking there—a city surrounded on all sides by water (5). The mango tree feeds itself with the cool waters of the *Kāviri* but what a wonder, it emits fire (*i.e.*, puts forth sprouts like red fire) in the groves of mangoes surrounding this place (6). The sweet and tender damsels of beautiful trees of hair sweeten their chambers with smokes of fragrant wood, which reach the Heavens (8).

At the conclusion of this *hymn* which has sung the glories of the followers of *Śiva*, our poet calls himself—he is inspired by the experience of his own *hymn*—the dog and slave of the followers of *Śiva*; and the joy of this *hymn* is expressed by his advice to the world that those who learn the words of the *hymn* will be rid of all miseries (10).

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PART III

IN THE CŌLA COUNTRY—LATER?

Introduction

I

The *hymns* in this part are included by *Cēkkiḻār* in the group already described. But in view of their tone of renunciation, we have separated them so as to be included with the *hymns* of the last period where also the same tone is heard. The geographical argument, as we had already pointed out is the bedrock on which *Cēkkiḻār* builds his scheme of *Ārūrar's hymns*. In the last period also, our poet, according to *Cēkkiḻār*, visits *Tiruvaiyāṟu* and the neighbouring places for some of which *hymns* are found only in the present group. Therefore, the geographical argument does not stand in the way of re-arrangement.

II

Our poet exclaims, "Whom shall I think of except yourself?", "Those who take refuge in the feet of the Lord are our Lords and Saviours"; "If He does not care for us, is there no other Lord but He"?. "Our poet speaks of the Lord as the beauty of the forest even as the damsels have spoken to *Bhikṣāṭana*". Again he cries, "Forgetting you is death unto me. Even if I forget, my tongue will utter the truth *Namaccivāya*", "Will you also be desirous of me! O, Lord of *Veñcamākkūṭal*, pray, assure me saying, "Fear not' ", "O, foolish mind! Get up. We shall go to worship at *Puṟampayam*", "I had not known this, this astonishing supreme excellence of the Lord of *Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr* going this way", "O, Lord of *Mutukuṉṟam*! Why this begging? What will happen if in the meantime your followers die?", "He is our Prince all through our sevenfold births. We have this great blessing, that the Lord of *Ciṟṟampalam* is there to save us from *Yama* and his followers".

III

There is thus an ebb and flow of divine bliss alternating in these *hymns*. The *Bhikṣāṭana* form becomes as it were the motif of our poet's art. God is all forms of relationship—this truth is again emphasized. God is purity and beauty, the great path. Lord's concern for all is often emphasized. Contemplation, self-

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surrender, complete dedication of the three *karaṇas* are all beautifully brought out as the Supreme form of worship. Service to the followers of the Lord is a sign of perfection and contemplation of the *Bhaktas* is spoken of as the very contemplation on the Lord.

IV

The *Pañcākṣara* comes in only in this group of *hymns*. "My parents are no more my prop;[1] I come besmeared with ashes, wearing a loin cloth"[1a] — thus our poet expresses his feeling of renunciation. In the previous group of *hymns*, the beautiful phrase "*Karpaka-k kaṭal*[2]" occurs. In this group he calls the Lord "*Karpakā*",[3] the munificent one that gives all we desire like the fabulous tree of the Heavens. There is another beautiful phrase describing the Lord '*Ārā iṉ Amudu*',[4] the insatiable nectar, a phrase which the *Vaiṣṇavites* are so fond of. The Lord is the medicine to the *Karmas* of the world. The *purāṇic* stories are suggested to have an esoteric meaning revealing the Grace of the Lord.

V

Description of nature, its beauty and holiness occurs in this group of *hymns as well*. Here, we have the *Kāviri* and the *Cirrāru* — the *Kāviri* suggesting the worship of the Lord, especially the worship of the Lord by adorning Him with "*Vattavācikai*" or round laurel and the *Cirrāru* suggesting the overflow of the love of the Lord. The holy places are described in such a way as to create in our mind the impression of Heaven on earth or *Śivalōka*. The divinity of women is also hinted.

VI

The last verses as usual give us the idea as the result flowing from the recitation of the *hymns*: the residence in *Paralōka* or *Śivalōka*, rulership of *Viṇṇulaku* (Heavens or *Vāṉulaku*) the release from sevenfold births and *karmas*, becoming the Saviour of the followers, the communion with His feet, the freedom from misery or obstruction, the freedom from faults or confusion of mind. It looks as though these are all the description of the Supreme Spiritual state.

1. 7: 24: 3.
1a. 7: 24: 2.
2. 7: 67: 8.
3. 7: 42: 5.
4. 7: 27: 7.

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CHAPTER XXIII

MALAPĀṬI

(*Hymn* 24)

I

In this *hymn* the poet makes a personal appeal to the Lord. He is also making a self-surrender. Here, therefore, comes another trough of the wave of his spiritual experience, which we had already explained. The *Purāṇic* stories are casual, not occupying any central place in this *hymn*. "The golden form, the tiger's skin, the lightning-like mat-lock, the '*koṉṟai*" flower (1) the Mother Goddess (2), the crescent moon (7), the beautiful earring (7), the deer in the hand (9) and the destruction of the three cities (10) are referred to. As already pointed out, this is a *hymn* of worship and self-surrender and, therefore, it refers to the worship of *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* (9) and to the beautiful flowers with which the sun and other *Dēvas* worship the Lord (8). The beautiful red (*cemmai-ceyya*) flowers showered on Him by the devotees keep Him firm in the righteous (*cemmai*) path (8) — here is a pun on the words '*cemmai* and *ceyya*' which mean red, beautiful and upright. The beauty of the Lord appeals to our poet and he often refers to the Lord as precious ruby (*māṇikkam*) in his *hymns*. Here, in this *hymn*, he addressed the Lord in every verse as the ruby of *Maḻapāṭi — Maḻapāṭiyuḷ māṇikkamē*' — the great and famous precious ruby (1-9) and '*Māmaṇi*" in (1).

The Lord is all forms of relationship, implying that others whom we call relations, are not really such (3) or, are so only because of the Lord within them. This is another idea which our poet often repeats and he takes refuge in Him as the great one who is all kinds of relationship — the mother (*Aṉṉē* — 1), the lover (*Kēḷ* — 2), the father (*Entāy* — 7), the brother (Aṉṉā — 5), the hero (Āḷ — 6), the chief (*Aiyā* — 8) the Lord (*Ammāṉ* — 3), He who is the Universe (*Aṇṭā* — 4), the Intellect (*Aṟivē* — 9) — the words denoting these relationships occur in a prominent place in every verse as the beginning of the fourth lines emphasized further by '*etukai*' or assonance.

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The other aspects of God are also emphasized. He is spoken of as the Path (*Nēṟi* — 9), the symbol or the target of *Liṅga* (*Kuṟi* — 9), He who is without any blot (*Niṉmalaṉ* — 9), he who stands firm in His upright path (*Miku cemmaiyuḷ niṉṟavaṉ* — 8), He who is good, affable and beautiful (*Nīrmaiyaṉ* — 9), the Wise, the Perfect (*Vittakaṉ* — 7), the Idea and the Significance of the seven worlds (5), the sweet musical *Tamiḻ* (5), the Great beyond everything (5) (the significance of these terms we tried to explain elsewhere).

I

The beauty of the holy place is also casually mentioned. Taking refuge from the world of misery into the cool shade of the Lord's feet, our poet naturally emphasizes the cool shade of the holy place, (*Maiyār pūm poḻil* — 8), full of flower groves overcast by clouds; (*Maimmām pūmpoḻil*—3) the beautiful mango grove dark with shade, the grove of flowers, full of bees (*Vāṇṭar pūm-poḻil*—4), the grove expressing the fertility of the soil and full of the artistic beauty (5), the lovely grove (*Maintār cōlai*—7).

III

In this beautiful place, into the feet of the Lord of those beautiful forms and excellent qualities described above, the poet takes refuge. "My father and my Mother cannot be any prop unto me even to the extent of the seed of the sesame" (3). "In this illusion of birth, I was born and I died many a time, I have thus become thoroughly eaten away by exhaustion" (3): "From old times, I am your servant" (4). "I dedicated myself completely to the service of all the servants of your followers" (4). "I cut myself away from the faults without their ever following me" (4). "Before the Lord of the appointed day or *Yama* comes and afflicts me, I have taken refuge in You alone, completely as your servant — pray, accept me as well, O Lord!" (6). "Renouncing everything, I have worn only a waist string and a loin cloth besmearing my body with the sacred ash and I have come and taken refuge in your feet; pray, accept me" (2) — so singing, the poet takes refuge in the Lord, asserting nine times that he has none to think of except the Lord — '*Niṉṉai alāl iṉi ārai niṉaikkēṉe*' — Whom shall I think of except Yourself?" That is the very life of the poem and its refrain. The renouncing of the worldly relationship (3), the fear of death (6), the misery of birth (3) egg

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him on to get rid of his faults and misery through the service to the followers of *Śiva* (4)— finally to give up all egoistic efforts and to surrender to the Lord with nothing but a loin cloth on him and the sacred ash (2).

Those who sing this *hymn* which expresses the experience of the poet when he has completely renounced this world and has reached something beyond this world — the *Paralōka*. will also, according to *Nampi Ārūrar*, reach the same happiness and joy of the Beyond (10).

IV

It is very difficult to believe that this *hymn* of complete renunciation could have been sung at this stage while he was living with *Paravai*, unless, the description of the loin cloth is to be taken symbolically or as referring to the Lord Himself, ('*Meypūci*' will then become the noun)—interpretations which will be very forced and artificial in the context of the *hymn*. It will be, therefore, more appropriate as coming at the fag end of his life, in that period of his life when he sang the *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam hymn* (*Hymn* 4, see especially verse 8) which even *Cēkkiḻār* feels was sung when *Nampi Ārūrar* wanted to renounce the domestic life (*Periya Purāṇam Veḷḷāṉaiccarukkam, v.* 29). The same may be said of the following *hymns* as well and that is one reason why we have grouped them all in a separate chapter for being considered to have been sung in his pilgrimage after our poet met *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ*. The geographical agreement is not affected as these songs are sung at the period of his visit to *Tiruvaiyāṟu* a place for which there is a *hymn* which is even according to *Cēkkiḻār* sung only when our poet had met *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ*. That is why we had grouped together all these *hymns* on the basis of *Cēkkiḻār*.

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CHAPTER XXIV

TIRUVĀṆAIKKĀ

(*Hymn* 75)

I

Love for a person reaches its zenith when anything connected with the person also excites the same love. The extreme point of our love to God according to *Vaiṣṇavites* is the love felt for the followers of God. In various places of the previous *hymns* starting from his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, *Nampi Ārūrar* has been hinting at this truth. In the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, soon after the realization of this truth, we saw him fall at the feet of every one of the *Bhaktas* whose names have become popular in his days, crying, "I am the servant of His servants". In other places, he has furnished particulars about their worship, their leadership and his following their path and thus becoming saved.

In the previous *hymn* he has told us that it was service unto them that had enabled him to cut himself away from all paths of sins. In this present *hymn*, born of his experience, he makes an objective statement of truth that those who take refuge in the pair of shining rosy feet (5) of the Lord accepting Him as their Master with the solemn affirmation of love, those who worship the Almighty as their father (4), God (2) and Lord (1), everyday contemplating on Him and feeling merciful (7), praising Him day and night (8) are the Lords of us all as well, Lords who have us too as their servants accepting our service and offering us salvation. Herein he gives the characteristic features of the *Bhaktas*, those who take refuge in Him (1), who accept Him as their Lord (1) and father (4), contemplating on Him and praising Him every day and being full of mercy (7).

II

Thus contemplating on the *Bhaktas*, our poet feels that he has himself become one who is now capable of leading a worthy life contemplating on the Lord being inspired by such contemplation with mercy standing firm in the shady golden feet of the Lord

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Who is the beginning of everything and remaining firm as a *Toṇṭaṉ* under that Feet as his great refuge. That is how the *hymn* works a spiritual revolution in the minds of its readers and therefore our poet assures us that those who are masters of this munificent *Tamiḻ* garland of a *hymn* will not only be rid of their seven births but also accept us all as their servants to bring out our salvation (10).

III

How *Bhaktas* contemplate on the Lord or how the Lord appears to *Nampi Ārūrar* in the present context becomes interesting from this point of view. "The Lord is all the four *Vēdas* and all other things, the Lord of *hymns* and all walks of life, the Ancient and the Good" (1). "He is the blotless, He is the father, the Mother and the inner principle of this world. He is the Lord who is all attachment upto the true *tapasvins*" (4). "He is the great Master and *Guru* (*Tiruvaṭikaḷ*) of those who are full of good qualities" (4). "For those who go round Him, He is the medicine which cures their chronic *karma*" (9).

IV

The *Purāṇic* stories are also referred to and must be taken to signify the same truths about the Lord. "The poison arose and spread out and the people in order to save themselves cried out, "Eat" and as a simpleton He ate the poison and His throat turned blue. He makes this description dramatic by calling them '*vañcar*', the cheats, for pretending that the poison was something eatable" (2). The description suggests that the Lord is full of mercy even to swallow the poison to save others, though He is the learned one, who had given forth to the world the works of various knowledge (*aṅkam ōtiya*—2). The poet refers to the *koṉṟai* flower, the damsel of the river, the crescent moon and the serpents—all on the ruddy mat-lock of our Father who sits under the banyan tree (3). The story of the destruction of the three cities is also given (5) along with the description of the Lord riding on the bull in the company of the Mother (6) clothing Himself with the skins of deer and tiger (8), wearing ornaments which cannot be valued '*vilaiyili*' (6). There is a pun on the phrase '*vilaiyili*' which many mean precious and valuable, or valueless or beyond valuation, for, His ornaments, the serpents, the bones and the ash appear to be valueless to those who do not understand their

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significance, while to the mystics they appear to be full of significance and value. The stories of the destruction of the *Kālaṉ* (Death) (9) and *Kāmaṉ* (9) and the gift of the discus to *Viṣṇu* are also referred to (10). The local story of the *Cōḷa* losing his necklace or pearls whilst bathing in the *Kāviri* which is often spoken of as the wife of the *Cōḷa*[1] and praying to God that He may accept his lost necklace, when the Lord in the temple of *Tiruvāṉaikkā* in response to his request accepted the gift and appeared with the necklace (7) of pearls—a story which once again proves the miracle revealing the greatness of worshippers like this king and the love the Lord who is ready to fulfil their requests.

V

The beauty of the holy place is also described in relation to the flowing Grace of the Lord readily answering the prayers of *Bhaktas*, the Grace suggesting the flow of the river *Kāviri* of beautiful and resounding waters of ripples and waves — the cool and lovely river coming to embrace (and save) the world.

1. *Pulavāy vāḷi Kāvēṟī—Cilappatikāram—Kāṇal vari.*

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CHAPTER XXV

TIRUPPĀCCILĀCCIRĀMAM

(*Hymn* 14)

I

A feeling of depression overcomes the poet when in his worldly view he feels that the Lord is loosening His grips on him. Certian amount of bitterness rises in his mind against the Lord and he cries, "Is there no patron but He?" It is the privilege of a lover to feel sulky about the acts of his beloved and about what one feels as the indifference on the part of the other whether the indifference is real or not. Bouderies (*Ūṭal*) according to *Vaḷḷuvar* sweetens and hightens the joy of love.[1] It really represents the attempt at overcoming the feeling of duality and as long as this does not lead to any breaking away, it leads to the final union and ecstasy. The duality has to be overcome by these means of love: the recurring moods of sulkiness are so many steps. The poet himself in the last verse assures us that the verses, though they may seem to be so on the surface, are not really songs of derision or reproach. He feels that the Lord should put up with his kind: of speech from a follower like him. The interrogation, "Is there no Lord but He?" implies a negative answer that there is no other Lord.

Our poet here satirically gives a description of his absolute surrender to the Lord which inspires the interrogation, "Is there no other Lord?" when he feels that there is no loving response. It is a cry of despair in the midst of the darkness he feels enshrouding him when the beloved leaves him in the twinkling of an eye. This *hymn* is, therefore, important as revealing to us his self-surrender and the spiritual height reached by our poet thereby.

II

"I have dedicated my *trikaraṇa*—my head, my tongue and my mind—to Him alone. I have ordained myself to Him and to

1. *Tirukkuṟaḷ*: 1330.

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the service unto His beautiful feet. There has been no pretension or cheating, herein. If I begin to describe it, it may look as though I am describing something ideal to be compared with something real and that way my description may appear to be an exaggeration and self praise whereas it is the barest truth" (1). "*Uraittakkāl uvamaṉē okkum*" has been a problem for commentators. '*Uvamaṉ*' has been interpreted as the dumb being by *Tamil* Lexicon which probably interprets the phrase to mean, "If I being to describe, I have to become one like the dumb". Others have taken it to mean that the Lord is, like unto Himself. A few have taken the '*uvamaṉ*' to mean a pretension, something which looks alike on the surface though not the same in reality. *Uvamaṉ*' corresponds to the Sanskrit word '*upamā*', something with which a thing described is compared with and according to books on rhetoric the '*upamā*', should be representing the highwatermark of perfection in the fleld in which the comparison is attempted — '*Uyarntataṉ mērrē uḷḷuṅkālai*' (*Tol.*, *S.*, 1224). It is this meaning we have attempted to explain.

"I do not cry Mother or Father. I remain satisfied by calling you 'my Lord'. 'My Lord', think also of me as one who still exists and show me an iota of your holy love" (2). (This cry of surrender may mean that he has no longer any attachment to his father or mother. Perhaps this interpretation is not very important in the present context of the *hymn*, though that meaning will support our assigning a later period to this *hymn*. It is better to interpret this cry as meaning that the poet has not taken refuge in the Lord as his father or mother but as his Lord and Master expecting no parental love but merely the protection and sustenance which the slave usually expects at the hands of the Lord completely effacing his individuality having no personality of his own except that of the Lord, thinking of the, Lord, speaking His praises and performing His services. In the *Ramāyaṇa*, as the *Vaiṣṇavites* point out, when *Sumitrā*, the mother of *Lakṣmaṇa*, advises him to follow *Rāma* to the forest, she specifically warns him against thinking of the relationship of *Rāma's* brotherhood and advises him to go after him as his slave and servant; for, the thought of blood-relationship will lead to egotism whilst the feeling of service will inspire complete self-surrender, making him pray, "Thy will, will be done". It is this kind of self-surrender that our poet is also hinting at, when he himself cries to reach the ears of the Lord).

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III

At this stage the poet seems to read the mind of the Lord in his own way, He feels that the Lord is thinking of saving the followers at a later stage. Here our saint as a great poet reaches a higher stage and makes his personal grief, the universal grief of all the *Bhaktas*. God's procrastination makes him all the more bitter and he cries, "If He were to bless His followers only later on, is there no other Lord but He?" (2).

"I do not experience the firmly established truth of the Lord except when I embrace Him (or, as some others take it, "when the miseries batter on me). Therefore, I thought, it was enough if my mind was always contemplating on Him in mental embrace. He is the Lord who destroys the obstructions and the three '*mala's* as the three castles of the air, swallowing poison to save His followers. Inspite of whatever we may say in extenuation or otherwise, if He is happy when He gains us and is sulky when He is not so profited. "Is there no other Lord but He?" (3). The idea of lovers lurks behind this *hymn*. The poet is happy and sure of his safety and salvation when he, so to say, is in embrace with the Lord, that is in communion with Him and in contemplation on the Lord. He thinks this contemplation is enough to give this pleasure, but in a moment of depression such a contemplation fails and he cries in despair. The Lord also is happy and elated (*ukantu*) only when the soul surrenders unto Him and when He values it as the greatest gift. In interpreting the phrase '*Cuṭar aṭi*' of *Nammāḻvār* (I/I/I), *Rāmānujar* states that the feet of the Lord beam up with Light and Joy when the lost soul is recovered and received afresh by the Lord. The same idea seems to have been expressed by our poet's phrase '*Perrapōtu ukantu*'. Naturally it implies that the Lord will be despising Himself and feeling miserable when the soul is not thus recovered and saved; — of course this is the only way in which we can express the feeling of the Lord, in a mundane way, though it may not be be correct. The poet, therefore, feels that when he feels miserable losing the loving embrace of the Lord, the Lord Himself feels miserable and remorseful (3).

"The Lord does not speak out, his tongue does not utter words like these—'these are our men: those are others; this is good; that is bad', for He makes no such distinction. There is no external show of his love. He accepts many a people as their Lord for

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saving them all but there is not a word of sympathy. He gives not a single thing. "Is there no Lord but He?" (4).

This cry gives expression to the Lord's love for all trying to save us all. It is the story of the prodigal son where the good receive no extra word of kindness or any present. The feeling of worldly suffering makes the good soul also cry not out of jealousy but out of the misunderstood feeling of separation and indifference.

"It is true, He is the destroyer of the three cities(5). But once the soul turns to Him with love, incessantly praising and contemplating on Him, from that moment, He feels for it and blesses it as His servant worthy of all praise; He feels indeed so much that its moment of separation is felt as the moment of His death. (Or, this may mean that He blesses the souls from the very moment of their dedication to Him, those who love Him so much as to feel the day of cessation of their services as the day of their death). If He, whatever we may say, leaves us separated in a twinkling of one eye, is there no Lord but He?" (5).

IV

"I do not even step into the place where had walked the people performing *tapas* or sacrifice of evil or cruetly. The cruel and evil *karmas* will certainly destroy us. Sure of this conviction, I know only the *tapas* of service unto His feet and I know not any one else. This, my Lord knows. But He carries the chief weapon of Trident, (something like a Cross of suffering for us all) and does nothing but is besmearing us all with the ashes. If this is all He does, is there no other Lord but He?" (6). Here is an assertion of our poet's complete self-surrender and he calls the Lord himself to bear witness to this — renunciation of all attachment signified by the purity of the besmeared ashes — a revelation, by the way, of the great spiritual development reached by our poet. (6).

The poet's heart-rending cry continues: (What is it that He can give?', — the Lord of the skull and the graveyard? If He appears to be all true but does only acts of falsehood, "Is there no other Lord but He?" (7). The falsehood is his disappointment. The beloved feels that He will never leave the lover; the anxiety of the beloved imagines His separation against His promise and thus arises the accusation of playing false to the beloved (7).

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"This is a fattening body. I will never conclude that it is permanent. I have turned inwards and relied upon the mind, contemplating on Him, as my prop. I have bathed myself as it were in the group of your followers — *i.e.*, I have been in communion with them. I praise and worship with my hand, fall at your feet and rise up a changed man — all this I do, day and night, in a world of contemplation or thought. If unconcerned He dances on the graveyard of corpses, holding a serpent in His hand, is there no other Lord but He?" Is this not what we have described elswhere as the Dance of the Absolute in the Heart of renunciation and Love? (8).

"O, my mind! you melt in love, run in joy and embrace Him to perform daily the services however menial they be· He blesses those who do not waste away all their appointed days and who before that day comes, invoke Him as "My Lord" even though they may be devoid of Love. "The great Man of mine! If inspite of all that we may say, He does not put up with our faults and give us nothing, is there no Lord but He?" (9). This cry reveals a Lord of love who is at the same time the Lord of morals, the latter form appearing more stern to the followers when they turn worldwards. The beloved feels that the lover has misunderstood one's playful acts and, therefore, has taken them seriously, as to mean His leaving away without any token of love.

In the moment of self-surrender when the poet is overcome by a feeling of renunciation, he contemplates on the form of the Lord, as the great Lord of renunciation, appearing with the loincloth and the finely powdered white ashes. By the force of this contemplation the vision of the Lord appears — the Lord of the sapphire throat — the Lord of Love, feasting on poison for others. The *trikaraṇas* of the poet are converted and transformed. "I speak of Him; I think of Him — I am always in His service (*Toṇṭaṉ*) — with all my mind. He holds the serpent in His hand — this Lord of *Pāccil*. He aceepts me as His servant. He has embraced me hard but if he were to loosen His embrace, is there no other Lord but He?" (10). (This interpretation proceeds on the basis of the reading '*Piṇippilar*'. There is another reading '*Paṇippilar*' when the phrase will mean "If He does not speak or order, is their no other Lord but He?". '*Piṇippaṭa*' may also mean that he accepted destroying the other fetters or diseases).

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"Not only in this birth alone but in all the sevenfold births, I have been His servant and slave. I have become also the servant of His servants. I am His, by right. My heart melts in love. My Lord of *Pāccil* who blesses those of rare fame! Pray, show me your russet feet! If He talks big and acts low, is there no Lord but He?" (11). Talking big and acting low mean the same thing as '*Meyyarē ottōr poy ceyvatu*' (7)—to appear Truthful and to act Falsely.

"These are not words of reproach; these are not words of contempt. My fame has spread as of one who ever cries, O, My Lord! (I have taken refuge in Him with all my *trikaraṇas*). Many a day I have fallen at His feet. I have spoken of Him with my own mouth and contemplated on Him with my mind. If the Lord will not put up with the words (of love) thus spoken by *Ārūraṉ* o! *Ñāval* of fertile fields, is there no Lord but He?" (12).

V

Knowing His eternal relationship with us, taking refuge as of right in Him in all the three spheres of our activity—mind, body and tongue, all of which sincerely hanker after Him, dedicating himself for ever and all the day and night to His services, and to the services of His followers, feeling as His beloved as though dead when separated from His service, never being in the company of others of wasteful *tapas*, the poet is seen at the height of his divine spirituality. It is not without significance that he applies his own description of the worshipful followers to himself (9 and 11). He includes other followers with Himself and utters the cry as the all piercing cry of the Lovers or *Bhaktas* (2). The cry goes up from his heart, when as the beloved of the Lord he feels His embrace loosening round him. In this way is also revealed the Love of the Lord—the Mad in love—the Lover of Lovers—the Lord who blesses those renouncing all their attachments and crying up to Him.

VI

The *purāṇic* personality of the Lord is described in this *hymn*, as explained above to fit it with the cry of his heart—the loin cloth (1, 10), the ashes (6, 10), the serpent in His hand, (8, 10), the madness (1), the destruction of the three cities (3, 5), the sapphire throat (3, 10), the trident (6), the skill (7), the grave-

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yard (7, 8), the skeleton (7), the sacred thread (7), the mat-lock (7), the crescent moon (7), the form of art (*vikirtar*) (7), as opposed to Nature are all referred to.

VII

The beauty of the place is not forgotten; it appears as the very loving form of the Lord—the cool and natural tank full of swarming swans (2), (or the tank which transforms itself into our food whilst feeding the paddy fields and becoming the sap and the ripening there after into the paddy of the plants)—the tank which resounds with the swarming of birds of the fields of growing gold of paddy (4) where bathe the beautiful doll-like damsels (7). The beauty is also holiness and it is there those who have cut away all their attachment, throng and it is there the Lord blesses them.

VIII

The place is called '*Pāccilāśramam*'—the *Āśramam* of *Pāccil* one of the parts of the country on the northern banks of Coleroon, perhaps reminiscent of the *Āśramams* of the *Ṛṣis* described in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. *Pāccil*—'*pacu*'+*il*—may mean the house of green leaves. Our poet has referred to it as *Kuṭa-p Pāccil*' and it has been suggested that *Pāccil* itself may be a corruption of the word '*Pratīci*' (West).

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CHAPTER XXVI

TIRUPPAIÑÑĪLI

(*Hymn* 36)

I

There have been recurring references to the Dancing and Singing Beggar in the previous *hymns*, revealing the esoteric significance of this form. In the last *hymn*, this Lord holding up the serpent in His hand, peeped in many a time. Though His form was not the central theme, yet it became the background, with the suggestion of the Beloved. The Beloved cannot raise the question, "Is there no other Lord but He?" (14). If it is taken as the speech of the Lady-companion as playfully putting aside the Lover, it may be fitting according to the conventions of *Tamil* erotic poetry. Therefore, the suggestion remains underground whilst our poet as *Nampi Ārūrar* sends up the cry of his heart. But he slowly gets immersed in that experience of Love of the Hound of the Heaven in the form of *Bhikṣāṭana*, coming begging for our Love. In that overwhelming experience, he stands transformed, as the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators on *Nālāyiram* usually explain, into a woman, the beloved of our Lord, one of the damsels to whose door, the Lord of a Beggar is said to have gone a-begging and he sings like those damsels. In the last verse of this *hymn*, our poet states that this *hymn* has been composed on the model of a dramatic speech of those many damsels of lightning-like subtle waists, expressing their love unto the Lord.

The Love is there in the hearts of the damsels; but there is also the fear and the sulking which prevent the complete communion. The references to the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, in this *hymn*, has been discussed at length in our study of the delineation of *Bhikṣaṭana* by *Nampi Ārūrar*. The form here, in this *hymn*, represents the Natural Beauty of the Forest and the Lord is addressed in every verse at its very end as "*Āraṇīya viṭaṅkarē*".

II

"What is the use of your blue throat and the skull? Pray, accept alms in one house. Is that necklace of yours a serpent?"

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(1), asks one damsel in all love, at the last moment withdrawing frightened by the serpent.

"Ah! the bull looks terrible with its roar; the fiery mouthed serpent hisses. Pray, do not come my Lord, with the serpent in your hand!" (2) asks another terrified by the bull and the serpent whilst losing herself in love.

"Your form is pure; your mouth is pure; your eyes (look) are pure. But yours is a stitched up bit of a cloth. Pray, leave off dancing with the ghosts. My Lord, why this? Are you mad?" (3) is another love speech of a damsel impressed by His purity but surprised by His mad dance.

"You sing. Are you a master of the beautiful *Tamiḻ* tunes? What is this? You come and stand with the serpent of ruddy eyes dancing in your front arm. Our love cannot allow us to refuse the alms; but your serpent cannot allow us to offer the alms. Ah! Forest Beauty! Is the Heaven of the setting sun your form?" is another speech, expressing her love of His dance, song and form (4).

"The ash on your form shines white like pearl. You hold the skull in your hand and state that you are of *Paiñṉili*. But you come with the Mother sharing your body and we cannot offer our alms. Pray, walk away. Are you of the mat-lock carrying the river?" (5), asks another in love but ashamed to confess her love in the presence of the Mother Goddess.

"Have you ordained yourself for stealing away the bangles of the damsels of beautiful tresses of hair smelling sweet with the fragrance of '*kuravam*' flower. In this adventure or escapade, can you recognize this house even in the dark night? Are you capable of walking in and escaping from here? Pray tell me, are you an expert in making the serpent dance?" (6), is a damsel's expression of love, a love which it has reached the stage of noctural clandestine escapade.

"You wear beautiful flowers. But why then adorn yourself with bones? The graveyard is your city; the skull is all you possess. What then do your lovers get from you? You stand saying, 'I am of *Paiñṉilai*'. Pray tell me, are you a master of music and dance?' (7) is another dramatic speech of humour.

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"All kinds of flowers, the river *Ganges*, the crescent moon, the skull and the feather of crane lie within your mat-lock. You stand, stating that you are of *Paiññili*. Pray, tell, us, have you covered yourself with the flayed skin of the elephant?" (8). That is how the damsel impressed with divine harmony speaks.

"You dance singing, in accompaniment to the orchestra of all musical instruments and stand saying that you are of *Paiññīli*. What! pray tell us, why have you adorned yourself with bones and tortoise?" (9) is the loving speech of one taken away by His dance but startled by the bones and tortoise shell.

"A serpent on your arm, a serpent on your waist, a serpent on your neck—they hang loose and low on your back. You besmear this form of yours with ashes on. You sing the *Vēdas* and music. You slowly come and stand across our path as though forcing yourself on our modesty and state that you are of *Paiññīli*. Pray, tell us, 'What is this beggary of yours'" (10) is the final speech before denial.

These dramatic speeches express the beauty of this love scene —the eternal love scene of the Lord and the loving souls, marking various stages of love-making of the Lord and responses of the damsels till the stage is reached where the Beloved, as it were attempting on their modesty as is revealed in the last speech of the damsels.

III

The *Nampi Ārūrar* it is, who is singing this *hymn* is made clear by certain statements about the Lord which the damsels of the *Dārukavana* could not have made. "The whole world praises and worships you alone falling at your feet. You cut away completely the attachment of the *Karmas* of those who sing and praise you every day"—these are personal experiences of our poet, which he exclaims even when he becomes the Beloved Damsel.

IV

The beautiful place where this love scene is enacted must have been an area surrounded by forest—a place of flower gardens, fertile fields and waters. The poet sees surrounding this *Paiññīli*, the green waters teasing with their waves the sandal, *vēṅkai*,

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kōṅku, *akil* and *champak*, which have stood in their way as though arrayed in war against them (2). The waters flow into the moat of the city full of lotuses. The cool and green '*mātavi*' and '*puṉṉai*' from the green gardens surrounding the city (3). These groves send up the fragrance from the great flowers cool and fresh (4), the groves where the singing bees hum their music (7) and where on all sides, sing the *cuckoo* (9). The swans flock together in the fields surrounding *paiñṉīli*, (11) whose firm rooted fame is of the ancient variety.

V

The poet whilst singing this *hymn* experiences the divine peace and love, spoken of as the russet feet of the Lover of the Mother which, he assures those who sing to music these songs of his words of mouth concentrating on its meaning, will also attain (11).

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CHAPTER XXVII

TIRUPPĀṆṬIKKOṬUMUṬI

(*Hymn* 48)

I

In this *hymn*, our poet narrates to the Lord the process of his self-surrender unto Him, a self-surrender which has now become his own nature — something habitual — a stage of development higher than the one till now revealed to us by the *hymns*, thus justifying our placing this *hymn* with those of a later period. The old sulking, however, remembered.

II

The sacred *mantra* of the *Śaivites* is the *Pañcākṣara* or the Five Letters, '*Na ma śi vā ya*' whose gross meaning is 'Worship unto *Śiva*. "I am not mine but *Śiva's*", is the meaning which demands the self-surrender. Here '*Ya*' stands for the soul, '*va*' for God's Grace, '*Śi*' for the Absolute, '*Na*' for the power of the Lord which hides the Truth from us till the soul reaches its perfection so as to see the vision of the Truth and '*Ma*' for the *Mala* or imperfection or ignorance taking the form of matter, evil, *etc.* The soul gets away from '*Mala*' and the hiding power, to take refuge in the Grace of the Lord, the Grace being spoken of as the Feet. After a stage, the soul loses itself in communion; the distinction — the Absolute and its Grace — also disappears; the experience of the Absolute alone remains. It is the experience of the *Pañcākṣara* that is described in this *hymn* and its various stages.

III

"I had no other attachment. I contemplated on your Sacred feet alone. It was when I attained this escape from the Hiding Power ('*Na*'), I was really born, — till then I was a dead thing, identified with dead matter ('*Ma*'). I reached further the stage of not dying any more — no sliding back into the '*malas*'. Even if I forget, my tongue will utter this truth '*Namaśivāya*'." The duality between the conscious and the unconscious had been broken; the higher truth has soaked through the conscious to the

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unconscious creating thereby a superconscious and spiritual unity (1).

This love of God reaches its perfection when it blossoms into the love of Men, the followers of the Lord. This is expressed in this sacred verse. "I am your lover. I never consider those days when I slight those who worship your feet (or when I am slighted by them) except, as days of oblivion and days of destruction. Even if I forget, my tongue will give expression to the *mantra Namaśivāya*" (2).

"I never consider those days of separation — the days when I cease thinking of you — except as days of failing consciousness. as days of departing life and as days of balancing on the funeral pyre. Even if I forget, my tongue will give expression to the *mantra Namaśivāya*" (3).

"O, my Patron of limitless fame! The Lord of my father! My gold! My precious gem! Even if I forget, my tongue will give expression to the mantra *Namaśivāya*" (4). The poet forgets himself in the divine experience which he begins to describe only to become dumb after calling Him, Lord and the precious thing.

Old memories get revived in this speechless stage. "I, your slave, also was in great fright — overpowered by the delusion and misery of the world — I cried to you in the hope that the Beginning of everything is the Fortress for the Frightened. You have blessed me with your Grace, consoling and encouraging me with the words, "Fear Not". Is there now anything of yours that will be wasted because of this mercy shown? (Why then do you not continue encouraging me)? Even if I forget, my tongue will give expression to the *mantra Namaśivāya* (5).

But the memory of his sulking is transitory. The contemplation of the beautiful form of the Lord transports him to a stage of Bliss when the unpleasant memories, past and present vanish except to the extent of his singing the chorus of the song. The tender leaflike crescent moon on the crown, the girdle of the dancing serpent around the tiger skin on His waist, he sees and exclaims, "O, Beautiful, One", Even if forget, my tongue will give expression to the *mantra Namaśivāya*" (6).

"I have contemplated affectionately on your feet of flowers and lo, my fetters of *Karma* have broken down" (7). In this mood of wonder he forgets himself except to sing the chorus.

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The beauty of the place captivates him and he proceeds to describe it.

The beauty of His *purāṇic* personality and the beauty of the place become one in this stage of joy. "O, Lord of the gold matlock, O, thou who hast aimed at the three cities! Loving the company of the Damsel of fragrant tresses of hair, you love also intensely the *Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi* of beauty" — "Even if I forget, my tongue will give expression to the *mantra Namaśivāya*" (8).

He cried out a little while ago, "My Lord, the Lord of my father, the gold and my precious gem!" He sees here the *Dēvas* repeating like mad men the same words and eight thousand crore other names of the Lord, the father of the *Cāraṇa* (scout) of *Gaṇapati*. The *purāṇic* personality and his vision of love appear before him, there inside the temple of *Koṭumuṭi* in '*Karaiyūr*' where worship *Nārāyaṇa* and *Brahma* and he cries, "Even if I forget, my tongue will give expression to the *mantra Namaśivāya*" (9)

The poet enjoys the *purāṇic* personality and lovingly repeats its descriptions. The whole *hymn* is thus a *hymn* of ecstasy; having thus experienced it whilst composing this *hymn*, our poet assures us that those who repeat the words of this *hymn* — without even singing it — will be devoid of all miseries (10).

IV

The beauty of the *purāṇic* personality becomes enchanting,— the mat-lock (*catai-piññakam*) (10), the *koṉṟai* flower (10), the crescent moon (6, 10), the destruction of the three cities (8), the company of the Mother (8), the poison (5), the bones (6), the tiger's skin (6), the serpent as girdle and *araiñāṇ* (6), the fatherhood of *Gaṇapati* (9), the worship by *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* and the *Dēvas* (9), the form of the mad man (10), the Beginning of everything (9) and Birthlessness (10).

V

The first words of every fourth line are emphatic descriptions of the Lord, compressed in a word, and also other words of address. The poet as a *tapasvin* renouncing all attachment and taking refuge in Him, looks upon God as the Great but Good *Tapasvin* of Love — *Narravaṉ* (1) — *Narravam* is to be contrasted with *Ceṭittavam* already referred to in the previous *hymn*. The Dancing beggar and His loving speeches of such oratorical powers and His

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Great Light beyond all Lights are remembered. He is the Dancer (*Naṭṭavā* — 2); the Master of the tongue or speech (*Nāvalā*) (3); the Expert (*Vallavā*) (4); the *Parañjōti* (6); the Lover (*Nampaṉ*) (8); (*Virumpaṉ*) (7); the Mad man, mad with love (*Pittaṉ*) (10) even as the poet is his lover (*Iṭṭaṉ*) (2); the Beautiful (*Aḻakaṉ*) (6); the Gold (*Poṉ*) (9) and the Precious Gem (9). But this love has nothing immoral about it, for, He is the Great costodian of the moral path and knowledge (*Cēṭaṉ*) (6). He is the Beginning, the Cause of all Causes (*Kāraṇaṉ*) (9) having no cause for Himself, *i.e.*, He is Birthless (10); our Lord (*Pirāṉ*) (9).

VI

The holy place as has already been pointed out, captivates the imagination of the Poet. The cool and spreading, active and shining waters of *Kāviri* come and flow down, in that place and it looks as though the great Light of Lights descends down to save the world in the form of this *Kāviri* (3). The *Kāviri* not only represents the Lord but also His followers. Like them the shining waters of *Kāviri* come with the round garland for His crown to worship at His feet and to praise Him with its sound (2). Yes, it praises (6). The beautiful and cool *Kāviri* rushes down with its cool waters singing a music of its own (6). As though imitating *Kāviri*, the followers, these good people — fall at His feet and praise Him on the banks of *Kāviri* coming rushing down pushing along the stones, to shower fertility (4). The Damsels of the place (who by their chastity bring about this fertility of the rains) or equally divine as the *Bhaktas* and they dive and bathe— these doll-like damsels of soft feet, coloured red with cotton (5). The groves are thick and stand beautifully surrounding the *Kāviri* banks wherefrom the young garland-like girls of soft and round shaped bosom dive (7) and bathe in the river and where on the branches of the trees the *cuckoos* sing and the peacocks dance as though in a concert (8). The holy worship of God is, therefore, a peculiar beauty of this place. The learned men, the good souls and the beautiful damsels—all worship the Lord—paying thus the homage of Truth, Beauty and Goodness (9). Even the *Kāviri* appears to our Saint worshipping the Lord with the wreath for His crown. Our poet gives us the popular methods of worship of his age — adorning the Lord with '*Vācikai*' (2) or 'round wreath' of laurel and reciting crores (9) of His names.

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CHAPTER XXVIII

TIRUVEÑCAMĀKKŪṬAL

(*Hymn* 42)

I

In the last *hymn* we saw our poet in the midst of his subjective exclamations, losing himself in the natural beauty of the Holy place appearing before him almost reminding him of the Lord and His overflowing love. He is completely under the influence of this enchantment of Nature appearing as the very form of the Lord — the bewitching beauty of Art form of *Veñcamākkūṭal* (*Veñcamākkūṭal Vikirtā* in each verse) with its river — the very abode of the Lord, *Sivalōkam*, overflowing with His Grace aboundings. It is because of this experience that the poet assures us that the masters of the ten verses of this *Tamiḻ* garland of perfect words are sure to reside in the *Śivalōka*.

II

In thus experiencing the Lord as Omnipresent and the lovingly beautifying Nature full with His presence, as though He were in need of all these for His Omnipresent perfection, an idea arises in his mind, whether God is not in need of him as well Yes, every soul, every creature has to be saved; for, otherwise, the Lord and His love become incomplete and imperfect, ineffective and powerless. "You need me as well" is the expression of wonder, but in the presence of the Omnipresent Beauty and Love and Power, the old lurking feeling of duality and fear, converts this exclamation of wonder, into a cry of anxiety, "Will you want me?" and into a prayer of despair, "Pray, be desirous of me as well".

III

In the first three stanzas except the chorus, "*Veñcamākkūṭal Vikirtā aṭiyēṉaiyum vēṇṭutiyē*", the poet is completely under the divine enhancement of the beauty of Nature inside which the Lord is enshrined. There is the river (*Cirraru*—1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9)—

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a symbol or a form of the overflowing love of God. On its eastern bank stands *Veñcamākkūṭal* full of the beauty of Nature and Art, enshrining God in its temple. The river dashes against the banks with its gifts as though forcing the world to receive its loving blessings, a world which goes its way without caring to be saved by this flow of love. But the loving waters enjoy this saving overflow and this rush of theirs (*Tiḷaittu*). The river throws down the bamboos with such force that they split and yield up to it, their shining pearls. The river throws the wealth of pearls, and fragrant spices of cardamon, clove, *takkōlam* and ginger into its rushing waters and swells up in joy to dash against the banks.

As mentioned before, on its eastern bank stands the *Veñcamākkuṭal* full of the leafy Mango-trees, the bent '*Puṉṉai*' and the '*Naḷal*' trees and '*Kurukkatti*' on which the *cuckoos* never cease singing whilst the rein-deer gets frightened.' "O, Beauty of Art-form of this *Veñcamākkūṭal*! Pray, be desirous of me as well" (1).

"The river swelling up with joy carries throwing into its restless waters, the round shaped precious gems, the sandal and *akil*, to fill up many a tank and pits and dashes aganist the banks. On its eastern bank stands *Veñcamākkūṭal* of wealthy palaces, towers and gem-bedecked-*maṇṭapas* or Halls, going up, become one with the shining moon inside the clouds (as though presenting the very form of the Lord crowned with the moon). O, Beauty of Art-form of *Veñcamākkūṭal*! Pray, be desirous of me as well" (2).

Our suggestion that the river appears as an idol of the Lord receives further support in the third poem where the poet describes the river receiving the worship of the beautiful damsels. The innumerable damsels, shy and coy like the deer of the mountains, of lovely beauty, like peacocks — the good souls of beautiful eyes like the well shaped spears come and bow down. The river swells up and dashes against the banks carrying valuable things rolling them all into its waters full of waves. On the eastern bank stands the city surrounded by the fragrant gerdens, cool because of the harmony of the innumerable varieties of crowding trees, the rows of arecanut palms, the long-legged cocoanut palms and the short-legged jack trees. O, Beauty of Art-form! Pray, be desirous of me as well" (3).

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IV

In the fourth verse our poet, instead of suggesting the Lord as in other verses, openly describes the *purāṇic* personality of the Lord in addition to his original scheme of describing the river and the city, which more patently suggests that very form of His *purāṇic* personality. "The damsel of music-like speech is on one part of your body and you never leave off your attachment to the graveyard. The river teases and tosses up, cool '*akil*' and the beautiful *chauries*. On its eastern bank stands the city of *Veñca-mākkūṭal*, where young damsels dance to the tune of the flute and the musical drum inside the gem bedecked music hall going up to become one with the moon of the Heavens. O, the Beauty of the art form! pray be desirous of me as well" (4). The idea of the Mother and the Lord's hall of Dance inspire the poet to describe the damsels in the dance hall of the city.

The *purāṇic* personality of the Lord again captivates the mind of the poet and under the influence of its enchantment he forgets his present scheme of describing the river and the city. The form of the Lord dancing with the '*tōṭu*' and the '*kuḻai*' suggesting the *Ardhanārīśvara* comes to the mind of the poet. In the dance escapes the fragrant '*koṉṟai*' flower (*Kaḷaiyē kamaḻum*—is not quite clear. '*Kaḷai*' may be the accusative of the '*Kaḷ*' or honey what its central '*ḷ*' elided. Then '*kamaḻum*' must become causative. Or, '*Kaḷai*' may mean that which has become separated escaping in the swift movements of the dance. '*Kaḷai*' also means beauty but that usage seems to be not earlier than the age of *Tāyumāṉavar*. '*Kaḷai*' may also mean something soft). This idea of the flower at once reminds the poet of the '*Karpaka* tree' of the Heavens giving everything desired and he at once addresses the Lord as the great '*Karpakā*' blessing those in communion with Him—an expression of his own experience clothed in the form of a universal truth. The crescent moon which forms this description comes to our poet's mind along with His mat-lack. But these stories have a beginning and that may suggest these acts of love have come in, as something unconnected with the nature of the Lord. The stories may have a beginning but He has no beginning whatsoever. These are the manifestations of His Nature which continues to be the same always. Except those who are in communion with Him and crying to Him for His help, none else can attain Him. This is not any freak of His. He is the Lord of *Dharma* or the Law in

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the form of the pure white bull. Having thus described the love of the Lord, he prays, "O, Beauty of the Art-form of the city of *Veñcamākkūṭal*, pray, be desirous of me as well" (5).

In the next verse, the poet seems to be sure of Lord's Grace. "You are easy of approach to those who fall at your feet and you stand before them so that they may be devoid of all miseries". The '*koṉṟai*' flower on the mat-lock and the bull and the destruction of the three cities come to his mind. The beauty of the harmony of these makes him exclaim, "O, Beauty". The dance has been in his mind in the previous verses along with the music and the drum and now in this verse our poet speaks of the Lord as the expert dancer in the hall of the grave-yard where resound unceasingly the drum and the music and the dance. The festivity of the dance brings him back to the city of *Veñcamākkūṭal* whose streets are so full of festivals and festivities. Addressing the Lord as the beauty of the Art-form, he concludes with his chorus of a prayer, "Pray be desirous of me also" (6).

In the next verse, he forgets every description about the city and the river, describing only the *purāṇic* personality of the Lord and refers thus: to the flaying of the elephant, the dance of fire in the graveyard, the bull, the *koṉṟai* flower and the serpent with its thousand hoods and fiery poison (as something suggesting the fully evolved universe in its terrifying aspect, which our scientists speak of as Nature being red in tooth and nail). He concluded with the chorus, "Pray, be desirous of me also" (7).

The world once again captivates the mind of the poet and he describes according to his original scheme the river and the city. "The river tumbles down over-shining precious gems and fragrant sandals and '*akils*' through its passage through forests, mountains and the country side and joyfully dashes against the banks, rushing with the desire of reaching the place where the great One resides" (8). The poet sees his own love for God reflected in the river. On the eastern side of the bank of the river is the city *Veñcamākkūṭal* where the music and the dance of damsels of the bamboo shaped shoulders never cease dancing in accompaniment to the musical drum and the tuning flute" (8). Not only people of this great culture but also people leading a life of nature like the hunters love this place. If all sorts of people love the Lord, may not the poet also expect to be loved by the

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Lord? Therefore, he sings the chorus "Pray, be desirous of me as well".

It is dance of the Lord which is still in the mind of the poet and he refers to the *koṉṟai* flower, the serpent and the river of the mat-lock and the musical instruments which the Lord carries. He is indeed the purest of the pure. The river goes circumambulating the up-land fields throwing into its having beautiful waters everything on the way; it swells up and joyfully dashes against the banks. On its eastern bank stands the city surrounded by the dark lovable fields, the city enshrining the Lord; and our poet winds up by singing the chorus, "Pray, be desirous of me as well" (9).

V

The last verse giving the name of the poet and the final effect of reciting this *hymn* repeats the description of the damsels then bowing down before the river but now bowing down before the Lord Himself thus making it clear that the river is after all another idol of the Lord. Our poet states herein that he had out of love given expression to the prayer of the chorus, "Pray, be desirous of me as well" (10).

(*Kūṭal is coming* together. It has to signify a city where all sorts of people flock together. The city of Madurai is known as *Kūṭal*. The city of this *hymn* is a *Kūṭal* of the *Koṅku* country — a place famous then for some heated battle — *Veñcamam* — which probably has become *Veñcamā* due to the final lengthening of proper names of phrases, *e.g.*, *Muthaiya Pillai*: *Muthaiyā Pillai*. One wonders whether the word for battle is '*cama*' — assuming the forms of *Camam* and *Camā*. Or, it may be that the final '*r*' of '*Camar*' had been wrongly read as a '*kāl*' (ா) — the sign of the long vowel). The tradition as preserved in the *Purāṇa* of this place is said to be named after '*Veñcaṉ*' the *Rākṣasa* who worshipped the Lord. To distinguish it from other *Kūṭal* it was called *Mākkūṭal*, *Kūṭal* as in the phrase and name *Mākkūṭal* means the place where rivers meet.

This *Veñcamākkūṭal* is at the place where *Kuṭavaṉam* and another brook (*Kāttāru*) join together and hence it was called *kūṭal*. It is near *Amarāvati* which is a bigger river when compared to which this river *Kuṭavaṉam* is only a '*cirṟaru*'.

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CHAPTER XXIX

TIRUKKARKUṬI

(*Hymn* 27)

I

The despair seeks consolation and encouragement at the hands of the Lord and the poet begs of the Lord to say "Fear not". His flag of bull (*Dharma*) (1), His fragrant *koṉṟai* flower of beauty (1), His weapon of bright white axe of power (1) (wielded for saving miraculously those taking refuge in Him) and His characteristic feature as the Supreme, as the Great Beyond all Greatness, coming and establishing Himself firmly for all time in this world to save us all at *Tirukkarkuṭi* (1), appear before his mind reminding of this Lord of Goodness, Beauty Power, Truth and Love, saving many from fear and danger and, therefore, he cries for help, "My Master and Lord establishing Yourself firmly for all times at *Karkuṭi* surrounded by flower-groves of fragrance! Assure me as You had done to others with the words, Fear not" (1).

"You are the Omnipresent and the king whom the *Vēdic* Seers and *Dēvas* worship and praise falling at your feet. (Is that all?). You are our Lord and Chief — not in mere name but in effect as well. You have become the very sweet nectar unto me." This blissful experience emboldens our poet to cry for help and encouragement to the Lord of morals and love, "Assure me also saying, Fear not" (2).

II

The destruction of the three cities is the destruction of obstruction and fear. The company of the Mother is the overflowing of His love. Our poet himself has experienced the Lord as the Medicine and Nectar on the top of the mountain, with ruddy mat-lock carrying the river of waves (in response to *Bhagīratha*, the Lord who has come to stay firmly and for ever at *Tirukkarkuṭi* (even as the cultivator goes to reside in the flelds to watch and save his plants, as the *Vaiṣṇvite* commentators as fond of repeating). The series of thoughts encourage him to cry to the

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Lord for encouragement and for His assuring words "Fear not" even as the Lord hard encouraged and saved others (3). The Lord of the form of great fame which the Formless has assumed in order that the denizens of this earth and the Heavens may praise and worship so that they may stand firm and eternal (7). His pure form of knowledge or '*Cit*' becoming the earth, water, air, fire and the great space (for sublimating and saving us all through the various experiences of these) His form of fire worshipped by *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* (8), the Lord of the rosy form (4), of the crescent moon (6) to save which he crowned Himself with it, the Lord of the blue throat (4) in the company of the Mother, (4), for driving out whose fear He flayed the elephant (4), holding up in His hand the Trident (4), the battle axe (1), the deer (3), the Lord with beautiful white ear-ring (5) and the slipping loin cloth (5), carrying the Fire in His hand (8), the Lord of Greatness and Propriety, blessing the child at the cost of the life of Death (9)—these forms encourage him also to ask for the assuring words of the Lord, "Fear not".

III

The Holly places where He has established Himself is as cool as the love of the Lord, beautifully surrounded by shining and fragrant grows (1, 5), dark with shades (2) and overcast by clouds (7), surrounded by paddy fields of bunds (6) and the sweet fields of sugar canes (9) becoming more and more beautiful by the cool waters, full of waves surrounding it (10) where resort to its festivals, the Great *Tapasvins* full of art and knowledge (10).

IV

The Lord apears to him as one who will bless us with all that we desire, the *Karpakam* (10) — an idea which sprouted in the previous *hymn* which he repeats here. He is the Merciful of the beautiful eyes (*Aṅkaṇaṉ*—2), the Nectar—the "*Ārā iṉṉamudu*" (7)—unsatiable sweet nectar—a phrase so very significant to the *Vaiṣṇavites*, the Medicine on the mountain (3), the Lover (*Virumpā*—9), the King (*Araiyā*—6), the Master and Guru (*Aṭikēḷ*—1), the Moral Saint (*Aravā*—2), Chief (*Aiyā*—4) and my Father (*Entāy*—5)—the last six coming as the first words of the fourth lines with their usual emphasis in that position of vantage. The description "My Patron and Lord" (*Emperumāṉ*) is repeated six times.

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V

The stories encouraging him to cry for help are stories which narrate how the Lord blessed others so that they may be saved and become great in this universe and our poet contemplating on these encouraging and inspiring stories, assures us that the masters of the valuable garland for this *hymn* will rule and save the three wide worlds (10).

VI

In this *hymn* the chorus is *Aṭiyēṉaiyum añcal eṉṉē*". But verses 9 and 5 have a different ending. The 9th chimes in, like the verses of the previous *hymn*, "*Aṭiyeṉaiyum vēṇṭutiyē*" (*H.* 42) and the 5th reminds us of the *Maḻapaṭi hymn* (*H.* 24) (Second line of the second verse) and ends with the words "*Aṭiyēṉaiyum ēṉṟukoḷḷē*"—"Accept and bear me up for myself being saved;" perhaps the variation being intended to show that all these represent a single series of connected spiritual experiences. But as we usually have the same ending in the verses of any one *hymn*, it is better to assume that all the verses ended in "*Aṭiyēṉaiyum añcal eṉṉē*", the variation having been introduced by those who remembered the phrases of the previous *hymn* wrongly in this place or according to the condition of their own mind whilst reciting this *hymn*. It must however be pointed out that the present reading as found "*Vēṇṭutiyē*" brings out the beauty of alliteration with the initial word "*Virumpā*" rather than the suggested reading of "*Añcal eṉṉē*" unless the initial word also is to be taken as "*Arumpā*" (the bud of creation),

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CHAPTER XXX

TIRUPPURAMPAYAM

(*Hymn* 35)

I

This is a *hymn* addressed by the poet to his own mind advising it to start at once for going to *Tiruppurampayam* for worshipping the Lord in view of the ephemeral and transitory nature of the worldly life and of the unfailing effects of *Karma*. The second, the third and the sixth refer to the ephemeral and changing world where there is no time for doing good, if we go on procrastinating. "The city, the relatives, the children and the women are not as of yore. Leave off all thoughts of this life of household in the midst of wealth". (In '*nitiyil*', '*il*' may be taken as the locative case-sign going with the noun '*niti*' or wealth. It may also be a word of negation, when the phrase will mean, life of household without any wealth. That will be inconsistent with the sixth verse which speaks of a royal life) (2).

II

"The exterior of the body or the skin becomes scaly and shrunken; the veins become palpable; the hairs turn gray; the words become trembling, weak and inaudible — when you become thus old, to think of doing Good or *Dharma* is indeed a heroic venture. But alas! it is impossible! If you realize this truth, pray, start at once without swerving even a little from this final resolve. This is the commerce befitting us now in the early morning of our life" (3). "Even if one commands all the armies with the elephants predominating, even if one rules with the seas as its limits on all the surrounding sides, one gets in the end reduced tapering down as it were and vanishing away like the tail of the *tadpole* appearing as attached to its head (even as the Sovereignty and Rulership appear as attached to the chieftainship). Therefore, feel no anxiety over these, my foolish mind" (6).

The fourth, the fifth, the seventh, the eighth and the ninth proceed on the fear of the crushing invincible *karma* and the hope of *redemption* through the Grace of God. "O, deceitful damsel of

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a mind! Start at once with a clear conscience or certainty of being saved" (7). The same idea is repeated in the 9th verse: "If you ask one for a way out of the despair of the rare evils of old times and the sins for their destructions — destruction which is a rare sight — start at once without any more anxiety; we shall go to *Puṟampayam* to worship the Lord". The poet makes the distinction between '*tīmai*' (9) or evil and '*pāvam*' (9) or the sin probably as cause and effect. In these two verses, the poet is hopeful of redemption, the Grace of the Lord cutting the gordian knot of *karma* which otherwise seems to be inescapable. The inescapable aspect of this *karma* is referred in verses 4 and 7. "The *karma* performed in the past comes and enshrouds us in the present in this very birth; before it enshrouds us that way, O, my foolish mind, start at once without confusing me any further; we shall go to worship at *Puṟampayam*" (7).

"To beat one and rob him of his clothes conspiring murder for such robbery and inflicting pain on others — all these evil deeds committed come to produce their effects here in this birth — This is certain, O, my foolish mind! I have no other prop or support. Start at once without forgetting this. We shall go to worship at *Puṟampayam*" (4). Here, the *karma* appears to be terrifying though the poet is certain that Lord's Grace will save him.

In another verse, the poet gives a more hopeful and rosy picture. "Even in this very birth, all the fetters of *mala* will break away; even in our future birth, these cruel *karmas* will not come near us. Get rid of all your deception, malice and evil (*calam*). There is the city where resides our Creator of happiness (*Śaṅkaraṉ*). We shall go to worship at *Puṟampayam*" (8).

The last *hymn* expressed a fear and appealed to the Lord for His assurance and this *hymn* explains the nature of the fear as the anxiety of the ephemeral life and its miseries which are the effects of *karma*, leading into the ever ending wheel of *karma*. "I die and am born, and I become great — all this is a delusion where the bondage never ceases" (10). Afraid of all these, the poet thinks that he can escape from these by worshipping at *Puṟampayam*. In contemplation, he thinks of this truth of escape in his mind — a thought expressed in *Tamiḻ* verse describing our father of *Tiruppuṟampayam*. "Fettered, our soaring spirit is imprisoned in this earth. When the fetter is removed the soul soars up to that Heaven of Purity capable of miracles." Those who could

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recite this *hymn* without any pretensions are, therefore, sure to reach and rule in that Heaven (10).

III

The first verse should have also given expression to his disappointment with the present life. But on the other hand, it runs in a different strain. "I have recited or taught the '*aṅgas*', the *śāstras*, subsidiary to the *Vēdas*. I started from "*Āṟaimēṟṟāḷi*" and came into "*Iṉṉampar*' and stayed there. The God has not chosen to explain things saying, "This is such and such. Therefore, my mind! start at once. We shall go and worship at *Puṟampayam*". (1). From this, a story has been woven that he received no response from the Lord at *Iṉṉampar*, which made him to start to *Puṟampayam* in a sulky mood. This story should have become popular by the time of *Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam*. But the scheme of this *hymn* seems to suggest the '*Īcaṉār*' should have taken the place of some other word denoting the nearer relatives.

IV

This *hymn* is important as showing the kind of Royal life which our poet has led in the company of the chiefs in his days as is made clear by verse No. 6. The reference to the evil acts could not be any particular act in the present life of *Nampi Ārūrar* for he has assured the Lord that he has done nothing wrong.[1] From the experience of suffering, probably in a moment of despair he assumes that such acts were committed in the previous births, acts which he sees other chiefs committing before his eyes. We have already remarked that the poet, feeling for the whole world sometimes repents for the evils of others. In that way this *hymn* addressed to his mind may be taken to have been addressed to the chieftains round him.

V

The first verse in its very beginning is very significant, for therein, the poet tells us that he has studied and taught the '*aṅgas*'. The second verse will suggest that this *hymn* is a *hymn* of renunciation to be taken along with the *Maḻapāṭi hymn* in which case it must be as we have already suggested, a *hymn* sung at the fag end of his life. The second verse may mean, not only renunciation but also a revelation that this life should not be taken seriously though it need not be cast away. It must be also stated that this *hymn* is like the *Tiruttiṇai Nakar hymn* (No. 64) which is

1. 7: 77: 5; 7: 95: 2.

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also emphasizing the ephemeral nature of the world and the hope of redemption. That apart, it looks as though that the poet had gone out for a research in these *aṅgas* to return through "*Āṟaimēr-ṟaḷi*" and "*Iṉṉampar*". One wonders whether this study has kindled in him the feeling of renunciation so very patent in this *hymn*. Elsewhere also our poet has described himself as a great scholar.[2]

VI

The *Purāṇic* personality of the Lord is also referred to as inspiring hope in the mind of the poet. The crescent moon (2), the *Ganges* (2), the mat-lock (2), the bull (1, 4, 5), the serpent (4), His *Śivalōka* (5), His creation of happiness (8), the worship by the denizens of the Heavens after they had praised the minor deities (1), the denizens who praise Him and sing of the rare divine services and jump in joy to regain a firm foot-hold to dance once again (9). He is the *Īcaṉ* (Lord) (1), the father of our father (7), our Creator of happiness (8), our father (*Appaṉ*) (10), '*Bhūta-nātaṉ*' — the Lord of the souls (3), that is how He appears to the poet.

The holy place to which he suggests his mind going on a pilgrimage, to be freed from all these miseries and fetters, is the beautiful heaven on earth, though our poet has no time to describe it at length. It is "*Celva-p puṟampayam*" (1) *the Puṟampayam* which is our wealth, where the fresh flowers of *mallikai* and *cenpakam* (2), bloom in joy in the night making the whole city fragrant, where the white and young sword-fish jumps and dashes into the fields (5), where on the lotus so very patent sleep the dotted crabs in joy (5). In all the sluices, the '*kaḻunīr*' flowers bloom (6) on all sides; nearby the sugar-cane is crushed to yield its honey which casts its fragrance all round the sweet smelling garden (6). The female swan is in a sulky mood displeased with the male swan and the sulkiness slowly disappears and they are happy in their union in that beautiful grove where the newly blooming '*puṉṉai*' smells sweet all along the water channel (7). The *Kāviri* rushes into the sea, where sail the ships and the holy waters of the *Kāviri* almost the waters of the purest *Ganges*, rush into all the fields to give the yield of gold (8). The natural tanks where blossom the white lotuses beautify that place (9). Therefore, this holy place is full of beauty, wealth, happiness and worship.

2. 7: 54: 10.

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CHAPTER XXXI

TIRUKKŪṬALAIYĀRRŪR

(*Hymn* 85)

I

The poet has been advising his mind in the previous *hymn* to go to worship at *Puṟampayam*, for getting rid of the *karmas*. In the present *hymn*, the poet in the end assures us that the *karma*-bond of those who are masters of these ten verses of his, will break down (to let them free). This *hymn* refers to some of the *Purāṇic* stories of the Lord in the first line; describes the Mother in the second line; the holy place is referred to in the third line; the fourth line exclaims, "I had not known the astonishing supreme excellence of His going this way". The pattern of the sentence is, "The Lord of these acts had come this way with the Mother at *Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr*—this astonishing supreme excellence I knew not or I had not known". What do these words mean?

II

These words have given rise to a story. From *Tiruppuṟampayam*, according to *Periyapurāṇam*, our poet started on a pilgrimage to *Tirumutukuṉṟam*. Whilst coming near *Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr*, an old Brahmin appeared walking along the road when our poet inquired of him about the road leading to *Mutukuṉṟam* and He showed the road to *Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr* only to disappear after a while. Our poet, it is said, realizing that it was the Lord who came as the Brahmin, gave expression to the astonishment in this *hymn* with the words, "I had not known this wonder of the Lord coming this way". There is nothing improbable in our poet believing and singing like this. But this *hymn* itself speaks of the Lord coming with the Mother and the ghosts. In the last verse, the poet summarizing his *hymn*, does not refer to this coming in of the Lord. The Lord has loved to dance with the damsel of the creeper waist in *Kūṭalaiyāṟṟūr* (10). The poet describes this as an astonishing supreme excellence in his sweet *Tamil* of his quest and choice—that is what the poet himself vouchsafes to us. *Tirukkūṭalaiyāṟṟūr*

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is a temple not sung by *Appar* or *Campantar* and therefore must have come into existence after their life-time. Our poet probably has not known of this temple and it must have been a happy surprise to find a temple there. "*Atiśayam*" does not mean wonder, for which the word is "*Arputam*". *Māṇikkavācakar* differentiates between '*Aticayam*' and '*Arputam*'—See his *Aticayappattu* and *Arputappattu*. *Aticayam* is the Supreme excellence. The Lord of no form and the Great Beyond comes down to save us and gets enshrined in any temple of our choice, even as a cultivator puts up a hut in his field to watch and save the paddy, growing in the field—an idea which we had emphasized earlier. He comes with a form of beauty and love in the idol (*Kōlamaturu*—9)—as an incarnation of beauty and love in the idol—the all Powerful, becoming thus as it were a toy in our hand to be moved and ordered about by us according to our sweet whims and fancies. Is that not this the supreme excellence of His love? This idea is there in relation to every temple but this becomes of compelling force when an unexpected temple is seen. It is because the aim of all these acts of God is to save us and free us from our fetters of *karma*, that the poet assures the readers of the *hymns* that they will be rid of their *kārmic* bondage.

III

The *purāṇic* stories have this message of the All Powerful coming to save us. His well-shaped white axe (1, 3), the elephant's skin (1), the company of the Mother (1-10), His following of ghosts, *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma*, *Indra*, *Vēdic* Scholars and denizens of Heaven and Earth (8), His begging with the skull (3), the beautiful river (4), the serpent and the moon in His mat-lock (7), His form of light (5), His *vīṇā* or harp of knowledge (6), the sacred ash (1), the sacred thread (6), the bull (9), the feast of poison (9), and His beautiful form (9) are all referred to. The Mother is specifically mentioned in every verse—*Umā* of the twisted and waving tresses of hair (1), the doll of waist looking like a creeper (10) of hood of the serpent (2) covered with nice silk (7), the damsel of the soft bosom tucked up with a ribbon (3), the lady of the beautiful fingers touching the ball in playing it (4), the Beauty of sweet-smelling teeth of pearls (6) ond of crescent like forehead (8) adorned with ornaments (7).

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IV

The Holy place is full of high towers, adorned with flags (1)—that is its beauty of art. Its natural beauty reminds us of cool refreshing love of God—its glorious gardens and groves full of tender leaves (7), bunches of flowers (4, 6), with the bees humming in search of their honey (5) blooming beautifully for being plucked up for adornment (2).

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CHAPTER XXXII

TIRUMUTUKUNRAM

(*Hymn* 43)

I

The poet's heart sent the cry for God's help in the *Karkuṭi hymn* and the *hymns* that followed. His confidence that God will save us all, had been well expressed. But how long are we to wait for His Grace though it is sure to come one day or other? "What, if some of the followers die here with their hearts melting in love for you?—they who lie in suspense hoping for your loving response and saving blessings, confidently asserting, "Your blessings will come to day; they will come tomorrow". "My Lord, if they die, pray, tell me what is to be done thereafter? For, at the time of their death, they will feel keenly their disappointment, though your blessings may come in their future birth" (1). "You are the Lord going about begging for the souls for blessing them all going a-begging to their very doors" (3, 7, 8, 9). This idea seems to be behind the back of the poet's mind and he exclaims, "If you are going about showering your blessings on all, will an iota of it showered on these followers living in the hope of receiving your blessings, upset any scheme of yours? Is the quiver going to tear, if cotton is put in (as the proverb goes)? (1). Therefore, order your blessings". The idea seems to be that God is going about, begging for the souls, of all and sundry, whilst those who offer Him their all, are about to die in disappointment (1). In that way the whole *hymn* becomes a *Bhikṣāṭana hymn*. The reference to this *Bhikṣāṭana* form is clear in all the verses except 1 and 4, where the idea of the *Bhikṣāṭana* continues to be in the background as explained above. In the 4th verse, the poet sings, "You know no fatigue. (You wander at the doors of all without caring for those who are almost dying for you). What is there to be done in the future birth for those who praise you herein, in this birth? You must know this, you who had destroyed the life of the cruel Lord of Death, the Lord who had not known the consequences following from his act. (You had not

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tarried a minute longer than what was necessary in saving *Mārkkaṇḍēya*. Why then procrastinate in helping these followers?)" (4).

In all the other verses, the references to *Bhikṣāṭana* form are direct. They look like the speeches of the beloved, feeling for the Lord going a-begging. "If you go wandering in all these villages will not they suffer—these rosy feet of yours like the golden lotus blossoming in the tank (2). (*Ēri* is the tank or reservior which feeds the fields. Therefore, the tank full of water inspires the people lying north of the *Cōla* territory with hope and happiness, which is almost divine and, therefore, *Appar* describes *Śiva* as *Ēri niṟaintaṉaiya celvaṉ*"[1] All these suggestions are implied in the descriptions of our poet also. "But You go about wandering, whilst your *toṇṭars* or servants stand singing and the denizens of heaven remain praising you. Is it fit and proper for you that you should go about thus begging from olden times?" (3).

("Why do you beg? Your followers are almost dying and get nothing of it). Are all these things, which you had amassed, by singing, moving and dancing, along with your *aṭiyārs* at every door, for your consort *Umā* (5). "Is it fair that you should dance in the graveyard with your ears of ear-rings dashing against each other, in the company of the Damsel of subtle waist?" (6). "Is this a life worth living, life of going about begging for alms in the common yard of these women, whilst the cruel dogs bark when you go to their houses?" (7). "Is it fair that you and your *aṭiyārs* roaming about in the dusk at the cross-ways, should go for alms to every door?" (8). "Your Beloved, cooks for distributing in every village and is it fair that you should stand at every door for the paltry alms?" (9). "What will others say, if you wander about on all sides and receive the alms, pray, accept alms only from those who offer it in love" (10). Probably the poet is referring to the followers living in the hope of getting blessings from the Lord.

II

The poet here does not tell us that he singing the dramatic speech of the damsels in love of the Lord as he had done in *Tiruppaiñṉīli hymn*. He calls this *hymn* the babblings of the mad slave of the Lord referring to himself (11). Therefore, he is not

1. 6: 23: 5.

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conscious in singing this *hymn* of the distinction between himself and the damsels. He becomes so identified with the beloved and speaks as the beloved. Are not the words of lovers sometimes called babblings? "The great philosophers and mystics who know no confusion and those of whatever kind of *tapas* they may be performing, if they praise the Lord of *Mutukuṉṟu* with this *hymn* they will experience the feeling of love of the beloved and they will become devoid of all their miseries and obstructions" (11). This is the assurance which the poet gives us who read this *hymn*.

III

The holy place inspires us with the memory of the story of *Bhikṣāṭana*. The wild elephant there gets into the *kheda*, set up for catching it. It is surrounded on all sides by the hunters. Starved, it cries in physical agony. The strong elephant, as a last effort, shakes off its laziness and roars, a roar which always resounds all through *Mutukuṉṟu* (2). The place is surrounded by the cruel people, the swordsmen and the bowmen keeping watch whilst the commotion of the sacrifice performed with the hands of munificence resound without ceasing all through *Mutukuṉṟu* (3). The palaces surrounded by fortress walls, the towers, the beautiful *maṇṭapas* and the groves, over which creep the clouds which completely cover it up, surround this holy place of *Mutukuṉṟu* (5). In the high peaks where grow the clouds, the must elephants roar, the *yāḷi* or lion residing in the caves also roars (as if in return). This sound of roars never ceases in *Mutukuṉṟu* (6). In the mountains, the lion kills and carries away the male elephant, whilst the female elephant pines in grief in the front yard of the houses of the mountain women (7). The she-monkey goes in search of fruits fit for eating for its he-monkey, worshipping first in that quest on the mountain slope, the feet of the Lord; and the mountain stands up, in all its glory before this loving monkey (8), even as the mountain does before the crowded followers falling at His feet. On all sides, its waves heave up and overflow — dashing against the banks, thus, the river *Muttāṟu* (river of pearls) kisses circumambulating the mountain (10).

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CHAPTER XXXIII

NAMPI ENRA TIRUPPATIKAM

(*Hymn* 63)

I

This is also a *hymn* of self-surrender but it breathes an air of happiness, the poet almost jumping at the idea which has taken deep roots in him that the Lord is the Prince, the saviour Prince, not only in this birth but in his seven-fold births (1-9). This is the refrain of the *hymn*: "*Eṉṉai āḷuṭai Nampi, eḻu piṟappum eṅkaḷ Nampi kaṇṭāyē*" — 'Look! He is my saviour Prince! He is our Prince in all our sevenfold births'. As already explained, the various *purāṇic* stories which emphasize this truth are referred to as though reinforcing his faith and self-surrender. The Lord is the Prince of the sacred ash (1), the Prince of the *Vēdas* (1), the Prince of the sacred thread (3) (reporting thus all forms of purity and knowledge), the Prince of the red hue (1), and of the ruddy mat-lock (1), the Prince of the crescent moon on the crown wherein comes the serpent and wherein resides the maiden of the River (9), the Prince of the *Dēvas* starting with *Kumara* and the merciful eternal rulers of the extensive space (2) (representing thus all forms of Supremacy, the Beggar Prince unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (7), the Prince who feasted on the poison bestowing nectar on the *Dēvas* (3), the Prince sharing His form with the damsel (8) (representing thus all forms of Love), the Prince of the white axe (1), the Prince of the three eyes (1), the Prince who destroyed Death (4) and *Dakṣa's* sacrifice (6), the Prince who flayed the elephant's skin, (3), the Prince and destroyer of the three cities (5), (representing all forms of Power though representing Love). Here the poet makes a distinction between '*Amarar*' and '*Dēvar*' (2), the *Dēvas* being the denizens of Heaven, whilst the *Amarar* are as often interpreted by the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators as the freed or free souls.

II

There are certain philosophical ideas expressed about God. He is the Prince who becomes all time and space and the varied forms evolved out of them (6). He is the Prince who has made in

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former times the crowd of worlds to become evolved and patent (7). He is the Prince of the past and the Prince of the future (7) (the poet is punning on the word '*piṉṉum*' which means both the future, and the twisted as referring to mat-lock), the Prince who rules together all this as a whole and the Prince who is the beginning and the end.

III

Coming to the religious aspect of the Lord, as usual, Jainism comes in for adverse criticism (9), not its true aspects but its false aspects, false probably in the way it had been practised by some of the age. However, he states that the Lord is the Prince, who has become this Jainism as well (9). If God is omnipotent, He must be everything not only the good but also the bad. That is why our poet addresses Him as the Prince who is the fault or the evil (*Kuṟṟam Nampi* — 5). Truth is relative in essense and there must be some truth underlying any religion. It is, in that sense God the Prince, who has taken the form of *Jainism*. God is also the underlying principle of all religions which are so many ways of approaching Him. Therefore, our poet calls Him the Prince of *Religions* (*Camayaṅkaḷiṉ Nampi* — 6).

IV

Our poet gives expression to the experience of himself as a *Bhakta* (1). He is the Lord of beautiful loving eyes (2), of mercy unto all the souls born. He is the Prince who becomes great amongst the *Bhaktas* (2), He is the Prince of us all who bow down at His feet of refuge and praise Him as our father (2). He is the Prince who gushes forth as the fountain of nectar in the minds of *Bhaktas,* the Prince all the souls whom He owns as His (4). He is the Prince who is enraged at the five senses that are not controlled (4). He is the Prince who blesses with the flood of Supreme Bliss (5). He is the Prince capable of blessing the *Bhaktas* and the Prince of those who suffer and feel miserable, because they cannot serve Him (8). Our poet exclaims why they thus end in misery after all their quest after pleasure. The Lord is the Prince who hides from those whose heart does not melt in love. He is the Prince who increases to those who melt in love, their bliss, herein, in this birth and hereafter in their next birth (10).

Our poet exclaims, "What can I do you, O, Prince! who forces away all miserable sufferings which I, without any sense

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discrimination suffer, except singing you as the Prince showering a flood of Supreme bliss?" (5). "O, Prince! We shall ever be seeing your rosy feet, for, you are the Prince who accepts, this service of those who love and become one with you, accepts and blesses them by saving them and helping them to reach the greatest state of spiritual bliss" (9).

V

In this *hymn*, though it is stated to have been sung at *Tirumutukuṉram*, there is no reference to any place except *Tiruveḷḷaṭai* in the fourth verse. But, unfortunately, the last or the 10th verse has not reached us except for its first line and a portion of the second line. We are, therefore, unable to decide conclusively about the tradition that this *hymn* was sung with the intention of receiving 12,000 gold at the hands of the Lord. Perhaps the reliance is placed on the term *Nampi* or the Prince. We have already emphasized the importance of this word '*Nampi*' and its significance in explaining the import of the *hymn* No. 15 (*Tirunāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi hymn*). This *hymn* is differentiated from the former *hymn* by the tone of its certain bliss. We can place this *hymn* also to the last part of our poet's life.

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CHAPTER XXXIV

KŌYIL

Hymn 90

I

We had already seen the fear of death and the fear of hell helping our poet in inspiring in the minds of his readers a love for God about whose mercy the poet is confident.[1] In this *hymn* the poet almost jumps with joy at the discovery of this great treasure-trove, *i.e.*, the Lord of *Cirrampalam*. This is the refrain of this *hymn* repeated at the end of every verse, "*puliyūrc cirrampalattem Perumāṉai-p perrām aṉrē*"—"This Lord will make us turn from the wrong path and thus help us to escape from the inflictions of the Lord of Death"—(inflictions which we have discussed elsewhere) —this idea also is repeated in every verse.

II

According to tradition, our poet saw God at *Citamparam* in the form in which the Lord danced at *Pērūr* on the banks of *Kāñci* in the western *Koṅku* country while he visited that place. This story we have considered in relation to the description of the form of dance in verse No. 10 herein. This, therefore, must have been sung after his visit to the *Koṅku* country which according to us took place only in the last part of his life. "*Maṭittāṭum aṭi*" (1), the bent foot may be taken as referring to the '*kuñcita pāda*' of the *kuñcita* dance so dear to the *Bhaktas*, which *Appar* has lovingly described as '*Iṉittam uṭaiya eṭutta poṛpātam*'.[2] *Aṭimai* generally means a slave probably as one always obediently lying at the feet. Here, it means service unto the Lord, by being in communion with His feet submerging our ego in the feet which dance.

The phrase '*Tatuttāṭkoḷvāṉ*' is repeated very many times in this *hymn* and we know that the title of that part of *Periya-*

1. 5: 8; 8: 6; 35: 1-10; 60: 7.
2. 4: 81: 4.

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purāṅam giving us the story of *Ārūrar* has been given the name '*Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam*' by *Cēkkiḻār*. '*Taṭuttāṭkoḷḷal*' *is a* phrase, therefore, very dear to *Nampi Ārūrar*, a phrase which the later day generations considered as giving us the very quint-essence of his life history. It is a beautiful phrase expressing the mercy of the Lord as coming and preventing us from following our usual path of ignorance and misery and saving us through His loving Grace so that we may follow His path of love.

III

The poet describes in the form of advice to his own mind, the mercy of the Lord saving the erring souls. He is the Lord who will save us from the inflictions of the Lord of death not only when we are in His service but also all through our life, possibly because whatever the followers do becomes His act. He advises his mind to leave off that mad race for physical pleasures of this body enjoying those pleasures and roaming about everywhere. "We will not be in need of anything. Every day and for ever the Lord—that mad Dancer—will remove our sins" (6). "The Lord is in quest of us. Pray, therefore, do something good. He will ever save us from the inflictions of death" (9). "The hearts of us, *Bhaktas* (7) who think of Him as we ought to, not only melt as a stone will melt, but we also become perfect that we need nothing. O, mind! He will save us from the inflictions of death" (8)—thus he assures the mind.

In another verse he describes his own experience as that of mercy shown to the *Bhaktas* in general, thus rising that to a universal level instead of expressing his own subjective feelings. "Those who have incessantly followed the path of passions are away from Him, full of egoism. But once they turn away from the path, the egoism disappears. They fall at His feet before Him, ever thinking of Him, bearing no separation even for a moment. full of His most famous love. That is their great wealth; and them, the Lord savcs. That is His greatness" (2). "Those who leave off the duplicity of their fox-like cunning (or those who leave off their characteristic feature of being identified with the body which after all becomes a kind of hiding place for the cunning fox) ever think of Him as the beloved of the Lord bearing no separation, going and falling before Him at His feet with their mind devoid of all egoism; and them, the Lord saves from the inflictions of Death" (3). "He cuts away the fetters of death,

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giving the *Bhaktas* His own rare abode, and showering His never ending bliss" (4). "He rids the sins and *karmas* of those who contemplate on Him as His *Bhaktas*" (7).

IV

Our poet as usual refers to the *Purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord, of His dance (1), of his holding in his hand the drum (1), the fire (1) and the serpent (1), of the destruction of the Lord of Death (5), of the skin of the elephant (5), of His mat-lock (5), of His laurel of the crescent moon (5), of the destruction of the egoism of *Rāvaṇa* (7), of the company of the Mother (10) and of His bull (8). The poet also calls him '*Pērāḷar*' (2), 'The famous', '*Perumāṉ*' (5), 'The Great', '*Pittāṭi*', (6), 'The Mad Dancer', '*Tampirāṉ*' (10), 'the Chief and the Patron', in lovin terms which emphasize His greatness and love.

V

Here the poet does not describe the holy place except as "*Puliyūrc cirṟampalam*". In one place he describes the Lord as of the form well known to all as that worshipped by the three thousand (7), worshipped thrice without fail, every day. The three thousand are the three thousand Brahmins of *Citamparam* whom he had described in the very beginning of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* as '*Tillai vāḻ antaṇar*'. In his joy of discovery of the Lord as the treasure trove, he does not specifically mention any good following the recitation of this *hymn* other than this very joy.

VI

The last verse gives only the poet's name *Ārūrar*. This *hymn* is very important because herein he adumbrates the Divine Right theory of Kings (4); it is here that he speaks of the Lord creating confusion amidst those who fail to pay tribute to the *Pallava* king ruling the world. In commenting on *H.* 35, we had occasion to refer to the poet's relationship with the kings and chiefs of his age. Probably our poet was a friend of the *Pallava* king himself.

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Part IV

WITH PARAVAI

Introduction

I

In this part are included the *hymns* on the temples of the *Cōḻa* country which, according to *Cēkkiḻar*, our poet visited whilst he was living with *Paravai* at *Tiruvārūr*. There is *hymn* No. 25 which specifically mentions *Tirumutukūṉṟam*, but which, *Cēkkiḻār* holds, was sung at *Tiruvārūr* for getting *from the tank there* the gold thrown into the river at *Tirumutukuṉṟam*. Those who may not believe in the supernatural, will prefer this *hymn* to have been sung at *Tirumutukuṉṟam*. In that case, we may group this along with the *hymns* of the first part where occurs the *Tirukkōḻili hymn* referring to *Paravai's* sufferings in the same way in which this *hymn* mentions her under straitened circumstances. This will make us assume that in that period our poet had been to *Tirumutukuṉṟam*.

II

The following are the exclamations which escape from the heart of our poet during this period: "When we contemplate with all our heart, Ah! how sweet is He!" (*H.* 30); "There is the temple, the place of the Lord of these acts" (*H.* 22); "What? Forget Him! Forgetting Him what shall I think of?" (*H.* 57); "I had a vision of the Lord and worshipped Him at *Kāṉāṭṭū muḷḷūr*" (*H.* 40); "Come along! Let us reach the temple of our Father at *Etirkoḷpāṭi*" (*H.* 7); "Would I have come to serve Him if I had known this, His wearing of serpent, *etc.*" (*H.* 18); "Bless me, O, Lord! so that the miseries may be destroyed" (*H.* 25); "Is the Lord and Master of us all such and such? (*H.* 33); "Lord of *Naḷḷāṟu* is Nectar unto me, His slave; What else shall I think of, forgetting the Lord of *Naḷḷāṟu*, the Nectar?" (*H.* 68); "The Lord Supreme of *Kaṭavūr Mayāṉam* is such and such" (*H.* 53); "Ah, my Lord! my Nectar! Who is there as my companion except yourself"? (*H.* 28); "*Valampuram* is the place of the Lord of these qualities and activities" (*H.* 72); "O, Lord of *Veṇkāṭu*! Why these

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contradictory acts of yours?" (*H.* 6); "His favourite resort is *Naṉi-paḷḷi*" (*H.* 97); "I took refuge in your feet having heard of your blessing, insects and beasts and all" (*H.* 65); "*Tiruniṉṟiyūr* is the place of the Lord of such and such activities and characteristics" (*H.* 19); "Is it possible to get away from him without falling at His feet?" (*H.* 56); "I had seen and experienced the Lord at *Kōlakkā*" (*H.* 62); "Are you not of this place *Kurukāvūr Veḷḷa-ṭai*?" (*H.* 29); "O, Lord of *Kaḻippālai*! Is it just, not to say, 'Ah!" even when I get puzzled?" (*H.* 23).

III

Worship through music, poetry and dance, keeping the three '*karaṇas*' pure and in His service, the *añcali* pose, *sahasranāma* or the thousand names of the Lord, worshipping with the eight flowers, festivals of drum and *pañcagavya*—are all mentioned. The worshippers are often divided into *Bhakṭas* and *Siddhas*. *Toṇṭar* and *Aṭiyār* are also mentioned. *Toṇṭars* are referred to as playing on the drum. The followers of the Lord never get perturbed. Their birth is a hallowed one; for they are said to be the servants of the Lord for seven generations. He also refers to the surrender or subjection of the six passions. Our poet speaks of the community of *Bhaktas* as '*Aruṅkulam*'. These *Bhaktas* are as it were our masters and our leaders. Our poet falls at their feet, hankering after their mere physical presence. Our poet calls himself the '*Iḷaṅkiḷai*' or the youngest of the *Bhaktas*. Our poet mentions *Ñāṉa Campantar*, *Taṇṭi*, *Nāvukkaracar*, *Kaṇṇappar* and *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*. We had already referred to our poet's conception that the South is the favourite place of the Lord and in this part he mentions the poets of the south as the great *Bhaktas*. Here also we find a mention of another colony of Brahmins at *Karuppariyalūr*, the *Antaṇars* who bathe regularly, weave garlands of flowers for the Lord and worship Him according to the *Vēdic* path.

IV

Purāṇic stories are as usual described. The *Bhikṣāṭana* form, it is clear, is the great motif of our poet's art and we have interpreted very many of these *hymns* as *Bhikṣāṭana hymns*.

V

Nature attracts the attention of our poet and he gives us very many dynamic and dramatic pictures of Nature. Nature

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offers her feast to all our five senses, but her beauty is not only material but moral and spiritual, as is revealed by the *Antaṇar* and women worshipping the Lord. Our poet is fond of describing the city or the places as attaining *Sārūpya* of *Śiva* by crowning itself with the crescent moon. The sea also described. The rivers referred to in these *hymns* are *Maṇṇi* and *Koḷḷiṭam.*

VI

Here also our poet emphasizes the fact that God is impossible to be known. He is one who has to be experienced. The Lord is transcendental and immanent. He is like the sweet fragrance of the flower. That He is all kinds of relationship is once again emphasized. He is nearer to us in the incarnation of beauty in the temples than anywhere else. He is light, Love and Happiness. Our poet as usual is found of the terms *Māsilāmaṇi* and *Māṇikkam*, emphasizing the *Jñāna* aspect of God as the Supreme value. He dispels darkness of the words and the subject matter. He is the Art. He is the Nectar and the Medicine. He is Time, the Past. *Dhārmic* aspect is also emphasized, for our Lord is called the *Dhārmic* ascetic; the teacher of the banyan tree blessing all, though Himself impossible to be known. In this connection, our poet's conception of the whole universe forming a happy family, a *gurukula*, with the Lord as the *Guru* may be referred to. He is our wealth running our errands through the saviour on our head. He is the Truth and the Pure, the deathless, the ageless, the sexless and the birthlesss. He is '*eṉguṇattāṉ*', a phrase which is found in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*; the '*aṣṭamūrta*' or eight forms are often mentioned. He is *Śambhu, Śaṅkara.* Our poet refers to the Lord also as *Gurumaṇi.* The Lord is sometimes identified with the followers as *Pattaṉ*, *Pācupataṉ* and *Caivaṉ*.

VII

Our poet in preaching to the world starts emphasizing the ephemeral nature of this world, its miseries, the fear of death and the waywardness of women. He assures that God will save us all from the miseries and *karmas*, however downfallen we may be. He refers to the chieftains riding on the elephants. He describes his shoulders as being hillock-like. He refers to His garland of lotus. He describes himself as the father of *Ciṅkaṭi* and *Vaṉappakai.* All these make it clear that these *hymns* belong to the period of his political influence and to the latter part of his married life when *Ciṅkaṭi* and *Vaṉappakai* should have become

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spiritually great. There seems to have been some cloud cast over his political greatness. He speaks of the Lord saving him from the scandal.

VIII

The last verses of these *hymns* as usual speak of the ideal-relief from all miseries, extinguishment of *karma*, freedom from suffering night and day, destruction of sins inflicting us, immersion in divine bliss with no more death or entrance into the world, the bliss of *Paralōka*, *Śivalōka*, ruling *Vāṉulaku*, life in the heaven of bliss, the higher heavens of goodness and immense bliss dedicated to *Tapas*, reaching *Śivagati*, to be in communion with the Lord whilst worshipped by this world and the other, becoming leaders or the rulers of the world of the *Dēvas*, destruction of the delusion of the mind.

The *Vaiṣṇavites* refer to the spiritual state: "*Bhōdhayantah parasparam*", 'where the Saints or the *Bhaktas* speak about the glories of the Lord to each other'. Our poet also speaks of becoming the worshippers of the Lord; he refers to the blabbering of the mad community of *Bhaktas*, repeating the *hymns* to the *Bhaktas* as a great ideal to be reached. They are sure of attaining salvation and, therefore, that tantamounts to *Śivagati*.

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CHAPTER XXXV

TIRUKKARUPPARIYALŪR

(*Hymn* 30)

I

This *hymn* gushes forth from the heart of the poet as a fountain of bliss. When we contemplate with all our heart or mind on our Father (*Emmāṉ*) (1), our Lord (*Eṅkōṉ*) (9), our Chief (*Aiyaṉ*) (6), our Master and *Guru* (*Aṭikaḷ*) (7), Ah! how sweet is He"! — This is the refrain of the *hymn*. This contemplation of the mind on the Lord and its subjective experience are further described by the poet. "With an unconcerned pride of indifference to other temptations of the world closing eyes and enshrining Him in our mind with an elation of the heart, when without going astray, we think or contemplate on Him, ah! how sweet is He" (1). "He appears before them as everything and completely fills up the mind of those who shine with the form besmeared with the sacred ash; when we think of Him, ah! how sweet is He!" (2).

II

"Praising Him with the new garlands of words, when we contemplate on Him to get rid of darkness, ah! how sweet is He to us!" (4). This worship through poetry, music and dance, develops into a harmonious worship through poetry, music and dance. The thought of the chronic *karma*, still haunts him, but only to be got rid of by divine contemplation. "In order our never ending chronic *karma* may end and disappear when we sing his praises and dance in joy many a day, how sweet is He to be contemplated upon with all our heart!" (8). "Contemplating on Him for many a day singing and dancing to the soft tunes of sweet music, when we think of Him with all our mind, ah! how sweet is He to us!" (9). "It is the joy of the divine experience where disappear all the obstacles and miseries of *karma*, the joy of a poet and a musician in contemplation of God, serving and worshiping through poetry, music and dance, the God who stands as the eternal youth of beauty taking the very form of music and dance

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and the guiding *tāḷa* keeping time" (3, 10). Our poet loves the Lord with all his heart and enjoys the resulting experience of divine bliss (1). Our poet gives expression to this bliss in what he calls these verses of fertile *Tamiḻ* (11). He assures us that this *Tamiḻ* will relieve, of all their miseries, the poets of the south full of all arts and the learned men, those who serve the Lord like our poet through their art and their learning (11).

III

Karuppariyalūr is the name of the place, a city of escape from the womb or birth, which is really an escape from the *karma* and its obstacles and misery. *Karuppariyal* is the weeding out of birth or the *karma* leading one into the womb. Campantar, in his *hymn* on this holy place, seems to equate these two ideas of *Karuppariyal* and *Viṉaivāṭal* (the drying up of *karma* which forms the seed for the subsequent births). Our poet speaks of this extinguishment of *karma* as the destruction of miseries.

The Brahmin colonies of *Tillai* and *Viḻi* have already been referred to. There is probably another Brahmin colony at *Tirukkaruppariyalūr* following the *Śaivite* path probably attached to the temple therein, without leaving off their old *Vēdic* path of their Sacrificial fire (6). "The Brahmins of *Tillai*", our poet told us, "warship the Lord thrice a day without any obstruction or break".[1] "So do the Brahmins of *Tirukkaruppariyalūr*, the *Antaṇar*, the Righteous of the beautiful and the cool loving qualities, without break, every day bathe in the holy waters, gather flowers direct from the trees, weave garlands of flowers and offer them at His feet thrice a day" (3). "*Karuppariyalūr* is theirs. With their unfailing truth, they besmear themselves with the sacred ash, praise Him, perform the *pūja*, or ceremonial worship of the sacred fire" (6). "There, *Vēdic* scholars of no want, always reciting the *Vēdas*, unceasingly perform all the services unto the Lord including all menial acts" (8).

The bliss of his experience in the midst of the *Bhaktas* inclusive of the Brahmins of the place, makes him see beauty and joy everywhere in that holy place. Though the temple and the city, used to be referred by the name of the city, we have various temples *Nampi Ārūrar's* time having specific names as distinguished

1. 7: 90: 7.

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from the names of the cities. Here, the city was known as *Karuppariyalūr* whilst the temple was famous as *Kokuṭikōyil*, the temple of jasmine, the *kokuṭi* being a variety of jasmine or *mullai*, because it is the holy plant of that temple. This holiness of the beautiful jasmine plant inspires our poet to see the same holiness and beauty everywhere in and around that place. There is the mango grove full of flowers where the *cuckoos* sing and the peacocks dance (1). The same idea is repeated in verse No. 6, but this time, it is a flower garden rather than a mango grove, where both the *cuckoo* and the peacock send up their resonating voice. (According to one reading in both the places 1 and 6, the sound alone is referred to though it must be stated that '*ālum*' as referring to the peacock may mean both the sound and the dance). In the fences of these gardens, the red fruits or the well ripe fruits of the black trunked plantain shower their honeyed juice (4), the garden and the groves full of sweet fragrance let fall their fruits all round (9). There is the joyful flower garden of arecanut palms, cooling to the eyes of the sight seers (10). the flower garden overflowing with the honeyed juice of the cocoanut palm, rich with the bunches of cocoanut (11). In this natural pond of lotus, casting its fragrance all round, frisk about the carps and the '*vāḷai*' fish;, whilst the varieties of cool bees climb up the creepers and hum their tunes (5). This is a dynamic picture of the activity of nature. There is also the static Absolute, reflected in the picture of the quiet peace of Nature. In the fragrant pond, the dark buffaloes sleep in peace (7). No wonder the Lord in the midst of this natural surrounding appears as the beautiful youth (*kuḻakaṉ*) (3).

IV

We have in this *hymn* as well, various references to the *purāṇic* descriptions—the flaying of the elephant's skin (1), the fright of the Mother (1), Her loving company (2), the destruction of Death (2), the bull (2), the sacred ash (5), the ribbon of a serpent (5), the mat-lock and the *Ganges* (9), the victorious anklet (5), the battle axe (11), the eight arms (8), the three eyes (8), the blue throat (8) and His unknowability to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma*.

V

Certain terms of philosophical implication used by our poet are worth noting. The Lord is everything, the air, the fire, the sun and the moon (2). He is the very form of the fine arts (3).

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He assumes the eight forms (3). The references to the religious worship have already been given above. This is one of the few *hymns* where our poet makes reference to the *Buddhists* and the Jains. (10). The obstinate Jains and the Buddhists are here accused as spreading scandals about the Lord—their usual criticism of *Śaivism* (10).

This *hymn* gives us a picture of the poet, as a poet, musician and dancer, serving the Lord through these arts, his consequent experience of His bliss and his concern for his colleagues (11). He describes himself as the father of *Vaṉappakai*, as one with hillock-like shoulders (11). This *hymn* must, therefore, belong to the period subsequent to his marriage when he was enjoying the company of the chiefs of his age and being proud of his shoulders and his physical prowess though all in the service of God.

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CHAPTER XXXVI

TIRUPPALAMAṆṆIPPAṬIKKARAI

(*Hymn* 22)

I

The poet in the company of *Bhaktas*, comes to the temple of *Tiruppaḷamaṇṇippaṭikkari*, the temple on the bank of the old river *Maṇṇi*, branching off from the *Coleroon*. The mercy of the Lord involved in enshrining Himself there, inspires him with joy and love. He points out the temple to the *Bhaktas* (3). "There is the temple," he points out, "the place of the Lord who has come to save us here and now" and he begins to describe Him in various ways. In verses 3, 5 and 9 the address to the *Bhaktas* is clear. But as we always find a uniformity in each one of his *hymns*, the other verses of this *hymn* may also be understood as being addressed to the *Bhaktas*. The pattern of the sentence, "Ah! this *Paḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* is the place of the Lord of these acts!" is quite clear in verses 2 and 5. But in other verses, the same pattern may be understood, though, as they stand, they mean, "Ah, this is *Paḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* of this Lord of these activities!" Thus the emphasis is placed on *Paḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* where the Lord has come to stay to save us, like the cultivator putting up a hut in his field. The poet himself in his last verse speaks of this *hymn* as one in praise of *Paḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai*. Even the sands trodden on by the beloved one is dear to the lover when the Love reaches its zenith. Our poet as the beloved of the Lord falls in love with His holy place (3).

II

Thus the descriptions of the place are only in relation to the Lord coming and enshrining Himself there and our poet almost dances in joy in enumerating the acts of the Lord. "This is the *Paḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* of clear waters where live happily innumerable lives which may ordinarily refer to the creatures of the water but which in the present context should refer to the innumerable human beings saved by the Lord through His kind act of establishing Himself within that temple in our midst" (10). "He

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is the Past. He is our Lord and patron, the Great Saviour and Guide" (1). The word *pirāṉ* is interpreted by the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators as '*upakārakaṉ*', the Great Help, and this word is repeated six times with an inward joy in the first verse. "He is the recessive past: He is the Saviour whose beginning nobody can see or know; He is the Saviour on our crown, the Eternal Saviour. He is the Saviour and the Great Teacher of the banyan tree ready to swallow poison for us" (1). "The crown of His head is the dome of the Heavens but yet He stands firm for ever at *Paḻamaṇṇippaṭikkarai*, to enable His *Bhaktas* to praise and worship Him and serve under His feet of our refuge, showering flowers thereon" (2). "Ye, who are full of love! Oh, Ye, who dance in joy and love! Ye, who serve Him surrounded by our people! Adorn yourself with the dust of the feet of His followers. This is a lightning-like ephemeral life of suffering and decay. But without undergoing these miseries of life, reform yourself and walk along; Oh, *Bhaktas*, Sing His *Paḻamaṇṇippaṭikkarai*" (3). "Hark, this is "*Paḻamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* of the Lord of Power" (4). "Oh, you have dedicated yourselves to the service of the Lord; feel elated in praising and worshipping Him with your hands held in *añcali* pose. Hark! this is *Paḻamaṇṇippaṭikkarai*" (5). "The Lord showers His blessings pleased with the song and music even of the erring souls" (7). "The Lord is unknown to the great men of power even when they worship Him with the eight flowers" (8). "Do not think of Him as a mad man" (9). "He is attached to the *Paḻamaṇṇippaṭikkarai*" to save us; get, therefore, attached to Him (the *Paḻamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* Lord) and get rid of all your sins and infamy" (9). Thus singing and experiencing the joy of his own *hymn*, he assures the readers that they will also be rid of their miseries (10).

III

The poet is referring to the details of worship with the three *karaṇas* (5). The *añjali* pose is referred to as "*kai kūppal*". The Lord Saviour on our head is familiar to the students of *Pallava* inscription as already pointed out by us. The feet of the Lord are important as our refuge and falling at His feet is an expression of our self-surrender. The worship of the feet of the Lord has become popular in *Buddhism* of the age of *Maṇimēkalai*. The worship of *Viṣṇupāda* or the feet of *Viṣṇu* is also well known. *Śiva's* feet standing merely as such without any other image were also thus worshipped in the *Pallava* Age as is made clear by the Icono-

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graphy of the Eastern Archipelago. The famous verses of *Appar* ending in "*Aiyāraṉ aṭittalamē*"[1] should be referring to such worship of the foot-prints considered to be those of *Śiva*. *Paṅkaya-pādam* (5) is a term familiar to the readers of *Maṇimēkalai* and our poet speaks of the Lord in almost similiar terms '*Paṅkaya-pādaṉ*' (5).

The worship with flowers and garlands has been often referred to in these *hymns*. Here, our poet refers to the eight flowers (*puṉṉai*, white *erukku*, *caṇpakam*, *nantiyāvarttam*, *nīlōpalam*, *pāṭiṛi*, *alari* and the red lotus) — these are the external flowers (8). There are also eight mental qualities spoken of as flowers used in mental or spiritual worship; *viz*., non-violence, control of the senses, forbearance, mercy, knowledge, truth, *tapas* or sacrifice and love. The worship of the temple goes along with the worship of the form of the Lord as the Universe where the dome of the Heaven becomes His crown (2). The importance of music and dance and poetry in worship is also well brought out in this *hymn* (3).

The followers of the Lord renouncing every thing, are clothed in loin cloth stitched up with the waist-string (9) to show that they have cut themselves away from all attachments and the experiences of the sensuous enjoyment of this world. The *Kuṛaḷ*, "*Paṛṛuka Paṛṛaṛṛāṉ paṛṛiṉai apparrai-p paṛṛuka paṛṛu viṭarku*" seems to be echoed in the 9th verse of this *hymn*.

Our poet often differentiates between *Pattar* (3), and *Cittar*, the loving souls on their way to be freed and the free souls. Perhaps, there is a pun on the former word, *viz*., *Baddha* and *Bhakta*. In this *hymn* our poet differentiates further amongst the souls on their way to freedom into *Bhaktas*, *Toṇṭars* and *Aṉpars* (3). The *Bhaktas* sing, the *Aṉpars* or lovers dance in ecstasy and *toṇṭars* serve His Followers. This is a distinction corresponding to *Pēy*, *Pūtam* and *Pāriṭam* surrounding the Divine Dancer and also corresponding to the "*Pattarāyp paṇivārkaḷ eḻārkkum aṭiyēṉ*, *paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēn*, *Cittattaic Civaṉpālē Vaittārkkum aṭiyēṉ*[2] which our poet enumerates in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* though the word *Pattar* is used there in a different meaning. The word '*Pācupataṉ*' as the name of the Lord is repeated twice (6, 8), a

1. 4: 92.
2. 7: 39: 10.

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word which is to be distinguished from *Paśupati*. *Pācupataṉ* is a follower of *Paśupati*, though not necessarily the follower of the *Pāśupata* sect. In a similar manner our poet sings of *Śiva* as '*Śivaṉ*' a follower of *Śiva*. That these references identify the followers as *Śiva* Himself is the corner-stone of His faith as revealed in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. *Pācupataṉ* may also mean *Śiva* as in possession of his special weapon known as *Pāśupatam*, the *Pāsupatāśtra*, the missile, presided over by *Paśupati* or *Śiva* which He has bestowed on *Arjuna*.

IV

The *Purāṇic* descriptions as well are referred to as emphasizing the message of his *hymn*: the blue throat (1), the sacred ash (7), the crescent moon (2), the company of the Mother (5), the Lord of the *Dēvas* (8), receiving the worship of *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* (8) to whom the Great remains invisible, the Great teacher of the banyan tree (1), the destroyer of the three cities (8) and Death (6), carrying the white axe (5), the trident (5), the Destroyer and Saviour of *Rāvaṇa* (7), of the red like coral form adorned with the anklet of victory (6), the great master of the white dance (2).

V

The *Jains* are specifically mentioned and the '*um*' (and) of '*Amaṇum*' probably suggests that our poet is impliedly referring to *Buddhists* as well (9). "Our Lord departs in no haste from them to enjoy the feast of poison" (9)—thus our poet sings, probably implying that our Lord swallows also their sins, and scandals also, to save them by giving them nectar or redemption. Their condemnation of the Lord as the mad man (9), our poet begs of us not to believe. The *Jains* — evidently the *Digambara* ascetics — are described by our poet as being very learned but going about naked (9). This verse is however interpreted in another way; The departure is taken as referring to the followers of the Lord to whom this verse is addressed — the followers who wear the stitched up cloth piece (a contrast to the naked *amaṇas*) for cutting away or escaping from eating (as referring to this birth where the only important activity seems to be eating and nourishing this body or as referring to experiencing the fruits of *karma*); they are asked not to go in haste to the naked but learned *Camaṇ* or *Jains* (*Karra* + *amaṇ* has became *Karramaṇ*, consequent on the ellipsis of the final '*a*' of *Karra*); next, they are requested to

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tear themselves away from the *amaṇ*; they are told not to think of the Lord swallowing the poison and riding on the bull as a mad person; for these show his Grace and *Dharma*; they are finally advised to get themselves attached to the Lord attached to *Paḷamaṇṇippaṭikkarai* and to get rid of their scandals and sins thereby.

VI

This *hymn* also must belong to the period of our poet's political greatness. He describes himself as the *Ārūraṉ* of the garland of lotus (10); the lotus garland is peculiar to the Brahmins[3] and, therefore, he must be conscious of His birth. He is thinking of his followers and relatives, He assures those who are capable of reciting this *hymn* or listening to it, that their followers and relatives also will be relieved of all their sufferings all through the day both during day and night—an assurance which reminds us of the later day '*kavaca*' *hymns* in Sanskrit (10).

3. *Kali.* V., 52.

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CHAPTER XXXVII

TIRUVĀLKOLIPUTTŪR

(*Hymn* 57)

I

The bliss as experienced and expressed in the previous *hymn* must have been so unwordly that somewhere from the unconscious, a doubt should have reasonably sprung whether this blessing of the Lord will be continuous, thus suggesting, as the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators would say, a game of hide and seek, played by the Lord. The world as it stands makes most of us forget the Lord. "Will I also forget"?—thus arises a doubt, but his own mind, which has experienced the supreme bliss crying out in joy; "How sweet is He when we think of Him"! and pointing out the temple where He has enshrined Himself, now exclaims, "What Forget Him! Forgetting Him, what shall I think of?"—that is the refrain of the present *hymn*.

our mind is so constituted that when one thought occupies its centre, other thoughts fade away to be forgotten. It is the nature of the mind also to hold on the happy thoughts. The Lord has become everything to our poet. His omnipresence is no more a theory but our poet's own personal experience, an experience of what the *Upaniṣads* speak of as, "*Satyam, Jñānam and Anantam Brahmam*". If everything brings our happy Lord before our poet, how can he forget Him and what else will he think of? The chorus of this *hymn*, thus reveals to us the great state reached by our poet in his spiritual experience.

II

The Lord is to our poet the most precious thing—(1-12) '*māṇikkam*', the precious gem of carbuncle, the lovely and lovable *māṇikkam* our poet is very fond of. He is repeating this description many a time in his *hymns* as one who has moved in the company of Emperors and himself wielding political influence. *Māṇikkam* representing the beauty, nature and all, appeals to him as reflecting in its lustre, the lord of invaluable light and law.

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Maṇikkam is sometimes spoken of as the gem on the crest of a cobra. This has probably suggested the *purāṇic* story of an ant-hill residence of a cobra, where was hidden the sword of *Arjuna* by the Lord. *Vāḷoḷipuṟṟūr* is one form of the name of the city. The other form is *Vāḷkoḷip puttūr*. *Puttūr* is a new city; to distinguish it from other *Puttūrs* it was called *Vāḷkoḷi* or *Vāḷoḷi*. But his love is in addition pure and holy and, therefore, he loves calling God '*Puṇitaṉ*' (11).

III

He gives expression to the experiene of the Lord. "He is the one who gives Himself up to me for being contemplated on. Thanks to His universal sovereignty, I am His slave and dog" (1). "He is the one who removes all the anxieties and the confusions of the mind. He is never displeased with my word and he has come and enshrined Himself in my heart" (3). "He has come and embraced me as the great hunter going after *Arjuna*" (6). "He is my father, the munificent patron of my father's father" (7). His experience of the Lord as we found elsewhere is expressed as the universal experience of the followers of the Lord. "The Lord jumps into the mind of those who contemplate on Him and completely fills it up" (2). "He is the greatest expert of making those who worship Him with flowers in their hands to reach His feet" (4), "One who is capable of removing all the obstacles", (7) "and all the defects" (8). "He is the great nectar and the medicine to all the loving things" (10). "He is the truth, becoming false unto all those who are devoid of truth, who is also the one who experiences everything standing even in this very body" (11). That this *hymn* also is one of bliss where are destroyed the sins already committed, is made clear by our poet assuring its readers that "this, a *hymn* of *Tamiḻ* of the cool heart — a heart whose heat of mad activity and passion had cooled down, a *hymn*, of good effects clear to our eyes, which destroys their sins which they have committed and which come to inflict them" (12). The '*Uḷaṅkuḷir Tamiḻ*' (12) is reminiscent of *Campantar's* assertion, "*Uḷaṅkuḷirnta pōtelām ukantukantu uraippaṉē*".[1] "I sing of him whenever my heart is cool and happy". It is in the same mood, our poet also has sung this *hymn*. Our poet speaks lovingly of this *hymn* as a creation of his, as much of a child as *Ciṅkaṭi*.

1. *Cam*: 2: 98. 9.

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The Lord is the *Dēva* of the *Dēvas*, God of Gods, (3) — the Lord of the *Dēvas* unknown to them (6). He is one whose beginning has never been seen or known, the greatest among the ancient three, the one great principle impossible to be known (7), but one who, however, out of His Grace assumes a form for our sake (6), the red one smeared with white ashes (11). He is of that country of empty space or Heavens — *Vāṉanāṭaṉ* (8).

IV

These names lead us on to a consideration of *Purāṇic* references which are found in this *hymn* as in others. The destruction of the elephant (1, 4), and the Lord of Death (1), and the three cities (5), the begging with the skull (4), the riding on the bull (1), the sacred ash (11), the serpent (4), the garland of bone and the sacred thread on his chest (5), the singing of the four *Vēdas* (10), carrying a hand-bag of sacred ashes (10), vanquishing and blessing *Rāvaṇa* (9) and *Arjuṉa* (6), remaining invisible to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8). The poet speaks of the Lord as going a-begging as a lover whilst He Himself has burnt to ashes *Maṉmata* (2, 5). Again he speaks of the Lord being in the company of the damsel after having destroyed *Kāma* (5). This oxymoron suggests that one should be a Lord and not a slave of love and that there is nothing carnal about Lord's love. These *purāṇic* references are looked upon by our poet as something related to his own subjective experience and not as mere stories. He speaks of the Hunter going to fight with *Arjuna* coming and being with him (6).

V

In this *hymn* also our poet refers to the *Jains* and *Buddhists* almost in the very terms in which *Campantar* refers to them in one place '*Iruntuṉ Tērar* and *niṉṟuṉ camaṇ*"[2] — "The Buddhists sit and eat whilst the Jains and the ascetics stand and eat" (10). The *Buddhists* are called the *Tērar* and *Cēkkiḻār* in describing the debate between the *Buddhists* and *Campantar* because of this, gives at length the principles of *Tēravāda Buddhism*. Our poet's complaint against these sectarians is that they make fun of the Lord who in spite of it stands firm unperturbed and unaffected by them.

2. *Cam*: 1. 98: 10.

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VI

Our poet as usual describes the holy place as befitting the mood of the poem. The Lord is on the banks of the cool waters of *Maṇṇi*, where the blue lilies bloom in the small sluices (2), the river *Maṇṇi*, which comes and flows down into this place with happiness, carrying the tusk of the elephant, the black *akil* and the *chauries* (7). The place abounds with dramatic scenes of nature. The ripe cocoanut falls down; the buffaloes of ruddy eyes lying peacefully in the muddy waters of the fields, get terrified and run helter skelter, making the fields thus ready for cultivation (9). The '*vāḷai*' fish in its turn gets frightened and leaps up, to escape being crushed by the buffalo (9). The groves there glisten with the fertility and rich yield, while the fields are full of the best paddy of astonishing good yield (1).

VII

This *hymn* also must have been written in the period of his political influence. He calls himself "*Vaṉroṇṭan*", son of *Caṭaiyaṉ*, father of *Vaṉappakai* and *Ciṅkaṭi*, the king of the people of *Nāvalūr* (12).

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CHAPTER XXXVIII

TIRUKKĀṆATTUMULLŪR

(*Hymn* 40)

I

In the previous *hymn*, when the poet sang, "What else shall I think, forgetting you?", it was suggested that it was because that everything appeared to the poet as the Lord that he could not think of anything else forgetting the Lord. In this *hymn*, this idea which was in the background comes to the forefront and he describes this universal vision in this *hymn*. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, the Lord appeared before our poet when the latter was approaching *Kāṇaṭṭumullūr* and that it was his vision that the poet was singing in this *hymn*.

II

Of course our poet identifies this universal vision with the form of *Śiva* described in the *Purāṇas* which he was cherishing in his heart as a form of beauty and love. This identification is not a mere intellectual affirmation but an expression of his experience of the identity.

In the first verse he sees the Lord as *Śiva*, *Indra*, *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma*—all sung in the *Vēdas*—and, therefore, as the great Lord of the *Vēdas* and the great speech of truth. In the second verse he identifies his *Śiva* of twisted mat-lock as that principle of the universe becoming the whole world, the movable and the immovable lives therein, becoming the aeons and that sea (which floods the world at the end of each aeon) and the five basic elements evolving into various beautiful forms. He has become one great mass of basic cloud. He has become all this, out of His pure Grace like unto the cloud showering its rains expecting nothing in return. In the third verse he identifies the *purāṇīc* form of *Śiva* with the all pervasive Lord of the *Vēdas* (*Puruṣa Sūkta*), the great light of lights and with the Lord of the *Āgamas* possessed of the eight great qualities.[1]

1. See *Parimēlaḻakar—Eṇguṇattāṉ—Tirukkuṟaḷ*—8.

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In the fourth, he identifies the *purāṇic* form of *Śiva* with that supreme principle of ours beyond everything, becoming all the contradictory things of the Universe like fire and water, becoming in fine, all matter being Himself the five elements, becoming the great category of time, being Himself the future, the present and the past and becoming the great category of space and all that move through this space measnring time like the sun and the moon. In the fifth verse he identifies the *purāṇic* form of *Śiva* the crest jewel of the *Dēvas* (*Dēvarkaḷ cūḷāmaṇi*) as the great witness and *Sākṣin*, becoming at the same time all this universe — the great immanent and transcendent principle, In the sixth verse he identifies *Śiva* of the *purāṇas* beyond the reach of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* as the only truth or principle of this world, that one principle which creates our happiness and bliss. The seventh verse lays the emphasis on this principle of Light, Love and Happiness which is important in a pragmatic point of view. The Lord of the *Dēvas*, the Lord of the eternal beings and the secret principle of the *Vēdas* is identified with this Principle of Light and Happiness which our souls hanker after. He is the rare gem, the pearl, the divine gem, the honey and the juice of the sweet sugarcane, the great precious stone beyond knowledge, and the shining gold.

III

In connection with these descriptions our poet also mentions the Lord as enjoying the bath in the five-fold fruits of the cow, (7), the milk, the curd, the ghee, the dung and the urine—all coming out of the green grass the cow eats, undergoing a miraculous metamorphosis into the wonderful food and constituents of food mixed in the right proportion for the calf and the human beings, *viz.*, milk as a mixture of protein, carbohydrate, fat and water in its natural form, curd as more digestible, thanks to the work of the lactic acid—giving us the most important protein, and ghee representing the fat constituent and the food or manure, the cow-dung and urine, for the plants which had given the cow its sustenance—a wonderful play of the co-operative principle forming or expressing the beautiful circle of the plants and animals feeding and nourishing one another. Our poet distinguishes the first three from the rest and mentions only these three in some places.[2] The Lord of the divine principle is sent to shine at every

2. 7: 15: 6.

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point of this five-fold metamorphosis, the five great wonders of the organism of the cow and it is this which is spoken of as the bath in the five-fold fruits of the cow.

IV

In the eighth verse, our poet describes the great dance of the Absolute standing all alone after everything has been involved into itself throwing out its eight arms, representing the eight points of the compass, dancing in the great fire of sacrifice as an eternal youth with no attachment whatever. The universal vision is thus given a concrete expression in this description. The ninth verse identifies the *Śiva* of the *Purāṇas* dear to his heart as the great Lord who takes all the varied things of this universe as Him own form. The tenth verse represents the harmony of Light and Love in the form of *Ardhanārīśvara* and suggests that this first principle of the *Vēdas* assumes these forms of the universe for showering on us its love so that we may not get ourselves entangled in the mire of a cruel hell. In the last verse the crown of the Lord saving the crescent moon and the feet of the Lord blessing *Ravāṇa* are referred to, suggesting thereby He is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of everything.

V

The references to the *purāṇic* descriptions also come in this *hymn* — the crescent moon (1, 3, 9, 11), the mat-lock (1, 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11), the trident (3), the *koṉṟai* (4), the bull (3, 5), the serpent (5), the form red like the flower of "*murukku*" (5), the flag of the bull and the serpent (6),[3]—the sacred thread (8), the eight shoulders (8), the fire dance (8), the loin cloth (8), the ear-ring. (8, 9), the milk-like sacred ash (9), the company of the Mother (10), the indivisible form of His (10) and the redemption of *Ravāṇa* (11).

VI

The beauty of the holy place must have appealed to our poet in the present context as the very form of the beauty of this great Lord, constituting this wonderful universal vision. It is a vision of happiness and love. The bent up bud of (*tāḻai*) with its thorny

3. See our discussion on *Kaṭṭuvāṅkam*.

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outer leaves blossoms forth becoming more and more fragrant and the grove overflows with its sweet smell. In the fields surrounded by these groves the blue *kuvaḷai* with the honey in its mouth sleeps undisturbed (1).

There is another vision of happiness, a miracle as it were worked by water suggesting overflowing Grace of the Lord. The buds of lotuses raise their heads high up above the water and blossom into flowers of greatness. The swans get on these commodious flowers and play. Near the wide banks of the pond, the sugar-canes grow taller and taller whilst the great paddy plants grow crowding together (3). The excellent paddy grows cool with great blades. Nearby stand the soft sugarcanes of pearls and bend low on the moat. On the bamboos grown there on the moat, the bees build their honey comb. Such fertile fields surround these holy places (8).

There is the play of the fish to the concert of bees. The cranes and storks rush and cry in joy at getting their feast of fish. The carps and other small fish oblivious and unconcerned glide glistening and frisking about in play. In the water lilies, the bees sing as though for this play (10). The green arecanut palms stand all around where the cocoanut palm overflows with its intoxicating rich honeyed juice. The youthful bees drinking this juice sing in joy whilst the peacocks dance in the groves (4).

The river *Koḷḷiṭam—Coleroon*—beautifies the place. The damsels bathe in the river with their garments, their tresses of hair and garlands loosening down. The *kuṅkumam* paste washed in the river piles up and the river rushes along pushing it forth; on the banks of this river in the fields, the work-women remove the long '*kuvaḷai*' flowers with their overflow of honey, as heaps of weeds (6).

The river allows the gems of good hue to settle down on the banks. The flood rushes, forming whirls on its downward march (7). The flood comes with foams which leave their mark on the banks (11). Heading against its waves the damsels of beautiful bangles dive down and bathe in this river on whose banks as though in joy of all these the blue lily blossoms like the blue sapphire (7). (The reading adopted is "*Nuraiyiṉār karai taḻuvu Koḷḷiṭattiṉ karai*' (11) which is better than the other reading though there is no alliteration; this want is made up with assonance).

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The damsels representing love thus beautify the place of holiness. The harmony of all kinds of life is suggested in another verse. In the moat sleeps peacefully the pure blue water lily lovingly taken care of by beautiful damsels of lips red like the '*toṇṭai fruit*' whose words are sweet and pure even when they are sulky. Near these water lilies stands the garden of plantains sweet with the ripe fruits, embracing the flower grove (9).

This beauty of nature rich with the palmyra palms and cocoanut garden is further heightened by the moral beauty of the righteous '*antaṇar*' singing *Vedas*, performing everywhere all through their seven births the *Vēdic* sacrifices distributing immense treasure all through this holy city of Muḷḷūr (5). These Brahmins are blessed with the wealth beloved of '*Tiru*' or the Goddess of Wealth. They kindle the three sacred fires, these beautiful '*antaṇars*' of all propriety. Their recitation all through the city is as much a sign of beauty of the place as the black buffalo going about grazing the lotuses in the fields thus unwittingly weeding out the obstacles to the growth of paddy (2).

VII

This *hymn* should also belong to the age of his political greatness for he describes himself, "*Uraiyiṉār matayāṉai Nāvalārūraṉ*", the famous *Ārūraṉ* of *Nāval* riding on an elephant (11). Or, '*matayāṉai*' may be a metaphorical description of *Ārūrar*. But he is also referring to his great attachment to the Lord and refers to the glorious *Tamiḻ* expressed as a matter of right in relation to his relationship with the Lord. He assures that those who are masters of this *hymn* will become the leaders of those who rule this world, divided into so many countries by the mountains and that they will also go a-head and become the leaders of the *Dēvas* to stand firmly established for ever as such leaders. The universal wisdom suggests universal sovereignty because in this vision our poet is thoroughly immersed in the Lord. That he should speak of this divine bliss in terms of universal sovereignty suggests that it is his pre-occupation of the kingdoms and rulers of his day that has driven the poet to express himself in this vein (11).

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CHAPTER XXXIX

TIRU ETIRKOLPĀṬI

(*Hymn* 7)

I

In the last *hymn*, our poet sang of the universal vision, assuring the readers of the *hymn* that they would rule this world and the other. The assurance took that form, because the world before him was hankering after such rulership and the pleasures which that rulership brought in its train. The world forcibly comes back to his mind and this *hymn* is addressed to that mind or the people of such mind. This *hymn* also belongs to the period of his political power and greatness as is made clear by the very opening lines of this *hymn* addressing those who come surrounded by kings riding on the elephant. It is significant that in the previous *hymn* our poet described himself as the famous *Ārūraṉ* of the great elephant, if our interpretation is correct, and that in this *hymn* he addresses his mind or the minds of those in great power like him in similar terms as riding on the elephant (1). The difference between himself and others is that our poet, as a freed soul, is conscious of the ephemeral nature and the temptations of the world and of the certain Grace of the Lord which takes the form of all these things of the world. He is, therefore, a Lord and not a slave of these temptations whilst others being unconscious of the illusions become a prey to them. It is this distinction which is the message of *Ārūrar's* life which suggests a comparison with the great *Janaka*.

II

Oh! Ye, who go about on elephants surrounded by the kings, when death comes, there will be none around you. Pray, keep this in your mind. Once you have fixed your mind thus on Him you need not change it (as we do in relation to the worldly things). Come along. Let us reach the Temple of our Father in *Etirkoḷpāṭi*" (1). The fear of Death, our poet knows, haunts the chiefs, and our poet takes advantage of this fear in addressing them. Next comes, in addition, the miseries of the world. "If there is birth there is always death. The household life is full of misery. (Do not begin talking and arguing and deluding your-

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selves. Word is not always expressive and revealing; it comes also to deceive and confuse. Hence all the warring philosophies). If there is word, there is pretension. (Or, it may mean if there is enmity there will also be stratagem and cheating). Oh! Ye, of mind and heart. Let us reach the temple of the Lord" (2).

The net of passion spread out by cunning women hastens death for the pleasure hunters. "This body of sins goes and goes; decays and finally falls down, all of a sudden. Before that happens, without getting entangled in the net of the deceit of the beauties of the well shaped (or shaped like the innerside of the tender mango cut longitudinally) eyes, let as reach the Temple" (3). This attack is not on the righteous women.

Women symbolize the life of passions, the life of slavery to the five senses; leading one astray till that one becomes a laughing stock to all. "Look! There live the great Five in our minds. Ah! Ye, of the deceitful mind! Before you fall into the slough of Despondency, slighted by all, let us reach the temple of our Lord" (4). The same idea continues enforcing the old fear of ignominious death. "These Five, way-laying us in their high-way robbery, are eating us away. Before our white skull of grinning teeth and mouth reach the grave, let us reach the temple" (5).

"Those whom you esteem as leading a glowing life are but false pretenders. To fill up your bellies, you are deluded, though you move with us. But you need not cry over this. Let us reach the temple of the Lord" (6).

("There the false sense of prestige and shame prevent you from mixing with the followers of God). Get rid of the sense of shame or false prestige. (You must get yourself reformed and become pure). Get rid of yours faults. (The greatest danger, the very negation of this love is vengeance and anger and (this you must get rid of. (If the mind were to catch hold of the Lord, it must get rid of what it is at present holding on tightly)—the passionate selfish attachment to the deceitful household life of the damsels of sweet smelling tresses of hair. The place made thus vacant must be filled with the love of the Lord. Let us reach the temple" (7). Thus our poet describes the Pilgrim's Progress.

"If there is pleasure, there will be misery (they are the two sides of a coin). Ah! this poor household life! Ye of foolish mind! Is will be sheer foolishness to speak of the aspect first. Let us reach the temple of the Lord" (8).

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"The worldly relationships however dear and divine, come to naught except in relation to God. Fathers and mothers — they cannot be our props even to the extent of the tiny seed of the sesame plant — (an idea which our poet mentioned once before). Let us reach the temple of the Lord" (9).

(The poet makes a distinction between '*cintai*' and '*neñcu*', the contemplating mind and the feeling heart. He also speaks of *maṉam*' (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8) — as that which thinks and of '*uḷḷam*' (1), the mind as the internal organ — *antahkaraṇa*).

III

This *hymn* is not a negation of life but a plea for a fuller life, once it glows with the love of the Lord. That is why he assures us, "Don't feel miserable. Our father will become one with us through and through and show the path of Heavens. He is the Lord who when we praise Him herein, blesses us with life hereafter" (6). "But take note, none but His lovers will ever reach the feet of the Great Master and *Guru of koṉṟai*" (8). "He is the Father (1), our Father (9), the Master (3), the *Dēva* (4), the Chief (6), the God (7), the Beginning (10), the Great Light" (10). "He is the Lord who has thought of this Temple for saving us" (10). "He is the Lord of *Etirkoḷpāṭi* caught in the bondage thrown out by the Bhaktas" (11). He is full of the love of the Bhaktas to worship whom our poet has fixed his mind, upon Them — our poet the slave of the followers of the Lord, himself a *Bhakta*, the son of *Caṭaiyaṉ*" (11).

IV

The *Purāṇic* references are also here — the blue throat (2), the mat-lọck with water (2, 11), the bull (2, 7), the loin cloth (3), the destruction of the three cities (5), the bones (7), the crescent moon (9), the Fire unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (10), the Lord of the coral form besmeared with pearl like sacred ash (11), the Trinity and the Two (4) (male and female) turning out to be the one Lord of all these (4).

The experience of the *hymn*, whilst singing it, inspires our poet to assure the readers that those who are masters of this *hymn* will certainly come to worship the feet of the Lord — converting thus even Emperors into the slaves of the Lord, taking refuge in His feet. No other assurance is necessary or proper in this context (11).

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CHAPTER XL

MŪPPATUMILLAI

(*Hymn* 18)

I

This *hymn* proceeds in a playful mood, like the *Bhikṣāṭana hymns* we had discussed earlier. Though there is no specific reference to this form except in a few places, the descriptions herein can apply to the *Bhikṣāṭana* form of the Lord as well. The interrogation is rhetorically raised, "Would we have come to serve Him if we had known this? (wearing the serpents, *etc.*) (1). This may playfully suggest the answer, "We would not have". Some take this chorus of the *hymn* not as an interrogation but an assertion in this sense But there is also the more serious answer: "Even if we had known it, we would have come to serve Him". Thus there are the gradations of meaning form playfulness to seriousness. The poet in the very last verse speaks of the *hymn* as expressing the mode of dedicating oneself to His services, clearly pointing out that the playful mood is only on the surface, whilst at bottom it is a *hymn* of love and self-surrender.

II

"He never grows old; He is never born; He never dies". Though this suggests His divinity, one may playfully speak thus of any matter as matter. "Unless He thinks of the cities in addition, His residence is the graveyard. His protectorate is *Vēḷvikkuti* and *Taṇṭurtti*. (These mean the city of Sacrifice and the cool Island, but the poet is punning on these phrases which may mean also the intoxicating drink and the bellows). If we had known that what he has tied round his waist is the serpent, would we have come to serve Him?" (1).

"He dances in the jungle of misery. It is impossible for everyone to have a sight of Him. (This may mean also that no one can bear the sight of Him). He dances and sings besmearing Himself with the ash dusts of a burning ghat. If we had known he eats what is given by the *Vēdic* scholars with pure ghee raising

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and guarding the Holy Fire in the round sacrificial pit, would we have come to serve Him?" (2). (This reference to *Marai* or *Vēdas* may mean also that he eats what is cooked with ghee in the round pit of fire by those who move about clandestinely).

"He has a thousand names (This jocularly suggests that He has thousand aliases and alibis). He is neither man nor woman. His city is *Orriyūr* (This means also a city under mortgage). We do not know how He got the other cities. He swallowed the poison (leaving its indelible mark of this attempt at suicide in His throat). If we had known His necklace is the serpent, would we have come to serve Him," (3).

"He has (nothing but) boar tusks and the young tortoise to wear. He rides on the bull. In the jungle of a burning ghat His followers speak whatever they experience. (It may mean they speak according to their sweet whims and fancies) and they fall in love with Him. But He wears one skin of the deer, throws the tiger skin on His shoulders and covers Himself up with the elephant skin. If we had known this, would we have come to serve Him?" (4).

"He has nothing but the alms, thrown by the city to eat after feeding others. He rides on the bull as though it were a horse. He makes His livelihood by inciting the *Bhūtas* to sing for Him. If we had known that He catches hold of the snakes in every '*pāḻi*" (*pāḻi* means a temple and also a cavern) and makes them dance for His livelihood, would we have come to serve Him?" (5).

"His daugher-in-law is a *kurava* — a mountaineer's girl. His following the boar as a *marava*, or hunter, is all illusion. So is it, His being All pervasive, the Beginning, Light and the faultless and unfailing *Dhārmic* ascetic. If we had known Him, would we have come to serve Him?" (6)

"He is the same unchanging nature — a mad man. He is the mother (ii) who begot me (i); the grand-mother (iii); their mothers (iv); the Lord (vii) or the Chief of the panel of their fathers (v) and their latters' mothers. (vi) (The numbers denote the seven generations going up from the poet). If all His wealth is His begging with the head of the deceased — if we had known this (great) *tapas* of His, would we have come to serve Him?" (7). "He is the beyond — *Indra*, *Rudra*, *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma*. He removes the confusions and anxieties of these contemplating on Him. He

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is beyond us. If He resides also within our Heart and that as an empty space would we have come to serve Him?" (8). (These may be taken in a jocular vein as statements to be laughed at as pretensions and contradictions and also seriously as expressions of the great truth).

"He blesses both Indra and *Rāvaṇa*, inimical to each other. He repeats the *mantars*. He sings the *Vēdas* and holds the deer in His hand. He is one with *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* but yet stands alone in between them unknown to them" (These may be taken as unbelievable contradictions and as serious truths.) (9).

Most of these are *Purāṇic* references especially to the *Kāpāli* dance and the *Bhikṣāṭaṇa* form. The poet thus comes again to relish the *purāṇic* lore with its message of Love.

III

The great philosophical truths are also hinted at. "The Lord is Deathless (1), birthless (1), ageless (1), sexless (3). He is the All Pervasive (6), the Beginning (6), the Light (6) and the *Aram* or *Dharma* (6), the occupant of the *Daharākāsa of the* Heart" (8). His experience of the Lord as residing in his own heart removing the anxieties and confusions, though otherwise He is beyond our ordinary reach, inspires him with a feeling that he himself is the Servant of the Lord for (seven) generations (7, 8).

IV

This *hymn* must also belong to the period of our poet's political greatness. He calls himself the king of his enemies coming from a great family, the chief of *Ñāvalūr* (10). But he is still the great *Bhakta* who never swerves from the path of service to the servants of the Supreme Lord, those master-songsmen singing our poet's *Tamiḻ* of beauty. Our poet describes himself as one who goes in search of them (10). That those who could sing these *hymns* expressing how the poet could serve the Lord — will go to reside there beyond everything. *Paralōka* is nothing worth mentioning. It is so very easy of achievement by them. That is how our poet feels whilst singing this *hymn* of self-surrender and enjoying every mark of His love and beauty — marks which allow a jocular vein of playful speech with the Lord. What greater liberty can one expect more than this? Those who are so free with the Lord are always in the *Paralōka* — it is not anything to be achieved hereafter (10).

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CHAPTER XLI

TIRUMUTUKUNRAM

(*Hymn* 25)

I

This *hymn* takes us back into the inner circle of our poet's domestic life — a life which we have often compared with that of *Janaka*. According to the tradition, our poet was given gold, when he prayed to the Lord of *Mutukuṉram*, which he was ordered to throw into the river there to be gathered from the Temple-tank at *Tiruvārūr* after his return to *Tiruvārūr*. It was this *hymn* which our poet is said to have sung for gathering the gold at *Tiruvārūr*. As already pointed out there is nothing in this *hymn* itself giving any details of this miracle. This is one of the *hymns* in which reference is made to his wife *Paravai*. This is very much like the *Kōḷili hymn* (*H.* 20). "*Aruḷāy* or *Aruḷīr aṭiyēṉ iṭṭaḷaṅkeṭavē*" is the refrain. The pattern of the sentence in every verse is the same: the first and the second lines address the Lord, the second lines ending with the words "*Mutukuṉṟu Amarntīr*" (1, 2, 4) or "*Mutukkuṉṟam Amarntavaṉē*" (3, 6, 8, 9) or "*Mutukuṉṟu Amarntāy*" (5), "*Mutukuṉṟu Uṭaiyāy*" (7); the third lines describe the beauty and the anxiety of *Paravai*; the 4th lines beg of the Lord to bless him by destroying the miseries

(*Iṭṭalam* is a Dravidian word found also in *Kaṉṉaḍa*; one wonders whether it had come into *Tamiḻ* due to the *Kaṉṉaḍa* influence of the *Hoysaḷas* of Mysore with whom came into contact the *Gaṅgas* and others, in the age of *Ārūrar*. '*Iṭu*' as in '*iṭukku*', '*iṭukkaṇ*' means a narrow path—a straitened circumstance. '*Aḷam*' means crowding or pressure. Here the poet begs of the Lord to remove his difficulties by pointing out to the distress of *Paravai*.

II

Paravai's beauty is described in terms of lightning flash of her subtle waist (1), of her tresses of hair of fresh fragrance (2, 8) and full of flowers (9), of her broad eyes full of collyrium (3), of the beauty of her bosom (4), of her well shaped posterior (some will interpret it as pudendum), beautiful like the hooded serpent

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(5), of her fingers playing the ball (7) and of her beauty and nature befitting this world (or full of forbearance like the mother earth) (6).

His sufferings are next described. "Ah! What have you done, my Master, in the presence of this *Paravai*?" pointing to her near-by (1). "She is depressed and distressed and is fading away" (2). "Let her not pine away" (3). This withering away — *Vāṭṭam* — is referred to in three places (2, 3, 5). In another place the phrase used is '*Kuṇam koṇṭiruntāḷ*' (4) which must be taken to mean the same thing. ('*Kuṇa*' as a *Tamiḻ* root in such words as '*Kuṇakku*', '*Kuṇalai*' and its related form '*Kuṭa*', means something bent. '*Kuṇam*' will then mean drooping and bending low, out of dejection of the heart or the exhaustion of the body). The poet begs of the Lord in six verses to bless and help him in her very presence (1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9). This '*Vāṭṭam*' must be physical and therefore, the misery or '*iṭṭaḷam*' has to be cured by material help. Our poet speaks of the Lord giving him gold even whilst *Umpar* and *Vāṉavar* were standing together in front (2). (This distinction of *Vāṉavar* and *Umpar* is one like *Dēvar* and *Amarar*[1] already noted by us. Can this be a reference to the help received by him on previous occasions?

III

This is not hankering after worldly things but relying upon the Lord for everything, after our poet's absolute self surrender to the Lord as already referred to in our discussion of the *Kōḷili hymn* (*H.* 20). The Lord is to our poet every kind of relationship and, therefore, he appeals to Him for saving his wife from the straitened circumstance she was in — which he claims as his own suffering as well. The poet looks upon *Paravai*[2] as the gift of God and, therefore, loves her whole heartedly, pleased with her beauty and moral grandeur. It is this that distinguishes the life of this couple of divine love from the lives of ordinary married people. Our poet addresses the Lord as the real truth of all relationship — the Master (1, 6), the Lord (2), the Father (3), the Merciful (of the eyes of beauty) (4), the Chief or Elder Brother (5), the *Antaṇaṉ* (7) (a Brahmin but according to *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*

1. 7: 63: 2.
2. 7: 46: 11.

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'*Aravaṉ*' with no attachment to the world but of beautiful and cool qualities), the King (8), and the Dancer (9) in the Heart of Love, *i.e.*, the Lover.

IV

The *Purāṇic* descriptions abound in the first two lines of every verse. To our poet begging for gold, the gold-like form of the Lord comes uppermost in his mind when he begins this *hymn* (1), so do the divine acts which removed the obstacles of others—the tiger's skin (1), the destruction of the three cities (1, 5), the three eyes (3), the crescent moon (4, 10), the company of the Mother (4), the elaboration of the *Vēdas* (4), the blue throat (5), the worship by *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma*, sun and *Indra* (6) and the eighteen group of *Dēvas* (8). The memory that He blessed him once before showering gold on him inspires him to make this request (2). The *Amarars* come in order to bow down before Him, the Oldest of the old of all these worlds, the Unique Lord of the winkless *Dēvas* (2), begging for His Grace; and Him *Ārūrar* of *Ñāvalūr* of rich fields (10), the chief of the *Vēdic* Brahmins (10), has described in this divine *hymn* or the king of *hymns* (10). He begs for Lord's love—for the bliss of *Śivalōka* and not for merely gold (10) which also represents to him one form of divine love. This is made clear by the final verse which assures those who had mastered this *hymn* that to them *Śivalōka* or the sphere of the Absolute or *Śiva* the Good, is easy of reach (10).

V

This *hymn* also belongs to the period of his political greatness for our poet speaks in terms of royalty describing the *hymn* itself as being full of kingship, *i.e.*, the king of the *hymn* itself as being full of kingship, *i.e.*, the king of *hymns* (10) but without, at the same time, losing his feeling of self-surrender to the Lord. However, as already stated, '*Iṟaiyār pāṭal*' may mean a divine *hymn*. He cries to the Lord that he has not known himself remaining without praising the Lord (9). Our poet describes the Lord in reference to this feeling of his. "He is the Supreme of the Supreme (9) showering His blessings on His *Bhaktas*. He is free by nature, a *Mukta* and yet a *Bhakta*" (3). Our poet calls Him a *Bhakta* (3)—for *Bhaktas* are none other then Himself. This description of the Lord as *Bhakta* ought to be taken along with the other description, "*Śaivaṉ, Pācupataṉ*" revealing to us the cult of the

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Śaivite Bhaktas so dear to the heart of our poet, the author of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai.*

VI

The description of *Mutukuṉṟam* comes in mainly as the place of the Lord, where flock all (10). In one place he refers to the drums resounding when the eighteen kinds of *Dēvas* surround Him—probably in a festival (8). There is another idea—a favourite idea of our poet, that of the holy place, assuming '*Sārūpya*', by adorning the crescent moon on its crown towers (7). "Here are gardens full of bunches of flowers surrounding and cooling the great fortress walls of the palaces, on which the crescent moon comes and stays—that very crescent moon reaching the mat-lock of yours, O, Lord of *Mutukuṉṟam*!" (7).

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CHAPTER XLII

NAMAKKAṬIKAḶĀKIYA AṬIKAL

(*Hymn* 33)

I

This *hymn*, though, according to tradition, is said to have been sung at *Tiruvārūr* when our poet returned to that place after his pilgrimage, does not belong to any specific temple. This *hymn* is, therefore, named after the refrain or ending of every verse herein —"*Namakkaṭikaḷākiya Aṭikaḷ*". "The Lord, our Master, is He, the same as the Lord of the kite-canopied jungle. Is He the same as the Lord of the dead skull? Is He the youth sharing His Body with the damsel of the mountain, *etc.*?" (1):—This is the pattern of the sentence, piling up the descriptions of the Lord in the form of interrogations. Most of these descriptions belong to the *Purāṇic* lore, and show that our poet's mind is captivated in this period of his life by these stories. As in the case of the *Bhikṣāṭana hymns* the descriptions are applicable to the *Kāpāli* and the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, revealing the heart of the loving damsels of *Dārukavana*, in the heart of our poet himself. Every interrogation is expressive of the loving regard of the poet for that description. One could see Him dancing in joy like a lover, asking forth for confirming the marks of the beloved, while, at the same time, giving his own descriptions and distinguishing features of the Lord for comparison. This *hymn* is addressed to the *Bhaktas*, our friends, guides and philosophers. He has experienced his Lord and they talk of their Lord—the one Lord of the Universe. "Is that universal Lord, the Lord of us all, our Master of this mark and of this mark — marks which have appealed to him in his own experience of the Lord?" The *Bhaktas* may be imagined to confirm his identification, when, as a result, his joy must have known no bounds, like the joy of *Kampan's Śītā* hearing the identifications of the hero who broke the *Śvayamvara* bow, as confirming her own marks of identi-

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fication of her own *Rāma* — the youth following the saint, the youth of the lotus red eyes:

"*Kōmuṉi yuṭaṉ varu koṇṭal ceṉṟapiṉ*
Tāmaraik kaṇṇiṉaṉ eṉṟa taṉmaiyāl
Āmava ṉēkol eṉṟu aiyam nīṅkiṉāi
Vamamē kalaiyiṉuḷ vaḷarnta talkulē".

(*Bālakāṇḍam*:

Kārmukappaṭalam. V. 62).

II

Lost in the bliss, our poet does not mention any result flowing from a recitation of this *hymn* but inquires of the *Bhaktas*, as in *hymn* No. 73, whether this our Master would accept his services and save him also.

III

This is addressed by *Ārūrar* of *Nāval*, the father of *Vaṉappkai*, the *Vaṉṟoṇṭaṉ* as he describes himself to the *Bhaktas*, thus revealing the great value the poet places on this cult of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*.

"You think and praise as it suits or as it pleases you — or according to your capacity" — thus are the *Bhaktas* addressed and described (2, 3, 6, 7, 10). He begs all of them to come together and to come near Him (He hankers after their physical presence near him) and to tell him what the truth is (2, 3) — those *Bhaktas* who are of the qualities setting up the standard to be followed by others:—the guides. "I worship at your feet and praise you. Pray, bless me (with the truth — 10)" — thus he addresses them, in all humility, as his masters. "I may be cruel, I may be wicked. But I am a slave of His: my mind is always thinking of Him. Will He accept and save me?" (10)—that is his last query. He thus expresses with all humility describing himself a fool (6), a cruel and wicked man (10).

IV

The graveyard (1, 7, 8), the skull (1, 2), the mat-lock (1, 2), the youthful form (1), the ear-ring (1), the bull (1, 2, 5, 7), the sacred ash (1, 3), the crescent moon (1, 5), the river and the

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mat-lock (1), the serpent (2, 5, 7), the *karantai* flower (2), His form red like *kuṉṟi* (3), the three eyes (4), the bath of milk and honey (4), the elephant's skin (4), the *koṭukoṭṭi* dance (5), the *vīṇā* (5), the lordship of the *Vēdas* (5), the trident (7), the blue throat (7), the begging at every door (7), the city (8), His being beyond the reach of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8), the dance of eight arms (8), the scandals of Jains (9), the formless (10) — all these are lovingly referred to in terms of the *Puraṇic* mythology.

V

"Would He accept us as His servants, lovingly feeding us with alms?" (2). "Is He a beggar because He has nothing or is He so, though He has everything?" (3). "Further, is He that One who is the Great *Aravar*, the *Dhārmic* ascetic renouncing everything?" (6). "Is He that One Good to those attached to Him?" (4). "Is He that One that is our Master full of His sovereignty?" (5). "Is He that One who understands and sympathizes with our sufferings?" (6). "Is He that One good to those praising Him?" (6). "Is He that One who takes to heart our words?" (6). "Further, is He that One who saves us?" (2). "Speaking to us the truth and nothing but the truth, (6), is He that great One who has many a people to sing His praises?" (8) "Is He that One good to those attached to Him?" (8) — These interrogations give us specific features of the Lord as our poet has experienced Him.

IV

This is one of the *hymns* in which there is a reference to the *Jains*. Our poet mentions their characteristic names with their peculiar endings: *Namaṇa Nandi. Karumā Viraṉ* and *Darumacēnaṉ*. They stand like hillocks with no clothes, without any sense of shame, uttering their *mantras* — *Namo* ..... with thenasal sounds predominating, which our poet caricatures as *nāmaṇa ñā ñaṇa ñāṇa ñoṇam*" — The complaint against them is that they hurl abuses on the Lord.

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CHAPTER XLIII

TIRUNALLĀRU

(*Hymn* 68)

I

Our poet begged of the followers in the previous *hymn* whether the Lord would accept him. Of course he is sure from his own experience that the Lord would save him. The implication of a possible negative reply however lurks there. Love is reciprocal and the contingency of a negative reply can only arise if the poet forgets the Lord. But can he? Has not he already exclaimed, "What shall I think of, forgetting Him?" (*H.* 57). Mind never forgets the happy things it has experienced and the Lord is the sweetest nectar. He has addressed the Lord as "*Ārā iṉṉamudu*" (*H.* 27:7). But this conception enters the centre of his mind henceforth, and he repeats calling, "The Lord of *Naḷḷāru* as '*Amudu*', to him a dog of a slave" (8). This is the burden of this *hymn*: "*Naḷḷāṟaṉai Amudai nāyiṉēṉ maṟantu eṉ niṉāikkēṉē*?". In the last verse, our poet himself gives the substance of this *hymn* in these terms — "the great *hymn* of a garland of five and five exclaiming, 'What is there for us to be forgetting *Śiva*?' " (10).

II

Amudu is the zenith of his happy experience of the Lord and the various happy descriptions of his of the Lord are piled up one after another, before reaching this acme of bliss. The descriptions are mostly as in the previous *hymns*, of the *purāṇic* forms of the Lord clearly revealing the fact about the poet's mind at this stage, being blissfully immersed in the *purāṇic* mythology as expressing the message of his own experience — the gold form (1), the white sacred ash (1), the blue throat (1) (all forming a harmony of colours), the Great Fire unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (1), the flaying of the elephant (1), the bull (1), the *koṉṟai* (2), the bath in five fold fruits of the cow (2), the company of the Mother (3, 8), the mat-lock (3), the saviour of the boy (*Mārkkaṇḍa*) (4), the destruction of Death (4), the feast of poison (4), the destruction of *Kāma* (6), the eye in the forehead (6), the bless-

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ing showered on *Arjuna* (7), the Teacher of the Banyan Tree (7), the father of *Subrahmaṇya* (7), the vanquishment of *Rāvaṇa* and his redemption through his music (9).

III

Our poet gives expression to his personal experience of the Lord, sometimes as peculiar to him, sometimes as the universal experience of all the *Bhaktas*. The Lord is the *Cit-Jñāna*, the Light and our poet experiences Him as the sprout of *Jñāna* (2), as the musician of the *Vēdas* (2), especially the *Śama Vēda* (1), as the Lord whose feet the *Antaṇar* full of the *Vēdic* lore and the *Vēdic* sacrifices worship (5), as the Pure flame of Light dispelling all darkness of words and their meanings (6). His supremacy is emphasized by such descriptions as this, "The Lord of the Sevenfold worlds" (2). This is experienced as such in the universal vision the poet sees. The Lord is the earth, the wind, the water, the fire and this vacant space (harmonizing all their contradictions into His unity). He is there, in all these as their very life and worth even as the very fragrance in a flower (3). God is the most precious thing, the best that could be desired or loved—the gem, the blotless gem (5),[1] the gold, the mountain of gold itself (6). This love is the greatest divine bliss. He is the sweet honey (3), the sweet fountain of nectar gushing forth from our tongue when we sing of His praises in the *Kāmaram* tune (3).

This Love makes us happy—giving us everything. He is the munificent patron—*Vaḷḷal* (9). He is the *Karpaka* tree (6). He is the All Powerful (1) — unique beyond any comparison (1) — the Lord of the immortals (3), but yet He cannot get away from the minds of those contemplating on Him (4). He removes the *karmas* of those praising Him (2). He is the Lord of the *Vēdas* destroying the *karmas* of those bowing at His feet[2] (8). He is searched everywhere and is never seen but yet He has come easily within my reach — the poor me (5). At last God's Feet have accepted me as His servant and saved me by showing His

1. *Māsilāmaṇi* (5) is a description of the Lord which our poet and *Śaivites* are fond of.

2. *Vēdam* means *Brahma*, the Creator; this suggests the meaning "Our Lord is the Creator who is Himself the destroyer of *karma*", a good example of oxymoron.

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wonderful title-deed (6). He is a great moral saint, *Aṟavaṉ* (7), but yet He is the Lord patiently putting up with and forgiving all the crimes I had done (7). He is the envoy easily within my reach (8), the Lord who has blessed me with His friendship forgiving all my perverse acts (8).

The name expressing all these beautiful thoughts is honoured as a *mantra, i.e.*, Śiva, a word which our poet repeats twice in this *hymn* (3, 10). The other popular name is *Śambhu*—the giver of Happiness (1).

In this overflowing of the Heart, feasting on the mythological descriptions as expressions of his spiritual experience, the poet has no space available for a description of the Holy place except for referring to its ever expanding fragrance (7), being surrounded by the crowding gardens (10).

IV

Our poet describes himself as the father of *Ciṅkaṭi* and *Vaṇappakai* and as belonging to *Nāvalūr*. He gives his proper name (*Ār*)*ūraṉ* and the title *Vaṉroṇṭaṉ* which he had acquired as a *Bhakta*. "To those masters of this *hymn* who with melting heart can recite this, there is no death and exit or entrance into the world; any they will be easily getting themselves immersed in the flood of the divine Bliss"— this is the assurance our poet gives (10); for, that must have been his own experience whilst singing this *hymn*, whose characteristic feature may be epitomized in one word '*Amudu*' (1-9). This emphasis differentiates this *hymn* from the *hymn* No. 57 which has the same refrain and paints out a higher spiritual development enjoying more the confidence in God.

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CHAPTER XLIV

TIRUKKAṬAVŪR MAYĀṆAM

(*Hymn* 53)

I

As in the previous *hymn*, the *Purāṇic* lore occupies the central place in the heart of our poet. Here, the Lord stands as it were before our mind's eye in a concrete form as enjoyed by our poet. The *hymn* is on the Lord of *Tirukkaṭavūr Mayāṉam*. *Mayāṉam* is a burning ghat and one wonders whether the temple here is a '*Paḷḷi paṭai*' (temple) of any great king. Kings, are *Perumāṉaṭikaḷ*; *Periyaperumāṉaṭikaḷ* (Vv. 1-9) will signify the greater king, the God.

II

In consonance with the grave-yard where the temple is situated, the Lord appears to us in this *hymn*, surrounded by the army of *Bhūtas* (1), *Pēy* (3), *Pāriṭam* (5), with the begging bowl of a grinning skull (2), besmearing Himself with the dust of the graveyard (6) — all these clearly suggesting the *Kāpāli* going a-begging. *Arūrar* makes a specific mention of the '*mayāṉam*' for the burden of every verse in this *hymn* is "*Mayāṉattup periya perumāṉ aṭikaḷē*". The place, as attached to *Kaṭavūr* was known as *Kaṭavūr Mayāṉam*. This is the name found in verses 1 and 5. In other verses except 8, *Kaṭavūr* is mentioned as the chief place. In the verse 8 also there might have been such a mention. *Piṭār Kaṭavūr mayāṉattu*' might have been the original form instead of '*Piṭār caṭaiyār mayāṉattu*', the latter reading was probably due to the influence of the verses 9, 4 and 6 which have '*Caṭaiyār mayāṉam*. The pattern of the sentence in every verse is 'the great king of this *mayāṉam* is the Lord of the various descriptions (known to us as that of *Śiva* in the *Purāṇas*).

III

The very first *hymn* sings of the Lord coming before us like a mountain of *māṇikkam* — *māṇikkam* so dear to our poet—crowned with the crescent moon, the Lord of fragrant *koṉṟai*, riding a

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bull along with the damsel, surrounded by the army of *Bhūtas*, the universal Lord of all — *Viṣṇu, Brahma Indra, Dēvas, Nāgas* and the *Tāṇavas* (1). In the other verses reference is made to the other *purāṇic* descriptions — the sacred thread (2), the singing of the *Vēdas* (2), and the three cities (2), the tiger's skin (3), the eight arms (3), the begging (3), the ornament of serpents (5), the elephant skin (5), the tusk of the boar (5), the pendent of a necklace (*tāli*) of a tortoise (5), the loin cloth (6), the ear-ring (6), the young deer (9), the feast of poison (7), the vanquishment of *Rāvaṇa* (7), the gift to *Arjuna* (8), the battle axe (9), the destruction of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice (9) and the head of *Brahma* (2, 9), the gift of the discus to *Viṣṇu* (9) and the preaching of *Dharma* (9).

IV

The Lord is called '*Pācupatar*' (6) (See our remarks on this word given elsewhere).

Describing the grave-yard, he is reminded of the sects of *Pāsupatas* (6) and *Māvratīs* (6), (the *Māvratīs* wear a sacred thread of hair called *pañcavaṭi* (6). Please see our description under the *Kāpāli* form).

The Lord as the Saviour — an idea which is the message of our poet — is also lovingly referred to: He is the Lord of all, blessing all, without ever saying no (4). The whole world is His (7). But His city is *Orriyūr* and *Ārūr* (7). This statement is made in a jocular vein because the poet is punning on the word *Orriyūr* and *Ārūr* which in addition to their denoting the cities of those names, may also mean a city under mortgage and a city of someone not known, respectively. ('*Ārūr* — literally meaning: Whose is the city?). He is the Lord of a thousand names (7), one who blessed His followers removing all their miseries (10).

V

The way of worshipping the Lord is also referred to. The *toṇṭar* or the followers sing their song in accompaniment to the drum — full of sound (4). We have suggested very often that the *Pūtam, Pēy* and *Pāriṭam* ought to be identified with the *Bhaktas* or followers of God and after mentioning *Toṇṭars*

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in one verse (4), he refers to the *Pāriṭam* (5) singing and dancing full of *Bhakti*, whilst the Lord stands before them as a mad man, mad in love with them going a-begging for their love and soul (5). The bath in the five-fold yields of the cow is also mentioned (9). Reference to the 1000 names of the Lord may suggest the idea of '*sahasranāma*', worshipping the Lord showering flowers on His feet at the mention of every name out of these thousand names (7). The Brahmins or the *Vēdic* scholars also worship Him (2), the Brahmins of *Kaṭavūr*, where abound palatial residences (10). This *mayāṉam* is near *Kaṭavūr* and our poet calls this place *Kaṭavūr Mayāṉam* (1, 5), whilst in other places, he calls Him also the Lord of *Kaṭavūr* (2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10).

VI

The poet is happy in describing the *purāṇic* personality of the Lord, the Lord revealing to him as such at the temple of *Mayāṉam*. Our poet says he has searched for the real greatness of the Lord and for the correct words expressing Him, and has given expression to these in these good *Tamiḻ* verses (10). The sins of the followers who sing this *hymn* or listen to this will be destroyed (10). Having enjoyed the description whilst singing this *hymn* and feeling purified of all forms of songs the poet assures his readers of the same experience (10). The poet has completely forgotten his individuality, so completely lost in bliss of the description of the Lord, that he does not make any personal reference to himself except in the last verse which usually gives his name. This *hymn* may be taken to belong to the age of his political greatness because he gives the proper name as *Ārūraṉ Nampi*, a period when he was thinking of his title of *Nampi* also as much a proper name as *Ārūraṉ* (10).

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CHAPTER XLV

TIRUKKAṬAVŪR

(*Hymn* 28)

I

In this *hymn* the poet becomes subjective. The same description of the Lord as the *Kāpāli* and *Bhikṣāṭana* of the grave yard still continues to occupy the central place. But the world before him, the world of his political influence with chiefs and kings who claim him as their companion, stands contrasted with this divine bliss (10). He enjoys repeating these descriptions and exclaims after the experience of this joy, "Ah, My Lord, my Nectar, Who is there as my help or prop except yourself?"—This is the burden of this *hymn*. He has already explained God bestowing on Him His friendship.[1] This is what our poet himself states in the last verse as the theme of this *hymn*, the interrogation being, "Can there be any other help or prop?" The bliss of the previous *hymn* and this *hymn* comes forth as the assertion, "Who is my companion except yourself?" The first two lines and a half in every verse describe the Lord; the second half of the third line ends in "*Kaṭavūrtaṉuḷ vīraṭṭattu em*" (1, 2, 5, 6, 7) or "*Kaṭavūrttiruvīraṭṭattuḷ*" (3, 8, 9, 10) or "*Kaṭavūrtaṉuḷ Vīraṭṭāṉattu*" (4). (As suggested by one reading all these endings must have been originally of of one kind only, *viz.*, "*Kaṭavūr taṉuḷ vīraṭṭattu em*"). The fourth line ends with the words, "*Eṉ Amutē eṉakku ār tuṇai nī alātē*"? except in 3, 8 where instead of "*Eṉ Amutē*" they begin with "*Eṉtātaipperumāṉ*" (3), '*Ārār Ceñcaṭaiyāy*" (8). The first word of these fourth lines mention the emphatic relationship of the Lord to himself. This is the pattern of the sentence in every verse.

II

The conception of *Vīraṭṭāṉam* had been already referred to in our description of the *Purāṇic* mythology. The *Purāṇic* perso-

1. 7: 68: 8.

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nality is described in this *hymn* in relation to the sacred ash (1), the trident (1), the *Ganges* (1), the *koṉṟai* (1), the crescent moon (2), the beggar's bowl of a *Brahma Kapāla* (2), the blue throat (2, 4, 5), the exposition of *Dharma* (3), the destruction of Death (3), the deer (3), the elephant's skin (4, 5), the gold form (4), the company of the Mother (4), the serpent (5), the graveyard (7), the ear ring (8), the tusk of the boar (8) and the invisibility of the Lord to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (9).

III

The poet gives expression to his subjective experience apart from the realization of these *purāṇic* truths. The Lord is "*Śarva vida bandhu*"—all kinds of relationships—the master (1), the Sovereign (2), his father (3), his brother (6), his Chief (5), the precious and rare one (7); the creator (9)—as mentioned through the emphatic beginning words of the 4th lines. In all the verses except for the words, "*Eṉ Amute*", are found words connoting a conception of the Lord as experienced by our poet coming more and more to the forefront as we stand elsewhere. Therefore, in the two other verses (3, 8) also these words must have a place. In the third verse a reading may be suggested "*Entāy eṉṉamutē*" and in the eighth verse, it might have been "*Arār eṉṉamutē*" ("The Lord of the River *Ganges*, my nectar or my nectar carrying the river).

He gives more of his experience, "You entered into my soul—no delusion is this—and you have not till now known leaving me (5). "I am your slave, O, my rich Light! O, *Siva*! (8)". I cannot decide and place my reliance on anybody other than yourself (8)". You are unknown to *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* but yet you are the sweet fruit enjoyment for us (*Payaṉ*—9)—Our Supreme Lord, the Supreme Light beyond everything (9)". The transcendental and immanent principle as experienced by him is given expression to, "He is the earth, water, fire, space, air and all the elements evolving from these subtle categories (6). "He has further become the male and female and sexless beings and other forms of this world—the One who has thus assumed these forms (6). Yet He is (the gem) the apple of the eye (6). He is the beauty (*Ēr*) (10), and the all pervasive Lord (*Iṟai* 10) of the beautiful chief of *Nāvalūr*.

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IV

Thinking of the Beauty of the Lord, our poet himself feels he is beautiful—out of the feeling of communion. But he hastens to describe himself as the slave, the servant of His feet (10). Enjoying the divine bliss all through this *hymn* when describing the Lord and being in communion with Him and the divine bliss of the sphere of the Absolute beyond everything, he assures his readers of this *Tamiḻ* verse of this world that they will all be undergoing the same experience of the bliss of *Paralōka*—being in that *Paralōka* itself (10).

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CHAPTER XLVI

TIRUVALAMPURAM

(*Hymn* 72)

I

In this *hymn* (*i*), the holy place of natural beauty reminding one of God's Grace and greatness, (*ii*), the subjective experience of the poet and (*iii*) the *purāṇic* descriptions as objectifying his personal experience become unified and the joy of this harmony may be heard in the trot-like movement of these *kali* verses almost echoing the natural and rhythmic movements of falling fruits and the waves of the sea, the rhythmic activities of the Lord of the *Purāṇas* and the rhythmic beating of the joyful heart of the poet. The rhythmic song of this *hymn* makes *Cēkkiḻār* describe this as '*Urai ōcai-t tiruppatikam*'. The importance of Temple as the reservoir on fountain of divine love has been pointed out. This *hymn* starts with all this in mind.

II

In the previous *hymn* the poet waking up in this world, affirmed that no one of this world could be relied for as help. In this *hymn*, the idea of the temple in which is enshrined the incarnation of the Lord as the beauty of the idol comes to his mind and he cries in joy, "Why a human companion for help! He is this piece of earth. Even an iota of this earth is enough—I have found and realized herein a refuge for me—me, who has been in search of an earthly companion and support in this place of the Lord (1), my Master (*Aṭikaḷ*—3, 8)". "This *Valampuram*, is His place; the place of One who is the One great light for all the eight points of the compass (10)". Our poet must have experienced this in his universal vision. "He is sweet to me. He is sweet to His (our?) people. Ah! He has been sweet to our mind all through the sevenfold births" (1).

"His place—the place of the Lord of these qualities and activities—is *Valampuram*"—this is the pattern of this *hymn*. Every verse ends in these words, "*Iṭam Valampuramē*" (with the sudden

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implied suggestion of an oxymoron, for '*iṭam*' in addition to its meaning here, 'place', also means 'left', whilst the word '*valam*' in the phrase '*Valampuram*' means right. The three half lines pile up its descriptions or activities of the Lord.

III

The descriptions of the *purāṇic* stories are epitomized forcibly in the swift moving short but telling phrases. The burning of the three cities (2), the garment of tree bark (2), the tiger skin (2), the skin of the vanquished *Nara* (*Narasimha* or *Trivikrama*) or the skin of the serpent (2), the beggar at every door (2), the Fire dance (2), the sacred ash (3), the fiery serpent (3), the strategy (5), the battle axe (5), the river bedecked mat-lock (3), the bull (8), the bull flag (3), the mountain bow (5), the elephant skin (6), the dance hall of the graveyard (7), the songs of dance (7), the company of the Mother (7) and the begging bowl of a skull (8)—are all referred to.

IV (a)

As expressed in the opening line itself, our poet who has been speaking of the feet of the Lord as his refuge, here speaks of this holy place—an iota of its good earth—as the future refuge; he speaks with the joy of a great discovery (1). This *hymn*, therefore, is a *hymn* on *Valampuram* which becomes identified with the Lord. That is why the poet refers to the *hymn* in its last verse as his words on *Valampuram*, referring to himself before that great refuge as *Vaṉroṇṭaṉ, Ūraṉ* of the rare *Tamiḻ*, of the precious community. This community has to be interpreted as referring to the community of *Śaivite* followers. That is how *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators interpret the words, '*Kulam tarum*' used by *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār* of the *Pallava* Age; this interpretation is based on the words of *Periyāḻvār* who speaks specifically of the *Toṇṭakkulam*, the community of *Bhaktas* and the servants of the Lord.

IV (b)

This community, enjoys repeating times without number, the glories of God a repetition which appears to others as mad babbling—'*pittarral*' (11). Our poet in relation to the difficulty he felt in becoming a member of this community describes it as '*Aruṅkulam*' (11), the rare or previous community. But when

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he sees the greatness of this group ever increasing in number and saving innumerable people of the world he describes it as *Peruṅkulam* (11), or the Great Community. It is their greatnesss to recite this *hymn* to rave interminably and unconsciously in the delirium of divine love. (This is according to the reading '*Peruṅkulattavar koṭu pitaṟṟal*'. The other reading is '*Peruṅkulattavaroṭu pitaṟṟal*' (11) when the meaning will be, "It is one's greatness to recite this along with the great community of *Bhaktas*").

IV (c)

Coming to speak of this '*Toṇṭakkulam*' as '*Peruṅkulam*' and '*Aruṅkulam*', he describes the other community of the wordly people, who amass wealth and perform all charities and occupy this holy place as the sons born of the great community of the black sea, *Peruṅkuṭi Vāṇikar* as they are called, protecting and rearing, as such children of the sea, the ships coming laden with the wealth of foreign countries. These are the traders who enrich the place wherc *Dēvas* reside (4) in search of God. This reminds one of the light house of ancient times—a light on the beach for showing the ships that the shore is nearby; the Lord is, therefore, described as the light for all eight points of the compass (10).

IV (d)

This place is on the beach — it must have been much nearer the sea than it is today. These waves come in rows in turn, one after the other — a kind a group dance competition (4). The waves of the wide expanse of sea dash against the place—reminding us of the stroke of the Lord's Grace. The sandy dunes forming a bank as it were, is giving way (*itikarai*—9). These waves carry as a great burden the gems, pearls and corals and throw the sandy dunes on the beach (5). The sandy expanse reminds us of the dance hall of grave-yard with palmyra fruit falling down as though it were a drum placed so as to keep time with the dance (1). The waves dash rhythmically and perhaps with the same rhythm fall the fruits of curved but cool cocoanut and palmyra plants, where hum the bees to feast on their fragrant honeyed-juice (4). The palmyra fruits fall almost on the sea on the beach where this *Valampuram* is (1). The poet is catching the rhythm and expressing it in his verse as '*caṭacaṭa*' (9). It is not a mere sandy desert; it is full of paddy fields surrounded and beautified by gardens inviting the very waves — a beautiful

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place, where, in the extensive fields, crowd the carps and where in the places interspersed with the *aṭumpu* creepers (6), the conches glowing bright with the waves of the seas are carried for their honey moon (6).

V

The *hymn* also refers to the *Jains* as carrying a pot and eschewing flesh as vegetarians. They saw the blind *Taṇṭi Nāyaṉar* of the stick gaining his eyesight and fell at his victorious feet, losing their challenge. The Lord has this *Taṇṭi* as his relation. (The Lord has become the light to this blind sage; Yes). He is the Light for the eight points of the compass (10).

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CHAPTER XLVII

TIRUVEṆKĀṬU

(*Hymn* 6)

I

In the previous *hymn* the poet sang the glory of the holy place itself as the glory of the Lord, experiencing the harmony of the *purāṇic* Lord as shining within himself and within that place. The *Purāṇic* lore establishes harmony amidst all contradictions through the love of the Lord, flowing out to save every one. In this *hymn*, he emphasizes the contradictions, to appreciate better the harmony. Our poet begs of the Lord to reveal the truth of these contradictory acts and appearances of His. This *hymn* is in the form of nine interrogations and each verse ends with the words, "*Eṉṉē vēlai cūḻ Veṇkāṭaṉ ṉīrē*"! — "O, Lord of *Veṇkāṭu*, surrounded by the sea! Why have you done this?" The remaining part of the verses describe the contradictory acts and appearances.

II

"The serpent is on your crown; but the tiger's skin is on your waist. You pounced on the three cities to burn but blessed the three *asuras* then and there, Enraged, you flayed the man, (the lion man) but you where happy with him. You, the Lord, go a-begging, you of the natural beauty, but carrying the dead skull. Why this? You of *Vēṇkaṭu*, surrounded by the seas"! (1).

"You have slighted your former form, *i.e.* of being in company with the Mother, but you were happy with it. You refused to utter any word even unto the *Dēvas* and discarded every one, but you were glad of them. You in the presence of the father *Viṣṇu*, opened up your eyes and burnt down *Kāma*, who came to destroy your *tapas* and you were glad of it. What is this victory? (For, it did not last long since you married the damsel falling a prey to her love)" (2).

"Surrounded by the ghosts (*pāriṭam*) you go with your damsel but with a loin cloth of an ascetic. Pray tell us the truth; Sir,

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I am asking you only. You dance but ride on the bull, speaking of your greatness whilst begging. What is this?" (3).

"You are the life of music; you have become the song itself. *Bhaktas* think of you; but you go and fill their heart even before that. (This is according to one reading "*Pattar cittar paravikkoṇṭīr*'. The other reading is '*Pattar cittar paravikkoṇṭīr*' — "You praised the *Bhaktas* and *Siddhas*" — a topsy turvy act; for it is they who ought to praise). You are in their eyes and they contemplate on you in their mind so that they may see you: You (the Beyond) became enshrined in this earth placing the crescent moon (on your crown). And yet you stand enshrined in the vast expanse of space to enable Lords of the Heaven to embrace and praise you. What is this?" (4).

The *Toṇṭars* serve you with flowers and pots of water. You choose one dance, perform it and sing a song and thus you bless them. Thus you are pleased with them. But you go to embrace the damsel keeping her always as one part of your body. (How to embrace her?). And yet forgetting all these loving servants and the loving damsel you commit the suicidal act of swallowing the poison and keeping it ever in your throat. What is this?" (5).

"In that hostile forest, the elephant came. You flayed its skin and yet as though in love with it you have covered yourself with its skin. You go a-begging (making love to those who give alms), in that inseparable company of the damsel and on the bull. What is this roaming about in all these contradictory ways? (6).

"You dance for the sake of the loving '*Toṇṭars*' contemplating on you, but you dance surrounded by *Bhūtas* and yet the whole world praises you, Master Dancer! You are the righteousness; yet you are the eternal form of the music of the *yāḻ* (*Eḻil*— the instrument of seven strings). *Siddhas* or freed souls surround you whilst you roam reciting the *Vēdas* as though you were a student learning the *Vedas*. What is this?" (7).

"Ah! The Lord of the mat-lock where mix all inimical things, the *kuravu*, the precious *koṉṟai*, the negligible *mattam*, the crescent moon, and its enemy the serpent and the damsel jealous of these two. You have been contradictory. ('*Viruttam*' may also mean, "You have been old in age or learning or morality"). My Lord, remove the blemishes inflicting me, who is contemplating on you (That the blemish should inflict one, contemplating on

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Him is itself a contradiction. That is why the prayer is for removing it at once). The damsel has been half of your body. Why frighten her by fighting with the elephant? What is this?" (8).

"You are in *Kacci* exhibiting its palaces, (the capital of the *Pallavas*), whilst out of certainty and firmness, people contemplate always on you and you reside in their hearts as the dancer singing in the forest. How is one to praise and worship you? *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* search for you and you exhibit the form of a fire impossible of approach. You roam about like this (full of contradictions). What is this?" (9).

III

This *hymn* is a *hymn* of inquiry and our poet describes it as such in the last verse. *Ārūraṉ*, *Toṇṭaṉ* and slave of *Tirunāvalūr* has asked "the Creator and Lord of contradictions, out of love, these queries". The answer also is implied in the interrogations. It is the great truth of the harmony of the Lord's love resolving all contradictions. Those who are capable of reciting these ten verses, of the garland of interrogations, in the way in which the truths are made clear therein are according to the upright — the perfect—the denizens of the Heaven of Bliss (The forest is really the heart as explained in our discussion of the Dance of *Śiva*) (10).

IV

Apart from the *purāṇic stories*, here we have some references to the methods of worship. The distinction between *Pattar* and *Cittar* we had already noticed. Worshipping the Lord with water and flowers is emphasized (5). "Contemplation by the *Bhaktas* on Him is referred to more than once (4, 7, 9) and the Lord dances therein, their heart. The song, music and dance are also ways of worshipping Him. He is the very form of the song and the very life of music, the eternal form of the music of the *yāḻ* of seven strings—or seven *svaras*. He is impossible to be reached — except through self surrender, never through egotism and efforts of self conceit.

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CHAPTER XLVIII

TIRUNANIPALLI

(*Hymn* 97)

I

Contradictions find solution in the love of the Lord. If the Absolute is everything, it cannot be otherwise. But this itself makes one despair of understanding fully or reaching the Lord. Before any such despair could spring, our poet sees the temple of *Naṉipaḷḷi* — where, the unapproachable has come to approach us. He is nearer there in that incarnation of beauty than anywhere else. The poet in this *hymn* emphasizes our Lord being beyond knowledge or thought (1, 3), beyond the reach of any one (5), the most subtle (8). "*Naṇṇum ūr Naṉipaḷḷiyatē*" — "The place He reaches is *Naṉipaḷḷi*." "*Naṇṇum ūr Naṉipaḷḷiyatē*" is the refrain of this *hymn*. The interrogations about the contradictions themselves suggested that these were resolved in his love and in this *hymn* the poet shows that love taking concrete form at *Naṉipaḷḷi* where He rushes to save us. The poet, therefore, to throw this concrete approachability of the Lord into bolder relief, describes by way of contrast the unapproachable aspects of the Lord.

II

The *purāṇic* references help him here as well. He is the Light unknown to *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* (1). He is the learned author of the *Vēdas* (1, 6) — the wearer of the sacred thread (6) and the Lord of that distant world (1). He is possessed of the vast space but He is the beggar possessing only a skull and a loin cloth (4). He is the powerful destroyer of the three cities (2), the destroyer of the sacrifice of *Dakṣa* (5), and the conqueror of *Rāvaṇa* (8) adorning Himself with the boar's tusk and the shell of the tortoise (9), the munificent patron giving the discus of his creation to *Viṣṇu* (5), and blessing the great *Pārtha* or *Arjuṉa* (6).

III

Apart from the *purāṇic* stories, there are philosophical implications which our poet suggests. The Lord is the Beginning (1).

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He has given the extensive *Vēdas* full of all the words and their meaning (through which we could approach Him) (1). He has no relatives of His — no father or mother — but all the living beings of this world are his kith and kin (2). He is their father (1) — our Lord. He is perfect, without any defect (2), the Great and the Big, beyond the thoughts of our mind (3). But He becomes an atom, and contracted in the form of a fire spark he enters the body of flesh (3) — He is the Lord of the graveyard (4). But this country of the seven mountains surrounded by the seas is His (4) — He is our great man but of the form of a spark (or, a tail of a barley as the *Upaniṣad* will say) (3). He is the Lord entering the heart and then He expands all through (3). He is seated gloriously in the five-fold yields of the cow (in which the *Bhaktas* worship Him) (3). Ah! He is our patron. (1). Therefore, He is after all the wealth of mine (3). The poet speaks like a child — the speech of the nursery *Nāṉuṭai māṭu* — the child which has not distinguished 'I and my' '*Nāṉ* and '*Eṉ*'. It is impossible to reach Him but He reaches his place and this is *Naṉipaḷḷi* (5). He is the purest but He is a lover (*Viruppaṉ* — 6). He is our Lord (6). He is the most subtle principle but He is the rare and glorious medicine of nectar, all through our sevenfold births, one who removes our diseases and fetters — removing them in a subtle way (8). He is our patron blessing us (8). He is the Lord of Grace and mercy which shine with lustre and glory, as the *karma* of those contemplating on Him is erased and destroyed (8). He is beyond our mind (3) but yet He is the Lord who blessed that day that great *Ñaṉa Campantar with jṉānam* or true knowledge, there at *Kāḻi* of no defects (9). *Ñāṉa Campantar* is the leader of *Ārūrar's* school of thought as we had pointed out elsewhere.

The Lord is time (10). His favourite day is *Ātirai* (*Ārdra*) (1), the star of dance visible to our eyes. Our poet, the *Ūraṉ* of the cool *Nāvalūr* contemplates all through his time every *nāḻikai* of it (*nāḻikai* is 24 minutes) on this *Naṉipāḷḷi*, the reservoir of God's love and on this beautiful form which the Lord has assumed there, for it is the Temple (*Uṟai kōil*) where He resides with His form (7).

IV

Our poet gives expression to that bliss of contemplation in this garland of a *hymn*. When we think of this overflowing of His

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love — overflowing only to reach us and save us, who could think of this world and its miseries? Our poet forgets at once this world and we are transported to the pure sphere of Higher Heavens of good and immense bliss, to stand dedicated to *Tapas* and Service in that sphere. Our poet assures that those who value his *hymn* high and recite it, will experience this higher spiritual life of divine bliss and service (10).

V

The holy place is also described in one place. He is very near all. It is the *Tīru Naṉipaḷḷi* — the holy or wealthy or beautiful city. It is the place where *Antaṇars* rear up everywhere, the sacred three fires, (7) and through them the *Vēdic* sacrifices as well as the *Vēdas* and their six *aṅgas* (adjuncts of *Vēdic* knowledge, *etc.*) (7). But it is not unapproachable to lower beings — the red carps, the tiny fish — rush into the fields of that divine city. (7) (*Ōtiyaṉ* is a peculiar form — (1)).

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CHAPTER XLIX

TIRUNINRIYŪR

(*Hymn* 65)

I

In the previous *hymns*, the memory of the great *Bhaktas* of Tamil Land whom the Lord blessed with His Love, has been growing in force and emphasis:— *c.f. Taṇṭi Aṭikaḷ* in *hymn* No. 72: 10 and *Ñāṉa Campantar* in *hymn* No. 97 : 9. The lives of these great men give the best illustrations of the Lord's love—an effective answer for all the searchings of our heart and brain. The greatest message of *Nampi Ārūrar* is that this love of the Lord is there to save every human being — even the sinners and the lowest of the low. The worst sinners are the first concern of the Lord.

II (a)

Human beings alone are sometimes considered by most of the philosophers, as capable of salvation. But the folklore looks upon every living being even the insects and the plants as speaking a divine language of their own praising the Lord and reaching His feet. The philosophy of the man in the street, appeals to our poet and he narrates further the stories of the *purāṇas* which, because of this message had appealed to him, almost effecting a conversion of his heart, inspiring it to take refuge in the feet of God with confidence that divine love which saved so many will not leave him in the lurch. The insect of a spider served the Lord in its own way — putting up a canopy of a cobweb what others will laugh at. But the Lord realized as only He could and conferred on its next birth as *Kō-c-ceṅkaṇāṉ*, munificence and an empire of great power and skill. This is the story of the *Cōḻa* King *Kōcceṅkaṇaṉ*. "This word of mouth, describing this story I have heard and I have taken refuge in your feet" (1).

II (b)

Not only the insect but the animals were also saved. "The cow waking up before the rays of sun, (or before the rise of the sun — the great flame), carrying its milking vessels of its udders,

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bathed you raining the milk and thus followed your feet. I heard this word of mouth-history and got it firmly implanted in my heart. I praised you and contemplated on you. Thus breaking away from my fetters, O, the Supreme, I took refuge in your feet" (4).

"The elephant of the four tusks shook (in fright on his enemies). But as soon as it praised your feet of goodness or beauty, (not only was its fear removed but also) it was blessed with the unique greatness and grandeur of the Heavens. I heard of this characteristic feature of yours and took refuge in your feet of gold" (7).

II (c)

"Is that all?—All the beings were saved—even the cruel and wicked beings doing harm. The vision is of the silent Teacher under the banyan tree expounding the *Aṟam* or *Dharma* as *Pacupati* surrounded by all the living beings—the concentrated *yōgis*, the *Kiṉṉaras*, the tiger, the biting serpent, the uncontrollable lion, the blotless ascetics—all those that had done harm one way or the other" (6).

II (d)

(The lion, the tiger and the serpent are harmful; *Kātupottar* are sometimes spoken of as *Rākṣasas*; *Kiṉṉaras* are potentially harmful with their power used against their enemies; the ascetics are harmful with their powers of curse; (but there is no story of their using this power. It may be that their father *Brahma* the Creator, was disappointed at their complete renunciation—thus proving harmful to him). It is the delay caused by this exposition of the Teacher to this group that withheld the Lord from the Mother thereby making the whole world fruitless in that way; the whole of this group may be taken to have done this harmful act. "*Ētam ceytavar*" is how the beginning words of the third line of verse No. 6 should be read, because this gives the line the beauty of alliteration; whilst if it is read as "*Vēdam ceytavar*" 'those who have given the *Vēdas*', this beauty is spoiled and the resulting meaning is also wrong; for they are not the authors of the *Vēdas*. The reading adopted by us makes the message of *Ārūrar* very clear—the message of *Ārūrar* which he has expressed elsewhere that the Lord blesses us even when we commit faults. Is it not the sinner going powerless, down the inclined plane that deserves all the help and love of the Lord?). The word *ētam*' in the term '*Ētam ceytavar*' is also interpreted by some as goodness.

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II (e)

Some of the saints whose lives at first sight appear to be swerving from the right path (as he had mentioned—*Hymn* 55: 4) come to our poet's mind—*Caṇḍi*, cutting the feet of the father and being blessed with beautiful garments, ornaments, garlands and food of the Lord, *Tirunāvukkaraiyar*, an erstwhile heretic singing his seven hundred, comparable only to themselves, and *Kaṇṇappar* carrying the cruel arrow—"Hankering after the sweet Grace of your love which these have received, I have taken refuge" (2).

"*Parasurāma* of the *Purāṇic* fame wreaking his vengeance on 21 generations of kings held aloft the befitting water vessels of gold and gems and gave away 360 *vēli* lands and 300 *Vēdic* scholars, stating that this ever growing city of *Niṉriyūr* is yours. You have showed him your feet. I have realized this rule of yours—showering blessings on the erstwhile sinners once they approach with the converted mind. I have taken refuge in you" (3).

The greatest blessing conferred on *Agastyar* comes to our poet's mind along with the mercy showed to *Indra*. "*Indra* came and worshipped. You were pleased and you blessed him saying, 'You do rule the Heavens'. At the three points of the day—morning, midday and evening—establishing the immobile *liṅga* of the Lord and creating for the Lord this form, *Agastya* worshipped and fell at your feet. You blessed him with the permanent residence at *Tiruppotiyil* beautified by the invaluable gems falling out from the water-falls. Realizing this great wealth of your blessing, I have taken refuge in you" (5).

III

Unfortunately we have only seven verses left of this *hymn*. The poet describes this Holy place. Like all great men and poets, he is fond of the children even as the Lord is fond of the spiritual weaklings. The river of gold—*Kāviri* in its flood thrusts aside many gems while the many teams of children, going about in the midst of their games, gather these in the streets, in the raised platforms and the front yard of their houses (1). The city gives away these pearls levelled up equally with pure gold (4). It is the city of wealth where abides the goddess of wealth seated on the cool and red commodious lotus (5).

It is also a city of learning and worship and beauty, It is a city of that wealth worshipped by *Cittar*, *Vāṇavar* and *Tāṉavar*—

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all the varieties of supernatural beings (3). It is the city where the perfect fame of the righteous *Vēdic* scholars shines all round the world (6). The damsels of crescent like forehead, glisten and move in every palace and tower, like the pea-hen, the young ones of the deer and the parrot reminding these respectively with their beautiful tresses of hair, with their darting eyes and with their sweet speech (7). They speak words of Tamilian love and the parrots learn them—these beautiful *Tamiḻ* full of the theme of love (2). That is the wealth of the city of the dancing of women, Brahmins, children and parrots and angels—all forming the Democracy of the divine community consisting of *Agastya Tirnāvukkaracar*, *Kaṇṇappar*, *Kōcceeṅkaṇān*, *Campantar*, insects, tigers, lions, *Kiṉṉaras*, saints, elephants, cows and parrots.

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CHAPTER L

TIRUNINṚIYŪR

(*Hymn* 19)

I

This *hymn* is not mentioned in *Periyapurāṇam*. We have suggested that this *hymn* may belong to *Tiruniṉṟavūr* of *Pūcalār*. The pattern of the stanzas is like that of *hymn* No. 72. Unlike the swift moving trot of that *hymn* (72) this *hymn* is in a longer metre which can be scanned as a '*Kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai*' of modern times, moving like the dignified march of the horse in a royal procession, a slow and steady march of four short steps (metrical feet) and a longer step (metrical foot) — a uniformity which is not always observed in a *Kaṭṭaḷaikkalitturai*. Therefore, in this metre we have room for more words; instead of '*Iṭam Valampuramē*' in the former *hymn* (72), we have here, '*Iṭamāvatu nam Tiruniṉṟiyūrē*' (1, 2, 5, 8), or "*Iṭamām Tiruniṉṟiyūrē*" (4, 6, 7, 9). There are some variations for example in verse 3, '*Itamvaḷa malkupuṉal ceṅkayal pāyam vayal poliyum Tiru niṉṟiyūrē*' and in (10), '*Ūr Tiru niṉṟiyūrē*'.

The cataract-like speed of the previous *hymn* (42) changes here; the metre here flows like a slow moving useful river, revealing a greater repose, more like a message to the world than a subjective exclamation. There are less of endstopped lines, the idea flowing with emphasis flowing from one line into the next. Otherwise what we have stated with reference to the other *hymn* applies to this *hymn*.

II

The *purāṇic* descriptions of the company of the Mother (1), the destruction of the three cities (1), the shrine of *koṉṟai* (2), the sacred ash (2), the trident (3), the feast of poison (3), the love of the *ṣaḍaṅgas* and music and books, the Lordship of the *Vēdas* (4), the bull (4), the *Ganges* (4), the serpent (6), the garment of tiger's skin (6), the covering of elephant's skin (6), *Brahma Kapāla* (6), the *begging* (7), the eight mat-locks (7), the dance (7), the conquest of Death (8), and the worship by *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu* and *Indra* are all referred to (9).

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III

The relationship of the Lord to his *Bhaktas* stands foremost in the mind of the poet. He is throughly theirs. Many love Him as the Supreme of the Supreme (1). He does not come near the deceitful minds (5). He has accepted as His permanent abode, the minds or those taking refuge in Him (5). Has not the poet told us in the previous *hymn* (65) that he has taken refuge in Him? His lovers of cool and equipoised mind revel in the surrender of their six passions and in their worship with flowers and He loves their worship (8). They think with their mind and out of the fullness of the heart, their mouth is full of Him (10). He is ever on their tongue. To them He is purer than the rare *tapas* or a sacrifice (10). He is far away from those who had gone away from Him and near unto those who are dedicated to His feet (10). He is the great fame. He is the auspicious (10), good of goodness or *Śiva* (11). He is fond of the acts and the conduct of those who love His feet (5). The references here reveal to us the mode of worship with music (4, 8), *Vēdas* (4) and Books (4) flower (8) and *mantras* (9), sacred ash (10) and the five fruits of the cow (5), suppressing the six passions and taking refuge in Him (8). Fame comes to these *Toṇṭars* (11).

IV

There is also a personal reference. We had often referred to *Campantar* as the leader of *Arūrar's* school of *Saivism*.[1] In this *hymn* occur the words "*Pukaliṉṉakar pōrrum em puṇṇiyattār nēcattiṉal eṉṉai āḷum koṇṭār*" (2). It is usually interpreted as referring to the Lord as the virtuous Being honouring the city of *Pukali* and as the great Lord saving the poet out of love. "*Pukali*" was the birth place of *Campantar*. The virtuous being, honouring or worshipping at *Pukali* may be interpreted as referring to *Campantar*. The next part of the verse will then mean that out of His love for *Campantar* the Lord had saved *Ārūrar*.

V

The Lord is here to save all. He is the Lord of this country surrounded by the long and wide expanse of the sea (3), reminding us of *Ārūrar's* description of the empire of *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ*.[2] The Lord loves all the eight points of the compass (8). He is Time and the Sun (a measurer of time) (9).

1. 7: 39: 5.

2. 7: 39: 9.

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VI

Tiruniṉriyūr or *Tiruniṉravūr* is a Heaven on earth (It is *Śivagati*—11)—with the waters of increasing fertility, the *kayal* fish rushing to the fields—the poet has not more to say (3). It is a place where the activities of the famous *Toṇṭars* never cease (11). Having experienced the place as *Śivagati*, our poet assures the readers that those who are masters of this *hymn* will be in communion with the Lord, worshipped by this Earth and the Heaven (11).

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CHAPTER LI

TIRU NIṬŪR

(*Hymn* 56)

I

The subjective experience becomes objectified as a message pointing out the holy place of our refuge. This *hymn* continues it to the next stage of emphasizing the worship which is another name for taking refuge in the Lord, "Is it proper or possible to leave Him without falling at His feet?"—"*Paṇiyāviṭalāme*?"—this is the refrain of this *hymn*.

II

The poet himself states that this is a garland of a *hymn* of his loving cry to the Lord, a cry of his heart, loving to see the feet of his patron and fall at His feet (11). As usual, we can take the assurance he gives the readers of the *hymn* as an expression of his experience whilst singing this *hymn* (11). The Lord has become enshrined here for us all. Those who could bow down before Him enshrined in every city of this world are certain of becoming His *Bhaktas* and sure of attaining salvation (11).

III

In keeping with the progressive objectification pointed out, the poet describes the natural beauty of this holy place as well, unlike in the previous two *hymns*. The holy place offers a feast to our five senses—a divine feast inamuch as the scenery is a divine vision leading us to the Lord and to His mercy objectified in that scenery instead of the five senses misleading us into the temptations of the world. The fertility of the place full of waters in the fields (promising a sweet feast of paddy) attracts our attention as much as the rich and fruitful Grace of the Lord (1). The fields circumambulate the place as it were. The sugarcanes, bringing to our memory the blocks of sugar-candy, grow tall and full of juice all round this place, a great feast for our taste and our tongues (7). In these fields of water—so tempting us all to bathe, a feast to our tactual senses—bathe and dance, glisten and

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jump the fish in all joy—ah! the waters themselves dance in this city of great Dance Master (3). There is a feast to the eyes and to the ears—a feast of art full of spiritual value to our imagination. The hall of dance and concert is the garden with the overhanging clouds. The *koels* sing and cry and by their side the glorious peacocks dance with the swans—all these movements of the dance ending slowly in the ripples of the water (4). *Puṉṉai* and *mātavi* shoot out their flowers (2). When all light ceases and it is all dark, then also shines the glory of the Lord (3); the jasmine blooms in the quiet of the night spreading out its all pervasive sweet fragrance all round the place a feast to a most primitive sense of the nose (10).

IV

The *purāṇic* stories also come in, harmonized with this colourful and rich nature—the white bull (1), the vertical eye in the forehead (1), the blue throat (1), the mat-lock with the crescent (2), the trident (3), the fire in the hand (7), the *Katvāṅga* (7), the elephant's skin (10), the dance and the song of the forest (6), the *Vēdas* (4), the conquest of Death (6), the game of hide and seek played with *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (6) and the hunter coming to bless *Arjuna* (2) and the Lord of the Trinity (5).

V

Our poet gives expression to his own experience of the Lord. "He is the Supreme beyond everything" (5), "the Great Dancer" (6), "the King" (8), "the Beautiful" (10), "the All Powerful" (11). "He is the Lord whom even I love" (10). "He is our patron whom we every day honour and love" (3). "He is so happy with His followers" (10). "He makes us receive His Grace devoid of all miseries" (3). Our poet gives expression to his experience in the form of universal truth about the Lord. "The Lord is the purest" (11). "He is devoid of all blots or faults who has renounced completely the five sensations", an idea which *Kuraḷ* also emphasizes (5), as "*Porivāyil aintavittāṉ*". "He is so sweet to speak about, He with His thousands of names" (11). "He is sweeter than the education we have received" (5). "He is fond of *Nīṭūr*, for blessing us all therein" (11). "He removes all our miseries and saves us all" (10). "He is the sweetest and the most blissful removing all our afflictions—the destroyer of all

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the chronic and ancient *karmas*" (8). "He is the Lord of indestructable great fame" (7). "He is the nectar unto those who take refuge in Him" (10). "He is near unto those who are good (or, an ornament to them)" (10), "indifferent unto those who are indifferent unto Him" (2). "He is difficult to approach to the egotists but easy of reach to those whose conscience is clear and to those who hanker after Him for a sight of His" (5). "He is the path of purity" (4), "He who shows us well the Path" (3). "If the followers become faultless He grants them a communion with Him" (5). "He is all in all and All Powerful bringing the diseases so that the egotists' soul may through that experience of diseases fall down exhausted to take refuge in Him, when He at once will destroy their chronic *Karmas*" (8). "Yes! He is the Creator of this body and all the illusions" (8). "He creates us all, not to become fettered" (8). "He is the Creation and Destruction" (4). "He becomes the Powerful wind and the Fire to destroy the world, to give it rest" (8). "It is again He, who destroys the delusions of the mind and who shines as the great intelligence within our mind", (8) "removing all our attachments and our *kārmic* relationships inspiring us to sing of this praise and dance in joy" (6).

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CHAPTER LII

TIRUKKŌLAKKĀ

(*Hymn* 62)

I

This is a *hymn* describing, according to *Cēkkiḻār*, the vision our poet had at this holy place of *Tirukkōlakkā*, probably because every verse herein ends with the words, "I have seen the Lord at *Kōlakkā*" even as our poet has described his vision of "*Kaḻumalam*" or "*Cīkāḻi*" by standing "*Kaḻumala vaḷanakark kaṇṭukoṇṭēṉē*" (*H.* 58). It is thus clear *Cēkkiḻār* considers this *hymn* as of great importance. If it is a description of a vision, this *hymn* must be taken to be expressing our poet's experience of God as confirming the esoteric message of the *Purāṇas*.

"The Lord is the great prop to those who fall at His feet, this Lord of the elements (or, the souls), One who has become so easy of reach unto our poet. He is the Lord adorning Himself with the serpents of the anthills — so easy of reach to them, but He is impossible of approach to the rest as we see Him destroying the three cities" — This is the substance of the first verse showing us how the poet who feels his own subjective experience of the Lord confirms the truths of the *Purāṇas*. It is in these terms the other verses also have to be interpreted.

II

The Mother's company (2), the crescent moon on the matlock (2), the shawl of an elephant's skin (2), the garment of the tiger's skin (3), the three eyes (3), the Lordship over the eternals (4), the great *Dēvas* (4), the fatherhood over *Kumāra* (4), the hidden *Ganges* (4), the bull (6), the form of fire (6), the conquest of Death on behalf of *Mārkkaṇḍēya* (6), the begging with the *Brahma kapāla* (7), the *koṉṟai* (7), the dance with the *bhūtas* (8), the crushing down of *Rāvaṇa* and bestowing gifts because of his song (9), becoming invisible to *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* (9) — are all mentioned in this *hymn*.

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III

"He is the Lord of the *bhūtas* (1), the great and pure prop to His followers easy of reach unto me, as the great destroyer of sins, though imposible of approach to others" (1). "He is all knowledge of the books, the *Vēdas* and the *aṅgas* which are His forms" (2), "He is the music of poetry" (3). "He is sweet as the love of the heart of *Bhaktas*" (3). "He shines in the acts of the *Dēvas* of the world (Brahmins), our Lord, the Lord of mine, His servant" (3). "He is pleased to save me and accept me with confidence as His servant" (4). "The great *Śiva*" (4), "the rich honey" (4), "He, who came that day in the presence of the people of this wide world to accept me as His servant after producing the deed of slavery, only to disappear all of a sudden at *Tiruveṇṇeinallūr*" (5), "that great bunch of pearls" (5), "He who had decided to confer salvation" (5). "He stands as wind, the fire and water, the great transcendent principle, the meaning and significance of all perfect arts and knowledge" (6), "the great flame shining like a great light" (7), "the very idea of the mind" (8), "He, who has become the head, the eye, the mouth, the ear, the nose and the whole body to remove, as my Lord, all the cruel *karmas*" (9). "He is the Lord whose characteristic feature it is to sympathize with the song of *Ñāṉa Campantar* who spread *Tamiḻ* every day through his sweet music and to bless him with the cymbal in the presence of the people of this world" (8) — That is how our poet is describing the Lord of the vision emphasizing thus the Lord's Grace to the *Bhaktas*, His form of knowledge, His form of poetry and music, His omnipresence, all intended to cure us of our chronic *karma* and to confer salvation. Our poet's experience as usual is thus expressed as a subjective fact and objective truth.

IV

Our poet again as usual emphazies the bliss of the Lord as his sweetest experience of honey (4), as something precious as the bunch of pearls (5). This holy place is full of the reminiscences of his leader *Ñāṉa Campantar* and our poet describes the incident of *Campantar* getting the *tāḷam* (cymbal) (8). Our poet also describes how he had himself been saved by the Lord (4, 5). He is reminded of the *Tillai* dance (4), of the great temple of *Kōḻili* (8), where our poet prayed for the Lord's help for transporting the grains (*H.* 20) and of *Veṇṇeinallūr* where our poet was saved (5).

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Śiva is the name of the Lord which *Śaivites* cherish in their heart and our poet mentions that word in this *hymn* (4). Above all, our poet describes the Lord as the most precious gem of a master or *Guru* (4).

V

Our poet suggests here as elsewhere the worship of Lord through *Vēdic mantras* and rites (2), through music (3), through dance (3, 4, 8), through art (6) and through the realization of God everywhere in the universe (8, 9) and inside the temple (8). The *Bhaktas* are described by our poet as embodiments of truth, honour and poetry (10) — these belong to the beautiful community of *Bhaktas* — an idea which we often compared with what *Periyāḻvār* calls as "*Toṇṭakkulam*'. Our poet speaks of the path he has followed in this *hymn* as that path which is already known to the people as the path of love wherein the whole world out of love stands with His heart melting in sympathy and love (10).

VI

In this *hymn*, the poet has emphazised the bliss, the precious beauty of light and love of the great divine dance (7). Having experienced the Lord thus, our poet assures his readers that they will reach the goal of the great Dancer of the forest (burning-ghat) as their own city. (10).

VII

The beauty of the place fits in with the harmony of divine Grace. It is a place where flock the people of this world and the other from the Heavens (2). It is *Kōlakkā*, the beautiful spot, sweet with the fragrance of the *kurā* flower of the gardens where go in procession as it were the pollen dust (2). It is a place of rich fields full of water in the tanks (3) — this most beautiful place of fields where jump and frisk about the monkeys (9).

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CHAPTER LIII

TIRUKKURUKĀVŪR

(*Hymn* 29)

I

This is the *hymn* on *Kurukāvūr* where the temple is called *Veḷḷaṭai* (10). This is an outpouring of the poet's heart. The *hymn* is so surcharged with personal emotion that there is not any reference to the *purāṇic* description of the Lord except to the Lord's going a-begging with the skull (3), besmearing Himself with the white ash (5), and adorning Himself with the *koṉṟai* (5) to dance on the burning ghat in the midnight (3) — a conception that appeals to the heart of our poet.

In the last verse the poet speaks of the Lord as residing at *Kurukāvūr Veḷḷaṭai* (10). In the other nine verses, he seems to be identifying the holy place with the Lord Himself — "*Kurukāvūr Veḷḷaṭai nī aṉṟē*" which is the burden of this *hymn*. Of course, it is possible to interpret this phrase "*Veḷḷaṭai nī aṉṟē*" so as to mean "Are you not of this place Veḷḷaṭai?".

II

He looks upon this holy place as a place in the very Heavens "*Viṇṇiṭai-k kurukāvūr*" — "*Kurukāvūr* within the Heavens" (6). The *kayal* fish rush into the ponds, and in the tanks, whose every sluice, the various kinds of water flowers *kāvi*, *kuvaḷai*, lotus and *ceṅkaḻunīr* are fond of (2). This idea of the flowers hankering after the holy place is again repeated — the water lilies and jasmine are fond of the tank of budding flowers (5). The beautiful and shining blue lily grows high in the pond of flowers. In harmony with this beauty, shines the young swan of beautiful gait. This becomes the great truth of the holy place — its beauty (4). It is the beautiful place of shining light surrounded by fields and gardens full of fertility (10).

III

His own personal experience of the Lord as usual is expressed with reference to his particular vision as well, as in general as

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universal truths, true of all *Bhaktas*. "Ah!. My Lord! I have not understood this—your becoming all this to me. All others speak of you as a mad man. You are the precious pearl, the gem of carbuncle" (1). (We have already noticed our poet's partiality for *māṇikkam*, the carbuncle), "You have protected my soul from getting lost; you have accepted me as your servant and saved me" (2). "You have saved me from fever and all other diseases" (4). "You have saved me from the coming scandals" (5). "You could not bear my mortal pains and you have come in to save me; if the servants of the Lord of Death come in to inflict pains I know of none but you" (7). "Even if it comes to a question of death, you have saved me, you, my king, from all such miseries" (7). "Even if the angry, noisy and powerful servants of the Lord of Death come to confuse me and make me perturbed, you will prevent all those cruel miseries inflicting me" (8).

IV

Coming to the general statements or universal truths, which are, after all, another way of expressing his own subjective feelings, the poet speaks of the Lord as appeasing the hunger of those who sing of Him and of curing all the diseases of all those who praise Him (3). "The Lord is there at *Kurukāvūr* for preventing mental distress rushing on His followers in this world" (6). "He removes the darkness, confusion or delusion in the minds of His followers who never go astray, or who never get perturbed" (8). "You, my Lord, make us your servants without our going to fall at the feet of many" (9). You roam about wearing the skin whilst you make us adorn ourselves with silk and gold". (9). "You allow others to get themselves ruined releasing them thoroughly from your golden feet devoid of all evils" (others have taken this '*viṭuvippāy*' to mean release me thoroughly to get attached to your golden feet) (9).

You are like the *Tamiḻ* song in musie compositions; you are like the sweet taste in the fruits; you are like the apple of the eye; you are like a flame in the midst of dense darkness" (6).

V

The descriptions of the personal experience of the poet suggest that our poet escaped, thanks to his reliance on the Lord, mental and physical afflictions following undeserved political vilification. Or, these descriptions should be taken as of troubles, diseases and scandals overtaking ordinary men in general.

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Periyapurāṇam speaks of this *hymn* having been sung when the Lord come as a Brahmin to feed our hungry and thirsty poet, on his way to *Tirukkurukāvūr*. But more than this is meant in this *hymn* as suggested by us. Our poet has sung this *hymn* when God has saved him from all the afflictions and when the troubled heart has become cool and calm. *Campantar* gives a secret of his poetry that he sings of the Lord when his mind is calm and cool — "*Uḷaṅkuḷirntapōtelām ukantukanturaippaṇē*.[1] Walking closely in the footsteps of *Campantar*, our poet calls this *hymn* as "*Uḷam kuḷir tamiḻ mālai*" — 'the *Tamiḻ* garland of cool heart' (10). This *hymn* is an exclamation of a loving heart representing the speech of all *Bhaktas*—that is what our poet tells us. He is also a *Bhakta*, a relative that way of the Lord, only the very last and youngest '*iḷaṅkiḷai*' (10). This *hymn* must belong to the age of his political pre-occupation; he calls himself the father of *Vaṇappakai* and, therefore, must have sung — after his marriage (10).

1. 2: 98; 9.

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CHAPTER LIV

TIRUKKALIPPĀLAI

(*Hymn* 23)

I

This *hymn* is one of our poet's exclamations of joy at the sight of God's Grace overflowing towards him. Sometimes the exclamations are addressed to the Lord, sometimes to the world at large. In a few places, out of the fullness of his heart the poet simply stops with the *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord. Thus this *hymn* is a kind of overflowing from the previous *hymn*.

II

The first verse seems to answer a question which his own conscience as a representative of the world raises: "How can the Lord save you, you, the author of so many past cruel *karmas*?" Our poet replies, "I am bad and because of my evil *karmas*, I get confused and desperate. Even after seeing this sorry plight of mine, is it fair for the Lord to leave me desperately alone, without expressing any sympathy in such terms as 'Alas! My slave!' He is the father of the prodigal son as well as the upright son and loves both alike even as His mat-lock brings together the crescent and serpent to sleep together. That is the beautiful and harmonious form of His. This is the only place *Kaḻippālai* which He loves most" — That is the first verse.

In the second verse the poet addresses the Lord, "I may be anywhere and from there, if I, your slave, think of you, you come there, become one with me to stand there to shower your blessings, to cut me away from the shackles of *karma* here and now and to save me, O, Lord of the *Ganges*! (who saved many for the sake of *Bhagīratha*) you love this holy place *Kaḻippālai*" (2).

"You have punished me; the excesses, I, your slave, committed out of your love, you have forgiven all. You have taken this dog of yours as something significant and made me contained within you. Yes! that is your nature! Your throat has become blue because you have feasted on the poison of the seas, never conscious of that fact."

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"The bees hum and the flowers bloom; gathering these, your followers shower them on you; tears of love unceasingly drip, from their eyes — these speak the state of the loving heart. Along with them. I perform these acts of love. No other God have I loved with my heart except thyself, O, Lord! that art fond of this holy place of *Kaḻippālai* of fields full of the sweet sugar-cane (sweet like your love unto them)" (4).

"You may remove my *karmas*; You may love them. You may hate and out of love you may rant or hector me. You may smite me. You are possessed of the deed of sale (of my slavery). I am completely yours. The solid bead disappearing inside the back-waters is carried on to the streets of the holy place by the sea. So can you hold me aloft even when I reach the very depths of misery, you who hold up the fire in your hand, as though to burn away all our faults" (5).

III

The poet at the realization of the love of the Saviour loses himself in the description of the Lord. "The skin of the tiger is on your waist and you tighten it up with the dancing serpent. You cover yourself with the elephant's skin in spite of its bad smell. So do you love us in spite of our faults; you protect us, we who are in your service. The *karmas* disappear at your sight. With that ideal, you have enshrined yourself in this holy place of no fault. This is *Kaḻippālai*" (6).

"You have flayed the elephant's skin as though it were a fine cloth. The whole world worships you. You set fire to the three cities with the intention of removing the miseries of the *Dēvas* (You are the Lord of all, praised by all, destroying all obstructions, make your followers happy)" (7).

"You have created all this world. You destroyed the sacrifice of *Dakṣa*. You share the body of the Mother and yet you have the mat-lock of an ascetic. You have crushed *Rāvaṇa*, O, Thou, who art fond of *Kaḻippālai*, where the fields lie near the seas!" (8).

"God is the Lord of *Dēvas* shining like an inflickering and permanent light of truth inside the mind of those who praise Him with the tongue knowing no falsehood. He is unknown to the red coloured (*Brahma*) and to the black coloured (*Viṣṇu*). He is happy with the collyrium eyed damsel" (9).

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"The Lord is the Supreme being, the *Paramēṭṭi*, whose fame knows no blot. He loves this holy place of *Kaḻippālai* full of the wealth of the back-waters" (10).

The poet *Ārūrar*, the Lord of *Nāvalūr*, worships Him and he has composed this faultless *Tamiḻ* garland. Those who are masters of this *hymn* will rule the world of the people of the Heavens (10).

IV

These exclamations of this *hymn* are the essence of a divine life and hence this assurance of our poet, that his readers will rule the Heavens (10).

V

The poet has described the holy place as being full of the wealth of the back-waters, the dashing sea and fields of paddy and sugar-cane, all with a divine significance of their own. He has also referred to the *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord which emphasize further his own experience of the Saviour. This *hymn* reveals our poet's feeling of self-surrender and the joy of release he has experienced thereby.

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PART V

TO THE NORTH

Introduction

I

These *hymns* belong to the temples north of the *Cōḻa* country. They form a continuous whole with the previous group as relating to the period of our poet's northern tour. We noticed our poet describing the Lord as the remover of the scandal. Perhaps this refers to some political trouble which probably sent our poet northward. The *Nāvalūr hymn* occurring as the first in the group may belong to the first part itself. The three *hymns* giving us a list of the temples, as emphasizing the temple cult is included in this part.

II

The burden as it were of these songs consists in these exclamations: "The place of the Lord who had saved me at *Veṇṇeinallūr* is *Tirunāvalūr*, the place of *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ*" (*H.* 17); "To get rid of your sins, faults and shallow knowledge, O, Ye people! worship at *Kaḻukkuṉṟam*, which is the place of the Lord residing in the heart of His faultless followers" (*H.* 81); "O, Lord! Is that love of your going about begging for us same as this way of saving me? I shall not forget you. Just think of those who think of you. Is it fair that you should beg making your followers miserable over that?" (*H.* 41); "I shall not praise any one but you" (*H.* 21); "You do not do anything for us; You go about begging" (a humorous remark of the damsel to *Bhikṣāṭana*) (*H.* 5); "This is the place of the Lord of this activity and that" (*H.* 10); "Of what worth is their prop, their experience, their speech, their worship, their company, their knowledge, their thought or their love, of those who do not think of Him? (*H.* 86); "I shall not knowingly praise any one except you, my Lord!" (*H.* 26); "*Cīparppatam* is the rendezvous of the deer, etc." (*H.* 79); "O, Ye people who suffer in this world, pronounce the word '*Kētāram*" (*H.* 78); "His place or temple is at *Orriyūr* on the beach" (*H.* 91); "Bless me, O, Lord! to sing of you, to see you, to experience and enjoy you who removes the miseries of your

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followers who reach you leaving off their usual watch, over their bodies" (*H.* 12, 31, 47).

III

The goal to be reached as pointed in the last verses is the breaking down of the bondage of *karma*, the reaching of *Śivalōka*, *Paralōka*, *Viṇṇulakam*, *Vāṇakam* — the Heavens, to be one with the Lord and the destruction of sin and all faults. *Śivalōka* is the place where flock and sing the followers, those who worship the Lord singing the *hymns*, those who reside on our head worthy of our worship. They are cool, happy and calm.

IV

Nature is too much in evidence in this part. Nature is identified with the Lord, for instance, *Tirupparuppatam*. The temple cult of pilgrimage is clearly brought out. The holy places are a Heaven of beasts, birds and plants, perhaps all reminding us of the human life — another vision of the universe as a happy family of the Lord. The descriptions of the places sometimes are with reference to the worship of *Bhaktas*, their conch, their music and their festivals. Even the bees circumambulate the Lord. These descriptions sometimes have an esoteric meaning — the sleep of the bees being on a par with the rest given to the soul after what is called destruction. There can be here no poetry of world negation when Nature is thus looked upon as the Lord Himself. The condemnation of the world is justified when one forgets this happy vision and gets lost in the trap of common women and the passing show of delusion.

V

The Lord is described as *Nāvalar* or Orator.[1] This is a unique description coming from the heart of a politician and poet who must have known the mighty powers and bewitching charms of oratory. Another phrase is "*Aṭṭapuyaṅkap pirāṉ*".[2] Always insisting on the escape from *Karma*, our poet describes the Lord as the Medicine for the *karma*. The path of *Jñāna* is emphasized. Our poet is fond of describing God as the Flame of the Light — the eye of knowledge. He is the only reality — '*Meypporuḷ*'. He is the Supreme *Paramaṉ* — *Śiva* and the *Guru*. He is immanent

1. See *Vāyāṭi*, 7: 17: 8.
2. 7: 10: 7.

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and transcendental. He is all sorts of relationships. He is all love to those who take refuge in Him — those who know no deceit. He is full of mercy, full of forbearance. He is nectar, insatiable nectar — *Ārā amudu* — a favourite term with the *Vaiṣṇavites*. The '*mārjāra kisōranyāya*', the way of the cat, comes out when our poet asserts that the Lord saved him even when he was false and that thereafter he became fearless.

VI

The *Bhikṣāṭana* form continues to be the main art motif and we have humorous slings at the Lord. The esoteric significance of the deer and the bull as the *Vēdas* and *Praṇava* respectively is also given.

VII

The followers of the Lord are faultless and deceitless; they are as good as the Lord deserving our worship. Their congregation and choir, form the *Śivalōka*. Worship with *Pañcagavya*, *hymns*, praises of the Lord, music, contemplation, self-surrender, love, concentration and manual services are all mentioned. Worshipping at the various temples and bathing in the holy rivers, and waters are emphasized but what is important for the blotless Lord of purity is not the outward but internal purity and love. Worship at dawn is specifically referred to. Our poet refers to *Ñāna Campantar*, *Caṇḍēśvarar* and *Naraciṅkamuṉai araiyaṉ*.

VIII

Our poet in all humility refers to himself as *Aṭittoṇṭaṉ* — the slave of His feet. He describes his own round shoulders. He is a great scholar, *pulavar* and a great orator of good words; a description of the Lord as an orator becomes thus significant. Our poet refers to the death of his parents. Therefore, these *hymns* can be assigned to the latter period of his life — a life of political complication, of poetry and oratory and of pilgrimage.

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CHAPTER LV

TIRUVEṆṆEI NALLŪR AND TIRUNĀVALŪR

(*Hymn* 17)

I

In the previous *hymn* the poet was giving expression to his joy at the special Grace the Lord bestowed on him. Therein he stated that he was a bond slave of the Lord. This idea is made clearer in this *hymn*, when our poet goes to *Tirunāvalūr*, the place of his patron and foster father, *Naraciṅkamuṉai Araiyaṉ* (10). It is not clear why this was not referred to in such graphic way in the earlier *hymns*. One wonders whether this *hymn* may not belong to the previous period of our poet's life. Though the *hymn* was sung at *Nāvalūr*, the poet speaks of *Tiruveṇṇeinallūr* where the poet has been saved as the bond slave of the Lord. It is in this *hymn* that we get the detailed version about this episode. The pattern of the sentence is as follows: "The place of the God of the *Purāṇas* who saved me at *Tiruveṇṇei Nallūr* is *Tirunāvalūr*". Usually the third line refers to the *Tiruveṇṇei Nallūr* incident in the words, "*Veṇṇei Nallūril vaitteṉṉai āḷum koṇṭa*" (but see verses 2, 3, 6 and 10 where the incident is referred to the second line). The fourth line ends with the words, "*Iṭamāvatu nam Tirunāvalūr*". The metre and the tune are the same as that of *hymn* No. 19.

II

The *purāṇic* stories about the destruction of the three cities (1), the riding on the bull (3, 4), the company of the Mother (3), the love of *Kāḷi* of *Kōtikkarai* (3), the ornament of serpents (3), the feast of poison (4), the flaying of the skin of an elephant (5) and the sacred ash (5), the discomfiture of *Indra* (5) and the Sun (6) (at the sacrifice of *Dakṣa*), the crushing of *Rāvaṇa* (10), the hunter going after *Arjuna* (8), the sharing of the body with the damsel and *Viṣṇu* (9) — all referred to.

III

There are some interesting descriptions of the Lord. "He is the great debater (*Nāvalaṉār*-1), the Lord of Goodness (2), my

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patron and our Lord (5), the Chief (*Nāyakaṉ*-7), the great Dancer (6, 9), the Dancer of the fire (8), of the hue of the fire, full of pure gold" (5) — thus our poet gives expression to his experience of the Lord. The oratory, probably, refers to the debate in the court of the Brahmins (8). He speaks of the Lord as '*Vāyāṭi*' — sharp tongued (8). He refers to His coming reciting the *Vēdas* as a Brahmin (8). But he describes Him as a '*Nāyāṭi* (8) and '*Vēyavaṉār*' (7) — 'the hunter probably because of his cruel persistence in the debate' (8). Or, is there the idea of the Hound of Heaven involved in the conception of a Hunter. (*Vēyavaṉār* — 7, may mean a spy and a Dandin or a Brahmin. — The '*Stala-Purāṇa*' of this place gives the story of the Lord manifesting Himself in a bamboo shrub. — *Nāyāṭi* may mean Lord dancing with your Mother — '*Nāy*'; '*ñāy*'). "When He saved me in that assembly out of His characteristic of love, I spoke harsh words. He gave me the great status of an obstinate servant. Even when I abused Him, He gave me gold and made me experience pleasures" (2). "He became my mother and father" (7). "He made me attached to His feet of gold without any birth or death so that I may not leave Him and go away from Him" (7).

IV

Our poet refers to *Candēśvara* whom the Lord loved as Himself (4). He also remembers the dance of *Tillai* (6), the enjoyment at *Kōṭi* (3), the temple of *Kuṭamūkku*, *Kōval* and *Kōṭ tiṭṭai* (6). He speaks of the Lord enjoying the bath with the five yields of the cow — a mode of worship already referred to (4).

V

Our poet thus gives expression to the Lord cutting away the shackles of his *karma* and this makes him assure a similar blessing to those who learn or with love listen to this *Tamiḻ hymn* of *Ārūrar Vaṉroṇṭaṉ*, who is very well fitted to speak of the greatness of *Nāvalūr* as the city of the Lord, his own city, the city where *Naraciṅkamuṉai Araiyaṉ* serves the Lord out of love (11).

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CHAPTER LVI

TIRUKKALUKKUNRAM

(*Hymn* 81)

I

The joy of his divine experience and of the feeling resulting in freedom takes in this *hymn* the form of a message to the world, because this kind of joy can never be selfish. His joy flowes to others for benefiting this world. He is himself so much taken up with this message that he begs of others to fall at the feet of those who worship the Lord reciting his own poetic words of rhythmic beauty probably because he has forgotten himself whilst singing this *hymn* and feels these words express inspired truths (10).

The pattern of the last sentence in every verse is, "the place of the Lord is the cool *Kaḻukkuṉram*". '*Iṭam*' comes either at the end of the second or the third line; the fourth line always ends with the words '*Taṅkaḻukkuṉram*'. But in verses 3 and 8, '*iṭam*' does not occur. In verse 10 the *iṭam* comes in the first line and '*Kaḻukkuṉram*' comes in the second line. The first five verses and the ninth verse beg of the people of the world to worship at *Tirukkaḻukkuṉram*. Verses 6, 7 and 8 speak of the Lord without any such specific advice; the poet speaks of the Lord becoming enshrined there for getting a place in the heart of his followers.

II

The rest of the verses is taken up by the description of *Kaḻukkuṉram* full of natural beauty, suggesting that "even the bees of the place stay humming in the holy mountain and worship the Lord" (7). "The she-elephant along with (its child and with) its lord of the three flowing musts and of the long trunk circumambulates the cool mountain to be cured of the fatigue caused by their roaring noise produced whilst in search of each other" (4). "The monkeys, the male and the female, along with their young

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ones which had drunk the milk of the mother, in loving embrace, rush in that jungle of cool *Kaḻukkuṉṟam*" (5). "The bees feast on the honey and sing their sweet tunes whilst the peacocks of the jungle live permanently there (because of this tune being in harmony with their dance)" (7). "Everything there becomes full of munificence like the Lord. The clouds become full with rain" (9). "The tall bamboos shower round pearls" (9). "The roaring white cataract descends down carrying pearls and gems of shining colours" (2).

III

His Lordship over the *Dēvas* (1), the mat-lock shining with *Koṉṟai* (2), the eight arms (2), the blue throat, (3), the sharp battle-axe (4) the dance of white ash (4), the trident (5), the great dance (7), the worship by *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8), the earring (9), the begging bowl of a white skull (10)—are all referred to, reminding us of the various *purāṇic* stories.

IV

"People kill and do all sorts of cruel acts; because of these, others describe in many ways their cruelty, their simple acts, come to stay. In order that these varied *karmas* may disappear, you go down and worship Him (1) every day" (3). "He will save us and accept us as His servant, according to His great rule of love" (3). "For getting rid of your ignorance or foolishness, fall at His feet" (4); "for getting rid of your meanness (5), for getting rid of your faults (9), fall at His feet" (9). "He is there at *Tirukkaḻukkuṉṟam* for getting enshrined in the minds of those innocent (6) and innumerable (*antamillā*—8) followers of His of firm faith (*maṭam*—6) and who have no faults" (7). "Because He has come there for getting Himself enshrined in the minds of His followers, the great *Dēvas* worship Him here every day offering the flowers of their heart the flowers which increase in number every day and which cast their fragrance all round the jungle of this cool mountain" (8).

V

This *hymn* also must belong to the period of his political greatness or to a period succeeding it, for the poet describes himself the '*Ūraṉ* of the round shoulders, great in wrestling' (10).

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VI

(The metre is that of what we now call '*kalitturai*' every line consisting of 13 syllabic letters if beginning in '*nēr*' and of 14 if beginning in '*nirai*'. The general pattern is '*mā*', '*mā*', '*mā*', '*viḷam*', '*viḷam*', allowing variations if '*veṇṭaḷai*' rhythms come in such places of variations. According to this scheme and from the iyal *Tamiḻ* point of view the third '*cīr*' in line 2 of verse 4 should be '*maḻuvaṉ*' instead of the present reading '*Maḻuvāḷaṉ*' which is probably due to the error of the copyist).

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CHAPTER LVII

TIRUKKACCŪR ĀLAKKŌYIL

(*Hymn* 41)

I

This is one of the *hymns* on *Bhikṣāṭana* form so dear to our poet. Though, only in four verses (1, 2, 6 and 9) there is direct mention of *Bhikṣāṭana* form, we may assume that in the other verses also there is an implied reference to our Lord going a-begging for the love of His followers, however unworthy they may be. The Lord enshrining Himself in the various temples in all the places where people live is itself another representation of the great truth that the Lord is hankering after us (3).

II

"Many are your temples, O, my Lord! I have praised them all, carrying them as it were on my head and I have become relieved of all my confusion and ignorance and I have driven out my *karmas*' — thus sings our poet in this very *hymn* (3). The natural beauty of the holy place itself delivers that message to our poet — this holy place full of the fertile fields on which reside for ever the swans (10). The place knows no fear (2), this beautiful temple of cool groves of flowers (3), the temple which knows no want (3), and he cries, "O, the Lord of *Kaccūr Ālakkōyil* of the paddy fields where resides the Goddess of wealth on the flower" (4). He, out of love, almost embraces this holy place full of waters. There are gardens all round this place, bazaars, gem-bedecked *maṇṭapas* and virgin-homes or '*kaṉṉimāṭams*' (4). 'He is there', our poet says in another verse, 'as the past *Karma* (the ancient Providence), as the fruit of the *karma*, removing all the anxieties of those who wake up at dawn to worship Him even as He destroyed the three cities' (5). "He is beautiful like the evening moon" (5). "He is the rare medicine on the mountain removing all diseases" (5) and, therefore; our poet exclaims, "I, your slave, cannot forget you" (5). "I have ceased to think of you, having tended my flesh to grow, ah! me, a cruel man devoid of all senses" (8). "You are there to save all; if even deceitful pretenders praise you falsely, even that, you take as full of significance.

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Please think of those, my Lord! who truly and sincerely think of you" (7).

III

In the other verses, the reference to *Bhikṣāṭana* form as already stated is more direct. If you go begging with the broken head of a skull (1), even in mid-day (2), will not the followers who love you, feel miserable at this sorry plight of yours? Why not leave this up completely?" (6). "Is it proper that you should beg whilst there are followers who love you, forgetting themselves in that bliss, babbling like drunkards and praising you whilst showering fragrant and glorious flowers on you and doing all that you like?" (9). "I have learnt and I have seen" (9). "I can never forget you, O Lord of the Mother! pray accept me as your slave and save me" (9).

It is thus clear that this *hymn* represents a further development of a spiritual joy of the poet who finds that the Lord has relieved him of all his miseries. Unable to bear the surging bliss, we saw him exclaiming unto the Lord and calling upon the people to fall at the feet of the Lord. The zenith of his divine bliss is reached in love as expressed in the *Tamilian* conception of '*akam*' which is very well represented in a concrete way in the *Bhikṣāṭana* form. Whilst it is the people who suffer that ought to go for getting relieved, here it is the doctor who comes of his own accord, to cure the patient. Our poet is surprised and astonished at this, for, he himself, a patient, has been cured by this great Doctor of a God. What Greatness! What Love! And yet nobody realizes it and the poor Lord has to go about begging at our doors for saving us! At this very thought any heart will melt. It is to this feeling, our poet is giving expression to, in this *hymn*. He exclaims, "*Atuvē āmāṟituvō*?"—'Is that this?' (1). "I have heard of that method of yours, that love of yours' going about begging for saving us. Little did I realize then the truth of the story; here, in this world, this way you have saved me"—that is the meaning of the exclamation, "Is that this"?. *Cēkkiḻīr* interprets this in similar terms: "*Mutalvaṉār taṉperuṅkaruṇai, atuvām itu eṉru aticayam vanteyta*" (*Ēyarkōṉ*: *V.* 182).

The jackals (1), the burning ghat (1), the fire dance (1), the broken skull (1), the waist band of a serpent (2), the jingling of the '*kaḻal*' and '*cilampu*' (2), the company of the Mother (7), the

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fragrant *koṉṟai* (8), the roaming about door to door in the villages (2), the bull (4), and the flag (4), the blue throat (5), the mat-lock (4), the form of brightness like the flash of the lightning (4), the *Ganges* and the crescent on the mat-lock (7), the flaying of the elephant skin (8)—all referred to. The name of the holy place is '*Ālakkōyil*' or 'the Baynan temple' which suggests to him the story of the Lord sitting under the banyan tree to expound the *Dharma*.

IV

Our poet condemns himself—a condemnation contradictory to what we know of his life (8). Therefore, it ought to be taken as an exaggeration of the ordinary life of the people. Our poet, when he thinks of the beggar Lord saving him, looks at himself and begins to condemn himself, because of the great contract which suddenly grows before his very eyes. Are we not greatest sinners when we see our Lord go a-begging for our own salvation and for our own souls? His ways are inexplicable. Even the people of the Heavens do not know His path. We do not know what He wants. We can only say, "O, Our, Lord! Save us and accept us in all seven-fold seven births" (2).

Our poet speaks of himself as *Ārūraṉ* whose heart always rushes to think of the Lord (10). He considers it a good fortune that he is named after the Lord of *Ārūr*, that it should be the first name of his as named by his parent (10). (We are told that our poet was, as was customary named after his grand-father).

V

The rhythm of this *hymn* portrays the loving dance of the poet's heart. The poet himself probably enjoys this and that is why he describes himself as the eternal poet or scholar blessed with the tongue or the power of speech expressing the sweetest and the purest word—"*Maṉṉu pulavaṉ—ceñcol nāvaṉ*" (10). "Those who are masters of this garland of a *Tamiḻ* book (*hymn*) sung by *Ārūraṉ* will ever reside on my head"—that is how our poet concludes this *hymn* (10). He must have felt the inspiration behind this poetry to express himself in these terms. In the previous *hymn*, he begged of the world to fall at the feet of those who recite that *hymn*. In this *hymn* he himself falls at their feet, thus reaching the very height of self-surrender and divine bliss.

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CHAPTER LVIII

TIRUVĒKAMPAM TIRUMĒṞṞALI

(*Hymn* 21)

I

What can a poet resolve upon after the experience of the bliss of the Lord, as experienced in the previous *hymn*? The poet here exclaims to the Lord, "I shall not praise any one but you" — "*Uṉṉaiyalḷāl ... ēttamāṭṭēṉē*" — these are the words which occur in every one of the fourth lines of the verses of this *hymn*. The third line describes the temple '*Tirumēṟṟaḷi*' of *Coñjīvaram* lying at the western entrance to the fort of *Coñjīvaram* overlooking the famous sylvan tract lying there. "The fortified great city of '*Kāñci*' is the city of the *Pallavas*, the city of the world" (10) — that is how our poet describes it and we know in the age in which *Ārūrar* lived, the civilized world of the East was turning towards *Coñjīvaram*. This temple was surrounded by big fortress walls of stone (9) and by grand palaces (2) and by cool paddy fields full of waters beautified by the ripples (8) and the fresh lotuses growing in the slushy rich soil (7).

II

The first feet in the fourth lines and in the other lines give us the descriptions of the Lord which our poet loves very much: "*Entāy*—my father" (1); "*Māṭē*—my wealth" (2); "*Ēṟē*—my lion" (3); "*Paṟṟē*—my prop" (4); "*Pemmāṉ*—my Lord" (5); "*Kōṉē*—my king" (6); "*Aiyā*—my chief" (7); "*Araiyā*—my prince" (8); "*Malaiyē*—my mountain" (9); (the *māṭu, malai* and *ēṟu* as residing inside the *Tirumēṟṟali* make these conceptions very concrete and beautiful); "*Talaivā*—my leader" (9); "*Cintāy*—the Lord of the mind" (1). The poet is very fond of the Lord appearing as the shining light (*Oṇ cuṭar*—6), as the bright light which never fades (*Nontā oṇ cuṭar*—1). Our poet addresses the Lord as '*Vimalā*' — the blotless or who removes the blot and purifies us (8), and as the Lord appearing as honey (6) and the sweetest nectar (6). He twice describes Him in this *hymn* as the real of the real, "*Meypporuḷ*," (3, 5). Here also our poet refers to the *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord — the destruction of the three cities (4, 7), the flaying of the elephant's skin (5) and the fragrant *koṉṟai* (8).

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III

For the rest, the *hymn* gives our poet's own experience of the Lord. "I kept thinking of you; you came in and you had never known going out. O, Lord of mind who had entered my heart, I shall not hereafter praise anyone but you" (1). "Because I became the servant of yours, I have entered the service of your followers and I have heard all that is there to be heard and I have heard that I am never more to be born. I cannot praise with joy any but you" (2). "Out of laziness, once in a way, I might not have thought of you; but even then, you are the true principle capable of entering into my mind coming in another way. I cannot praise hereafter anyone but you" (3). "The kith and kin and the relatives — these I had left off and I have taken refuge in you. In what way is there any want? I have completely renounced my miseries. You are my prop. I shall not worship and praise anyone but you" (4). "My father and my mother— all these have left me and are dead. All that which truly create delusions (all the delusions due to this body), You have removed and You have blessed me, O, Thou true principle, O, Lord! I shall not praise anyone but you" (5). "As for me, I contemplated on your feet. As soon as I contemplated on you, you entered this body of flesh, O, Brilliant Light, my honey, my sweetest nectar, my prince, I shall not with a cool heart praise anyone but you" (6). The burning of the three cities implies the destruction of our own *malas,* miseries and defects. Therefore, our poet describing this feat of the Lord, exclaims, "O, Lord! my Chief! I shall not knowingly praise anyone but you" (7). "I shall not speak hereafter of anyone but you with my tongue as long as this life lasts in this body. O, king! I shall not knowingly praise anyone but you" (8). "I have firmly contemplated on your feet and as soon as I so contemplated on you, my chief, you allowed me contemplate on you and all the deceits have disappeared. O, the mountain of *Tirumēṟṟaḷi*! I shall not happily praise anyone but you" (9).

IV

These outpourings of his heart give us a true picture of his spiritual elevation—a spiritual state which can be called *Śivalōka.* Our poet says he has sung the *Śiva Tirumēṟṟaḷi* — he, *Ārūraṉ* the slavish *Toṇṭaṉ.* He assures, "Those who are masters of this famous *hymn,* they that will reach the *Śivalōka,*" for as we have stated, the *hymn* represents that kind of highest spiritual state (10).

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CHAPTER LIX

TIRU ŌṆAKĀNTAN TALI

(*Hymn* 5)

I

The present cycle of *hymns* may be compared with the cycle of *hymns*—24 14, etc. After the exclamation, "I shall not praise anyone else" (*H* : 21), the poet gets rid of the tension of the over-surging bliss through his humorous address to the Lord who has thus become near and dear to him, as it were, a friend and companion as the tradition states. This may be even compared to the humorous speech of the damsels in love with the *Bhikṣāṭana*, what *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* will characterize as '*Pulavi nuṇukkam*'. The *purāṇic* descriptions and the poetic experiences all roll into one great humour though at bottom, shine the spiritual greatness and divine love of the Lord.

II

"The *Bhaktas* have begun worshipping you daily with ghee, milk and curd. But there is no coin in their hand, unless they serve through their worshipping your feet of victorious anklets" (1). As usual our poet passes from the objective statements about the *Bhaktas* which are themselves his own experience—to the description of his own state. "The five (senses) there, take hold of me. They make me dance and I dance. I am caught up into the deep slough going down deeper and deeper therein. O, Thou, who art inside *Ōṇakāntaṉ Taḷi*, bless me with a way of escape from this" (1).

"(What can we get from you? You are lost in the floods). The waves dash and roll up above the moon bedecked mat-lock. As for the damsel, the *Ganges*, she will never open her mouth. (Your eldest son), *Gaṇapati* is a voracious eater. The Lord of the spear (*Subrahmaṇya*) is an infant-boy, Your wife plays on the *Yāḻ* (*Vīṇā*) and will never save or take care of us. O, thou inside the *Ōṇakāntaṉ Taḷi*, we cannot serve your people!" (2). There is another reading "*korru aṭṭi āḷaḷ*" for "*kōrraṭṭi āḷāḷ*" : the interpretation given is that she does not offer the daily batta).

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"Whether they get anything or not, the *Bhaktas* praise your feet with all care and love. You do not sympathize and feel for them who are without any other prop or attachment. You do not sympathize and feel for them. You do not behave like a reasonable person (as far as they are concerned). When they become absolutely destitute and when they are miserable, in such times of despair, O, Lord, can they mortgage you and eat?" (3).

"Even if they praise stating all they are capable of, you do not open your mouth and say whether you have or whether you have not. You see there for saving us but alas! to what purpose? You will never leave off the life of roaming about for alms all through the day, with the teethless skull of a bowl". (It is this which made us suggest that these verses may be taken as the speeches of the damsels in love with *Bhikṣāṭana*) (4).

"Your followers again and again come together, dance and sing without defect in their song or tune. They weep and their hearts melt. You do not think of any happiness for these lovers of yours. I go constantly in quest of you, roaming about and getting fatigued and yet you do not sympathize with me. Neither do you desert me and run away, nor do you offer any help" (5).

"The damsel who is never separated from your loving embrace has established the *Kāmakōṭṭam* at *Kacci* for saving the whole world. While this *Kāmakōṭṭam* is there, why do you go receiving alms from various cities?" (6).

"You spend your time by pretences. You are neither outside nor inside; You do not tell us the truth and accept as your servant and save us. You cannot give us anything. If you receive us, you want nothing, you give nothing and you say nothing. You, Sir, my Lord, I am addressing you alone (*Emmaipperrāl*— accepting the *Bhaktas* as His servants is thus looked upon us something valuable from the point of view of the Lord) (7).

"The God of Death has spread his net. He comes and stands up above. I have heard this word or statement. Making my mind as firm as a stone, I contemplate on you and fall at your feet. That is the only way of escape. Otherwise, I cannot be in communion with you allowing the six passions to grow and develop. [The six passions are : *Kāma*, *Kṛōta*, *Lōpa*, *Mōha*, *Mada* and *Mātsarya* — *Mātsaryam* may be taken as '*cerram*'. The old commentator on *Cilappatikāram* interprets '*cerram*' as '*māstsarya*'

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(*Vaḻakkurai kātai* — '*Cerraṇaḻpōlum*). Therefore, '*Mōha*' alone has to find a corresponding word in the list given by *Ārūrar*. The only word found there is '*Varuṭai*'. '*Maruṭṭal*' is found used in the sense of attraction perhaps as a variant of '*maruḷ*' which probably leads us to the significance of '*Mōha*' or wonderful delusion. The Tamil Lexicon however gives the meaning '*Mātsaryam*' taking '*Varuṭai*' to be a corruption of '*spardha*'; but this cannot be correct for we do not get the six well known passions. The next problem is the meaning of the phrase '*Kalaiyamaitta*' which occurs as the qualification given by our poet to these passions. '*Kalai*' may be taken to mean the body, when these passions may be taken to be bubbling up within the body of ours. There is also another reading '*kalaiyam vaitta*' where the '*kalaiyam*' can only mean the bot, metaphorically meaning the body. '*Ulaiyamaittal*' is making them ready for enjoyment even as we cook the rice for being served. There can be a better suggestion. *Kalai* may be taken to mean the fine-arts and our poet may be giving us a clue to his philosophy of art in this phrase '*kalaiyamaitta*'] There is thus a great purpose served by these passions. When they are sublimated into the sentiments of fine arts they serve this purpose and become divine" (8).

"In whose city do you live? (the city you live in, is somebody's). As for *Orriyūr* (which means a mortgaged city) it is not yours. You have taken for your wife the *Ganges* and placed her inside your mat-lock. Your city is the burning ghat and your garments are the skins. Your necklace is but a serpent. What do the *Bhaktas* get, these *Bhaktas* who out of love serve your beautiful feet?" (9).

Our poet has given here the various modes of worship with ghee, milk, curd, praises, dance, music, contemplation and love.

III

He refers to the *purāṇic* descriptions — the moon (2), the mat-lock (2), the *Ganges* (2), *Gaṇapathy* (2), *Kumaraṉ* (2), the Mother (2), the skull (4), the begging (4), the *koṉṟai* (6), *Kāmakkōṭṭam* (6), the burning ghat (9), the garments of skin (9), the bull (10). The bull is here said to be in the form of *Praṇava*. The poet says he has described in an orderly way the form the Lord has assumed wearing the loin cloth and adorning himself with nice cotton and silk clothes (10). This description is not intelligible, for, on the surface, the loin cloth and the silk con-

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tradict each other. It has been suggested elsewhere that this may be a description of *Ardhanārīśvara*' form. It may be the present reading '*vīkki*' in '*Paṭṭu vīkki*' a mistake for the original word '*nīkki*' when it may mean that God has discorded the cotton and silk for the loin cloth of a beggar. This will be in keeping with the general trend of this *hymn* which, as we have suggested, gives the description of the beggar Lord, who may in a humorous vein be referred to as incapable of supporting His followers.

IV

"*Āvaṇam ceytāḷum koṇṭu*" occurs in the last verse of this *hymn* and it is taken by the tradition, as referring to the deed of sale which the Lord produced for saving our poet. We had discussed this phrase elsewhere.

V

In singing this *hymn* in this humorous vein as the friend and companion or lover of the Lord, the poet has cxperienced a feeling of identity wherein all the sins and past *karmas* completely disappear. Therefore the poet assures that there will disappear similarly the sins of those who are masters of these ten verses of *Tamiḻ* which is the very form of poetry (10).

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CHAPTER LX

TIRUKKACCI ANĒKATAṄKĀVATAM

(*Hymn* 10)

I

some of the *hymns* were observed to be on the pattern, "The holy spot is the rendezvous of the Lord". This *hymn* is an elaboration of this kind of pattern expressing the joy at the place and ecstasy of the experience of the messages of the *purāṇic* stories. "This is the place of the Lord of this activity; this is the place of the Lord of another activity" — In this way, in every verse '*iṭam*' or 'place' is repeated many a time, each time in relation with a specific *purāṇic* activity of the Lord. The tune is '*Intaḷam*', the same as that of the previous *hymn*, but the metre moves quicker, making us feel the poet dancing in his ecstasy at the sight of the temple reminding him of the esoteric meaning of the *purāṇic* stories.

II

The *purāṇic* stories and descriptions are referred to and enjoyed one after another with a special relish. The mat lock with humming bees wherein comes together in loving harmony the *Ganges* (4), the *koṉṟai* flower (4), the serpent (5), the crescent moon (3), the deer (1), and the *maḻu* or the battleaxe (3), h ld in the hands as symbols of poetic beauty, the flag of bull (2), the blue throat (6), the ear-ring of conch shell (4), the flaying of the elephant (1) and the destruction of Death (6) and *Kāma* (1) and the three cities (8), the dance with the ghosts (2) on the burning ghaṭ (9) with eight serpents (7) are all mentioned. One may look upon the whole *hymn* as a description of this dance of '*Aṭṭapuyaṇkam*' or eight serpents.

The esoteric significance of these stories is also given. The deer held upon His hand is said to be the defectless *Vēda*, "*Kuṟaiyā maṟaiyām māṉai iṭattatōr kaiyaṉ iṭam*" (1). The destruction of Death and *Tiripuram* is mentioned along with the description of the bees sleeping in the flowers of the places (8), thereby suggesting what appears to be a destruction is nothing more than rest and sleep for those concerned.

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The Lord is said to be in the company of the Mother. In one place He is described as He who has *Tiru* in his chest, a description usually given of *Viṣṇu*. "*Tirumārpakalattu Aṭikaḷiṭam*" (3). This reminds us of *Ñāṉa Campantar*: '*Peṇkoḷ tirumārpiṉiṟ pūcum pemmāṉ*'.[1] It may mean that she is sharing the chest of the Lord. "*Tiru*" is another name for the Mother Goddess as already noted.

III

The beauty of the place is also described. This is the place where sing the *koels* and where dance the peacocks (3) It is the place where glows the sun (7). It is the spot where the shekoel plays with its lover (7) and where the flower blossoming with the overflowing honey is encircled by the '*mātavi* creeper' (7) — a marriage and union of fragrance — the place where sleep the shebees inside the soft petals of the cool *mātavi*, *mavval*, *kurā*, *vakuḷam*, *kurukkatti* and *puṉṉai* (8). We have already referred to this sleep suggesting the esoteric significance of the destruction of Death and *Tripura* thus raising even the descriptions of Nature to the mystic level.

IV

The Lord is *Śaṅkara* (9) — one who creates happiness. He is our Lord (*Emperumāṉ*) (2) of excellent community (5) (of *Bhaktas*). He is a munificent patron (*Pirāṉ*) (7). He is our father (*Attaṉ*-5, *Appaṉ*-2) He is the Holy. There are other descriptions of the Lord in relation to the blessings He confers on the Bhaktas and also descriptions suggesting the ways of worshipping the Lord. It is the place where the decaying enmity of the cruel *karma* ceases (3). It is the place where those who have begun their spiritual practice of being in communion with Him, keep their mind concentrated on the one unique path, where they shine, where the *Bhaktas* who have turned their mind on to the Heavenly feet of wealth or Grace of the Lord lose their heart captivated by Him (5). It is the place where the Lord removes this bondage of a body, this bondage of those who think of Him even whilst in their bodily existence in this birth (6). It is the place where those who have cut asunder their bondage and mental delusion worship the Lord with their hands (7). It is the place where stand many, for many aeons, for attaining salvation (10), the place

1. 1: 70: 3.

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where *karmas* disappear (10)—the place of the great men assembled for attaining excellence (10). The idea of release from *karmas* is emphasized often and often and in one place he refers to the spot as the place where the Lord removes the mortal agony caused by the followers of the Lord of Death to the people of our poet's following, not merely relatives but also those belonging to his spiritual community of *Bhaktas* (6). The poet with reference to this describes the Lord of *Śivalōkaṉ*—the Lord of the world of *Śiva*.

V

In the last verse usually describing the good result following from the recitation of the *hymns*, our poet says no more than calling attention to this Holy spot as the place where flock together in communion, those who have mastered the verses of the garland of *hymns* sung by the famous *Ūraṉ*, who becomes a slave whilst singing of the Lord. This seems to suggest that *Śivalōka* is itself any place where flock the *Bhaktas* singing the praise of the Lord.

VI

Aṉēkataṅkāvatam occurs as the name of a *Śaivite* shrine of the North in the poems of *Campāntar*. A temple of that type seems to have been built at *Kāñci* by the the time of *Ārūrar*. The meaning of the term is not clear. In the last verse we have another difficulty; for '*Kalikkacci Aṉēkataṅkāppaṉ*' gives the form *aṉēkataṅkāppu*.

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CHAPTER LXI

TIRUVAṆPĀRTTĀṆ PANAṄKĀṬṬŪR

(*Hymn* 86)

I

In the previous *hymn*, we found the poet dancing in joy at the thought of *Aṉēkataṅkāvatam* reminding him of the activities of the Lord. It is not merely the joy of his own experience. The *hymn* sounds like the eureka of a new discoverer, crying out in joy to the world at large, so that the whole humanity may be benefited by this discovery. Thus the world comes back to the mind of the poet unobtrusively. This inspires him with the thought that nothing but God is my worth and, therefore, pities those who do not take refuge in Him. The last two metrical feet of every verse in this *hymn* expresses this idea. "Of what worth is the dependence (prop) of those who do not depend (rely) on God?" (What is their prop?) (1). "Of what worth is the experience of those who have not experienced God?" (What is their experience?) (2). "Of what worth is the speech of those who do not speak of the Lord?" (3 & 4). "Of what worth is the worship or praise of those who do not praise the Lord?" (5). "Of what worth is the practice (or company) of those who do not practise the service of the Lord?" (6). "Of what worth is the knowledge of those who do not know the Lord?" (7). "Of what worth is the thought (or mind) of those who do not think of the Lord?" (8). "Of what worth is the sympathy or love of those who do not melt at the thought of the Lord?" (9). The rest of the verses describe the Lord as of great worth for us all—the descriptions are piled up in the accusative case.

II

The idea of the Lord enshrining Himself in the world for our sake is not forgotten. "Therefore, of what worth is the praise of those who do not praise the munificent patron—the One who is the Supreme being (*Paraman*) of *Vaṉpārttāṉ Paṉāṅkaṭṭūr* (enshrining there) only for the purpose of showering His blessings and hastening to grant our boons?"—that is the fifth verse. "He

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is the Lord who is glorious in having *Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr* as His city" — that is the 9th verse. He is both the objective and the subjective truth. He is the immanent principle. "He is the munificent patron residing in our heart and in *Paṇaṇkāṭṭūr* of gem-bedecked and cloud-clad beautiful palaces" (8). In this way the temple is being mentioned in every one of the verses in the second half of the third lines.

The place is called *Vaṇpārttāṇ Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr* or *Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr*, a city of palmyra trees. *Vaṇpārttāṇ* is not clear. Or, can it be this is an equivalent to *Paṭiṟaṇ* (the deceitful one) in verses 2, 3, 4 and 7. From Sri V. S. Chengalvaraya Pillai we learn that the usual explanation is that there is a village by name *Vaṇpākkam* near this *Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr* and that in order to distinguish this *Paṇaṇkāṭṭūr* from the *Paṇaṅkāṭṭūrs* this place is described specifically as *Vaṇpākkam Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr*. *Vaṇpārttāṇ* is a wrong reading of *Vaṇpākkam*—'*k*' and '*t*' being liable to be confused in the early inscriptions.

His rendezvous is the *Paṇaṅkāṭṭūr* sorrounded by the gardens full of peacocks (6). The place is described with reference to the worship by the *Bhaktas* (1). It is the place where the sound of the conch and the drum never ceases (2). The blowing of the conch is a part of temple worship and the playing on the drum reminds us of festivals (2). The *hymn* mentions: "The songs full of music sung by the *Bhaktas* who praise Him with all their hearts with fresh flowers of the day—the numerous valuable flowers or the eight flowers—appropriate for the firelike beautiful form of the Lord who is adorned with the cool crescent moon" (3). "Service unto the Lord is praised" (6 & 9).

III

The Lord is described in relation to these *Bhaktas*—"*Aṭaiyil aṇpu uṭaiyāṇ*" (1). "He is full of love if you take refuge in Him though unknown to all" (1). "He is in the mind of those who are not crooked" (4). "If you melt in love He resides in your heart" (5). "He is the Birthless Lord, never forgetting those whose minds are devoid of deceit" (8). Thus the characteristic features of the true *Bhaktas* are mentioned.

The characteristic features of the Lord are also praised. He is the significant meaning of the *Vēdas* (1). He is the unknowable (1). He is the male and the female (3). He is of unsullied

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character (4). He is the great significant thing that is true knowledge (5). He is the sunshine, the wind that blows, the lightning and the fire (6). He is the truthful, the Lord of the *Vēdas*, the form of all art, (7), (not only Nature as mentioned in 6). He is the oldest of the old (9). He is our patron inside our heart; (8) the Supreme one (*Paramaṉ*—5; *Pirāṉ*—7); the Chief (*Aiyaṉ*—7).

IV

There occur also the *Purāṇic* descriptions of the bull (1), the *Ganges* on the mat-lock (1), the jingling anklet (2), the dancing snake (2), the fire, (2), the dance (2), the crescent moon (2), the ear-ring (9), the eye on the fore-head (4), the sacred ash (4), the ornaments of skull (5), the eight shoulders (6) the deer (7) and the battle-axe (7), the destruction of the three cities (6) and the Lord of Death (7). the company of the Mother (8), the colour of the fire (3) and the coral (10), and the worship of *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* (9).

V

With reference to the last incident, the poet speaks of the Lord going up above the high Heavens whilst those two stood by His side and contemplated on Him (9). Our poet assures that those who recite this *hymn* will also thus go up above the High Heavens (the very words are used)—probably suggesting that they will become one with the Lord. The poet tells us in passing that he is called after the Lord of *Ārūr*—that is the first part of his name—"*Tiruvārūr-c Civaṉ pēr ceṉṉiyil vaitta Ārūraṉ*" (10). He calls himself in all humility "*Aṭit toṇṭaṉ*", the slave and servant, the dog—"*Aṭittoṇṭaṉ aṭiyaṉ* col *aṭināy col*" (10).

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CHAPTER LXII

TIRUKKĀLATTI

(*Hymn* 26)

I

In our analysis of the *hymn* No. 55, it was suggested that something must have happened in the political carreer of our poet to disturb the peace of the poet's mind, Probably it was this which sent him on a northern tour on a pilgrimage to the various temples. The real cause is his mental and spiritual development, the occasion being provided by the political conditions. Our poet now reaches the limit of the ancient *Tamiḻ* Country, *Tirukkāḷatti*. The poet, who sang in the previous *hymn* that all that which had no relationship to the Lord had no worth or value, expresses here his conviction and his resolution that he shall not consciously, praise anyone but the Lord. This *hymn* is addressed to the Lord directly. Most of the verses end with the words, "*Uṉṉaiyallāl arintēttamāṭṭēṉē*"; Verse No. 3 has the variation, "*Uṉṉaiyallāl ukantēttamāṭṭēṉē*" and *V.* 8 has '*Iṉiyēttamāṭṭēṉē*"; *V.* 7 has the ending "*Uṉṉaiyallāl aṟiyēṉ marroruvaraiye*"; but there is another reading which makes the ending of that verse also simllar to the other; *V.* 9 has "*Uṉṉaiyallāl iṉiyoṉṟum uṇarēṉē*". It looks as though that the original reading in all the verses should have been '*Uṉṉaiyallāl aṟintēttamāṭṭēṉē*'. This ending reminds us of a similar chorus of the *hymn* No. 21 which our poet sung whilst he was at *Kañci* in the course of his nothern tour.

One of the names of the Lord of *Tirukkāḷaṭṭi* was *Gaṇanātaṉ* and our poet mentions that name in *VV.*, 1, 3 and 10.

II

This *hymn* of our poet taking refuge in the Lord expresses his surrender to the Lord. The poet refers as usual to the various *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord: the bull (1), the loving company of the Mother (1), the Lordship of the *Gaṇas* (1, 3, 10) and the *Dēvas* (2), the blue throat (2), the battle axe (3), the destruction of the Sun (3), the Brahminhood of the Lord of His *Vēdic* scholarship (3), the ear-ring (3), the deer (4), the shawl of an

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elephant skin (4) the cool and long mat-lock (7), the youth of the Lord (7), the sacred ash (8), and the begging with the skull (8).

III

The name which is so very important to the *Śaivites, Śiva* (1), is again mentioned in this *hymn.* As in *hymn* No. 21, *etc.*, the first foot of the fourth line in every verse expresses the significant relationship which the poet has experienced with the Lord: (*Āṇḍā*—1), the Lord of this very form of this Universe; (*Amaive*—2), the Lord as perfection or peace or the constituted form; (*Uṭaiyāy*—3), the Lord as the owner of everything and as our Lord; (*Aṟivē*—4), the Lord as knowledge; (*Aiyā*—6) the Lord as our Chief; (*Ēṟē*—8), the lion or the bull; (*Oḷiyē*—9), the Lord as Light. Our poet calls Him (*Iraivā*—2), the Sovereign; (*Meyyavaṉ*—6), the truthful; (*Tiruvē*—6), the Great Wealth; (*Nimalā*—8), the blotless; (*Koḻuntē*—8), the beautiful sprout from the seed of everything. The wonderful phrase "*Ārā Iṉṉamudu*' (10) describing our Lord as the sweet nectar with which we are never satiated, is again lovingly repeated in this *hymn.*

IV

There are certain descriptions of the Lord in relation to the poet's experience: "*Eṉ ceḻuñcuṭarē*" (1)—'my rich Light'; "*Kaṇṭār kātalikkum...em kāḷattiyāy*" (1), 'my Lord of *Kāḷatti*—of loved by those who see the place'; "*Eṉ iṭarttuṇaiyē*" (2), O, my friend or help in misery'; "*Eṉ ...kamaiyār karuṇaiyiṉāy*" (2), 'O, thou Lord of Grace full of patience or forbearance'; '*Kuriyē eṉṉuṭaiya Guruvē*" (4), 'my ideal and master'—This term *Guru* is significant, for it is the second time that our poet calls Him as his *Guru* or Master.

The poet continues to give us more of his subjective experience of the Lord. "I perform all kinds of services—even menial services—unto you (I cease to be a conscious living being) and lay down as something material, captivated by the damsels of the beautiful carp-like eyes; then, I shrieked and suffered, I, your slave, because I have not known anything good. Thus I spent many sleepless nights. Then, one day, I fell at your feet, O, Lord of *Kaḷāti*! I have now become fearless; I shall not consciously praise anyone but you" (5). "I was false, this dog of a slave of yours, I had not known any way of escape and refuge; you

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come as the upright man and you removed all obstacles and sufferings, the truthful one, 'my chief' " (6). "Ah! I was a cruel one. I had not known those beautiful flowers of your feet; I had then no love for you and yet you have come yourself permanently to enshrine in my heart. O, my youthful Lord of *Kāḷatti*, where bow down the *Dēvas*" (7). "O, the blotless Lord, I shall not speak of anyone but you. O, my ocean of all qualities". (It is possible to have the reading, '*Eṉ Guṇakkaṭal*', the ocean of eight great qualities having in his mind the phrase, '*Eṉguṇattāṉ*' used by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*) (8). "You have become so easy of reach and you have come of your own accord to enter my mind, O, my Lord" (9).

V

The place *Kāḷatti* is described as surrounded by palaces with gates (*Kaṭaiyār māḷikai* — 3), (*Kaḷiyār vaṇṭaṟaiyum Tirukkāḷatti*—9), as the place where hum the intoxicated bees and (*Kārārum poḻil cūḻ Kāḷatti* — 10) as being surrounded by cloud-clad gardens and as the place where the *Bhaktas* (4) and the *Dēvas* (7) contemplate on God.

VI

This *hymn* expresses the great joy the poet experienced when the Lord of His own accord saved our poet — a state of happiness which he is sure will ever be permanent and he, therefore, assures that those who recite these verses of beautiful *Tamiḻ* poetry that they will like himself get rid of all the *karmas*, achieving the permanent happiness of heaven without any fault of theirs existing thereafter. Our poet calls himself *Nāval Ārūraṉ* (10).

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CHAPTER LXIII

CĪPARPPATAM

(*Hymn* 79)

I

This is the *hymn* on *Cīparppatam* which has come to be known in later days as *Śrī Śaila.* In this *hymn*, the poet seems to identify the great mountain full of natural beauty with God Himself, for, we find every verse ending in an address to the mountain as *Cīparppata malaiyē.* Others have taken these verses to mean that this mountain is the abode of the Lord. The identification of nature with the Lord is significant as proving that our poet is preaching of no philosophy of world negation. If the poet has condemned anywhere this world, it must be interpreted as referring to the illusion, temptation and our false knowledge of this world. The poet believes that in essence this Universe is nothing but the beauty of the Lord, revealing to us a series of dramatic situations of highest imaginative poetry. The descriptions suggest that nature is full of love, making even the hard-hearted hunters to take pity on the helpless she-elephant (5).

II

The various kinds of deer and peacock mix together in groups everywhere in the mountain revelling and grazing as they like, drinking the waters of the mountain-springs, scratching their bodies against sweet smelling flower trees, possing through groves to sleep in the shade place of a sweet mango grove (1).

In the field of millet, the groups of boars go and make pits. The gems turn up shining like fire. Frightened, they roam about. The bear, the deer, the Indian elk, the peacock and many other beings feast on the honey, the grove and the garden are sa abundant in this mountain (9).

The groups of she-elephants go into groves and other mountain rendezvous; their young ones hit against their udders and drink their milk. Having thus strayed thus far away from their lord the he-elephant, they think of him and rush in search of him, roaring all along in confusion only to be fatigued at the

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end. The he-elephant in his turn goes in search of his she-elephant. The Lord of the form of this mountain is thus the embodiment of the love of the mother, the love of the child and the reciprocal love of a wedded couple (2).

The group of elephants run helter-skelter and roam about in the rendezvous of the she-elephants. There, one of the she-elephants bends down its ear; the murderous hunters of the mountain of great honour take pity on it so much that they manufacture a cup out of the leaves for collecting the honey and feeding therewith the she-elephant. Such is the inspiration of love of this great mountain of a Lord (5).

The scene of love does not close there. The he-elephant perhaps suspects the she-elephant which has passed through groves of different scents which smell like the fragrance of different elephants. He becomes angry, holds up his trunk and vomits as it were fire and allows must to flow. His face is red and crooked with anger. He accuses his lover of having gone alone with another elephant. The she-elephant cries that she cannot bear this scandal. She goes to convince her lover in the presence of others and swears in this great mountain (the reading is '*Piṭi cūḷaṟum*'; another reading is '*Piṭi cūḻuṟum*': the context suggests that the correct reading should be '*Piṭi cūḻuṟam*') (6).

A damsel of beautiful words keeps guard over her field of grains. The virgin parrots carry away the bunches of grain. She feels that these parrots will not care for her and makes her sling of stone resound when the beautiful good parrots roam about in fright and get to the top of this mountain to escape from the onslaught of the sling (*kavaṇ*) (3).

The maiden, the damsel, tries to drive away the parrot from the fields with the threatening words of her mouth, but they do not leave the field perhaps attracted by the sweetness of her words. She throws with her sling beautiful gems within the reach of her hand; the parrots at once rush away, these red-mouthed parrots which go and sing at the top of the mountain, the same song which the damsel has sung (4).

Brahma and *Viṣṇu*, alas; have not known the feet of the great Lord of ashes who burnt to ashes the three cities. But, here

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in the mountain, which is the very form of the Lord, these he-elephants roaming about in groups with the she-elephants, shine in all their glory, intoxicated with the honey which they had drunk. It is a heaven of sweetest experience (8).

The poet is giving alternately the beautiful poetic vision of loving parrots flying round the damsel of the mountain and of loving couple of elephants. The damsel watching the field of grains exclaims in love and despair: "You came and ate then; I kept quiet without calling for help; but if you come and eat away at every time, will not my people be enraged? Now this has become your habit": so saying she slings against the parrot, this damsel of the youthful bosom to drive it away (7).

III

The poet has thus sung this mountain of Śiva as a Heaven on earth, the divine Arcadia, though difficult to reach. This very description makes us happy, making us forget all our miseries and transporting us to the heights of Heavens where we stay for ever as rulers of this divine happiness — that is the assurance which our poet gives to those who master forgeting all miseries this *hymn* — of *Nāvalūraṉ* or the *Ūraṉ* of *Nāval* surrounded by paddy fields where live many a good soul (10).

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CHAPTER LXIV

TIRUKKĒTĀRAM

(*Hymn* 78)

I

Our poet — our poet's mind according to *Cēkkiḻār* — goes beyond *Badari*, sung by *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvāṟ* of the *Pallava* period, to the still higher regions of the *Himalayas*, known as *Kēdarnāth*. In the previous *hymn* nature appeared to our poet as the beautiful poetic form of the Lord. There itself we pointed out, that if Nature and this world appear otherwise as a spreading net of misery or as an endless ocean of suffering, it was due to the defect in our vision, to the defect in our behaviour—mistaking the world as a source of temptation and falling a prey to it. It is this latter aspect of the world that is emphasized in the present *hymn*. Our poet addresses the world at large against these temptations and against a life of futility, and exhorts everyone to utter in joy the name of this holy place of beauty and love, inspiring even the wild beasts to worship the Lord. Life, unless experienced as the love and beauty of the Lord, is ephemeral and futile and it becomes an illusion. It is sure to end in dust. It is a futile panorama — this limitless ocean of births — a trap of a body made of hunger and diseases.

II

"You roam about and labour in vain carrying this body. You do not know that the fox will one day tear away this body. This is the day appointed for its capture by the Lord of Death who proclaims it through the symptoms of coming end" (2). "A few eat the measured two ollocks of food. They work and save only to lose it all. 'Is it proper?' if you ask them, they reply, 'We shall escape' — ah, these men intoxicated with their intelligence! All this talk with those who fill up their body is vain" (4).

"Pray, do not get more and more entangled in the trap of the women, of broad eyes flashing like swords. Before the Lord of Death, running a race with time, comes near you, approach the Lord, and esaape by becoming the servant of the Lord" (5).

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"You labour in vain carrying this burden of a body. You do not know this burden is futile. These men intoxicated with their intelligence go along their path and fall down into the pit. That is fate" (9).

III

He also suggests the way out. "You just mention the name of the Holy place *Tirukkētāram*" — this is, as it were, the refrain of the *hymn*. "You perform *Dharma* or *Aram* or good acts without any delay. There are indeed *Arams* (to save you)" (1). "The Lord is more knowing than the knower. There you see in *Tirukkētāram*, people worshipping the Lord and distributing freely the fragrant waters and food with a charming speech" (2). "Without wasting your time on those who fill up their body perform *tapas*. You see there at *Tirukkētāram* people worshipping the Lord and pouring the sacred waters to the East" (to the morning Sun) (4). "Become His servant and be saved. You need not discuss that His abode is something far off. It is equally here nearby. This *Tirukkētāram* is His abode" (5). "*Tapas* is there only when we attain Him (or when our ego is thoroughly removed and when we achieve complete self-control). The sacred bath in the holy waters is effected by the mind soaking through and through in the Holiness of *Kurukṣētra*, *Godavari* and *Kumari* (Cape Comorin). The inner mind must become crystal clear. That is the worship of *Śrī Parvata*. The whole world is a unity and even the parrot proves by tearing the fruits it eats, from South to North. The Lord is here at *Tirukkētāram* establishing for us all our goal" (6).

IV

The beasts and plants also are inspired by the holiness of the place; "The one-legged beings catch hold of the creeper and shower on the Lord the flowers reciting the *mantras* of the *Ṛg-Vēda* at midnight and in the midday with certainty that our Lord will save us all. The elephants stand in groups and pour down the waters of the mountain stream and shower on Him, the red powder" (3). "The old bamboo resounds like the musical drum reminding us of the musical compositions in *Tamiḻ*. The golden springs full of light but sweet to the eyes, rain their diamonds. The elephants standing on the earth carry the gems and throw them away. This creates the music resounding all through the holy place" (7). "The young she-elephant speaks words of praise

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and breaks down the old bamboos. The he-elephants stand in groups and shower the waters of the mountain spring. This appears like rain from the bent up trunk of the elephants. The peacocks scratch the ground while the deer frisk about the gems are hurled up and thrown out" (8).

V

The Lord is described as the one whom *Brahma* and *Viṣṇu* searched, going up and down as the Lord of the serpent and the loin cloth, the *Dēva* (1).

VI

In passing, we notice the various ways of worshipping the Lord with flowers and water, through service and *tapas*, through *Dharma* and self-surrender. Our poet speaks of himself as the slave and follower of the *Bhaktas* of *Śiva* inclusive of *Tirunavukkaracar* and *Tamiḻ Ñāna Campantar* — his leaders (10). The phrase. "*Tamiḻ Ñāna Campantar*" is significant.

VII

This *hymn* shows that in the very act of giving his message of hope to the world at large, our poet has experienced through his inspired music and song a great happiness — the real bliss beyond all states. Our poet, therefore, assures that those who master this *hymn* of a sweet *Tamiḻ* song will remain for ever in that self-same state of supreme divine bliss, beyond all worlds (10).

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CHAPTER LXV

TIRUVORRIYŪR

(*Hymn* 91)

I

The poet returns from his pilgrimage to the north back to the *Tamiḻ* country. He comes and stays at *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr*, probably, still not deciding to go back to his original place of activity, *viz.*, *Tiruvārūr*.

II

This *hymn* may be taken as an '*akapporuḷ*' song, a dramatic speech, by one of the damsels falling in love with the usual *Bhikṣāṭana* form of the Lord. The verse No. 4 is specific.

"*Eṉṉa teḻiluṃ niṟaiyum niṟaiyum kavarvāṉ*
Puṉṉai malarum puṟavir ṟikaḻum
Taṉṉai muṉṉam niṉaikkat taruvāṉ
Uṉṉap paṭuvāṉ Oṟṟi yūrē" (4).

"It is He who steals away my beauty and my moral firmness and self-control. He shines in the sylvan tract where blooms the '*puṉṉai*' tree. He gives Himself away to be thought of, by His lovers, before everything. He is the One to be remembered. His abode is *Oṟṟiyūr*" (4).

Verse No. 6 speaks of the Lord as, "He who is possessed of me". In other verses, this idea of the damsels falling in love with the Lord is conveyed in the third person. "He is the Lord of the red hue who steals the hearts of doll-like damsels playing with the ball and the parrot. (Others take the *pāvai* as referring to the Mother). He ls our Lord and Sovereign. His abode is *Oṟṟiyūr*" (2): ('*Iṭampōḷ*' is the reading now found. Perhaps it ought to be '*iṭam pōṉm*').

The *Bhikṣāṭana* form is directly suggested by verse No. 5. "He catches hold of the serpents with hood. He is the great one. He, surrounded by the *gaṇas*, holds up the skull and steals the alms given by the damsels of slender waist".

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"He is of the coral-form praised by many beautiful damsels looking like the peacocks with their spread out tails and adorning their hands with bangles" (8).

III

The other *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord are also suggested—the company of the Mother (3), the covering of the elephant skin (3), the mat-lock whereon creeps the crescent moon (3), the battle axe (6), the milk white sacred ash (6), the flag of the bull, (6), the *Vēdic* song (6), the destruction of the three cities (7), the white bull (7), (The last two lines of verse 7 are reminiscent of *Campantar's* verse "*Naṉṟuṭaiyāṉai.....Naṟaiveḷḷēru oṉṟuṭaiyāṉai*") and the crushing down of *Rāvaṇa* (9).

Bhikṣāṭana begs for the soul and the love of His loving followers to save them and to relieve them of their *Karmas* and miseries. The idea of the Lord curing us of our *karma* runs through the whole of the *hymn*. "It is the temple of Him who removes the *Karmas* amassed by those who roam about about praising Him and in singing songs on Him" (1). "He is the One who cuts away the *kārmic* bond or fetters of those who take refuge in Him" (6). "He is the great Lord best fitted to destroy the *karmas*" (7). "He is One who removes the *karmas* of all those in this world" (8). "He is the One who cures us of all the *karmas* which inflict us" (9).

IV

The joy of this freedom from *kārmic* fetters experienced by the poet as he sings this *hymn* inspires him to assure those who learn and sing this *hymn* that their *karmas* also will pass away, (10), this *hymn* sung by *Ūraṉ* on *Orṟiyūr* (10), that *Orṟiyūr* on the seacost almost on the waves which dash against the city during the period of tides (2), the waves which roll and push each other and roam about on the beach (3, 8, 9), the waves which drive to the beach the ships and boats which are seen at a distance. (1). Incidentally the name of the place is probably explained as "*Ōṭam oṟṟum tiraivāy Orṟiyūre*—the place at the mouth of the waves of the sea dashing against it" (9).

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CHAPTER LXV (a)

TIRUNĀṬṬUTTOKAI ((*Hymn* 12)

TIRU IṬAIYĀṟṟUTTOKAI (*Hymn* 31)

ŪṟTTOKAI (*Hymn* 47)

I

In connection with the Temple cult, one may bring together for study here alone the three *hymns*, probably, though not belonging to this period, giving the names of the holy places, *hymns* which *Cēkkiḻār* does not mention and which, therefore, we cannot in his scheme assign to any particular period of our poet's life. As *Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai* mentions *Iṭaiyāṟu*, it must have been composed and sung when the poet visited the places north of *Kāviri*. *Ūrttokai* and *Tirunāṭṭuttokai* mention *Ciṅkaṭi* and *Vaṉappakai* respectively as the poet's daughtets and, therefore, must have been composed in the period succeeding his marriage.

II

One of the *hymns* is *Tirunāṭṭuttokai* (*H.* 12), the *hymn* giving the *Nāṭus* in which the respective holy places are situated. But this is not a correct label for the *hymn* as it does not mention all the respective *Nāṭus* for all the holy places mentioned. The other *hymn* is *Ūrttokai* (*H.* 47)—a *hymn* giving the names of cities of holy places. The third is *Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai* (*H.* 31)—the *hymn* giving the names of holy, places, where, however, every verse ends with the words '*Ūr Eytamāṉ Iṭaiyāru Iṭai Marutē*'—'The city of the Lord is *Iṭaimarutu* in *Eytamāṉ Iṭaiyāru*'. This must have been sung when the poet visited this holy place. *Iṭaiyaru* is the doab or the place between the two rivers and we have very many cities so named. This *Iṭaiyvru* is famous from the times of the *Caṅkam* age (*Akanāṉūṟu*, S. 141, l. 23 gives the name of this place, *Iṭaiyāru*), having been the favourite resort of the *Cōḻas*. To distinguish it from other *Itaiyārus* (inscriptions speak of one in Trichy District; 42/1913 mentions *Iṭaiyāru* in *Rājāsraya Vaḷanāṭu*)—this has been called *Eytamāṉ Iṭaiyāru*, whose significance or correct reading however is not clear—perhaps it is within the

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Ōymāṉ Nāṭu. (The interpretation '*Eytu A(m) māṉ Iṭaiyāṟu*' — '*Iṭaiyāṟu* reached by the Lord' is too artificial; for we find this phrase in every one of the verses suggesting that the whole phrase forms the names of the place). Inscriptions speak of the Temple here as *Tirumarutan turai* (146/1908). In keeping with this tradition, our poet speaks of the temple as *Iṭaimarutu*.

III

Maṇḍalams are kingdoms or *Rāṣtrams* — later on becoming Provinces of the Empires. *Viṣaya* was the greater political unit. Toṇḍai Maṇḍalam was divided into *Kōṭṭamas*. *Kōṭṭamas* probably mean the fortresses, the centres of all activities, which later on became the temples. We have *Vaḷanāṭus* in the *Cōḻa* country in the later *Cōḻa* period which were units greater than the *Nāṭus* or districts. *Kōṭṭams* were bigger units than the *Nāṭus*. As the *Nāṭṭuttokai* mentions *Kūṟṟam* in the place of *Nāṭu*, these two may be taken as equivalents. *Kūṟṟam* literally means a division and this name for the division of a country is as old as the *Caṅkam* Works according to the commentaries (*Puṟanānūṟṟu urai* mentions *Muttūṟṟukkūṟṟam* and *Miḻalaikkūṟṟam* in verse 24; *Cintāmaṇi*, S. 1143 mentions *Kūṟṟam*). But in this very *hymn*, one has *Veṇṇikkūṟṟam* and also *Veṇṇi Nāṭu*, which are not synonymous and, therefore, are two different places. In the *hymn Nāṭṭuttokai* our poet mixes up the *Nāṭu* as *Viṣaya* such as *Īḻa Nāṭu* (7), *Cōḻa Nāṭu* (7) with the *Nāṭu* as District such as *Marukal Nāṭu* (1), *Koṇṭal Nāṭu* (2).

The *Nāṭu* is mentioned with reference to some at least of the cities to distinguish the latter from other cities of the same names lying within the area of other *Nāṭus* or districts. There were for instance, two *Miḻalai*, one in *Veṇṇi Nāṭu* (5), and the other in *Miḻalai Nāṭu* (5). In other cases, the description suggests that a district came to be named after its important city or holy place — *Marukal Nāṭu* after its city *Marukal* (1), *Koṇṭal Nāṭu* after its city *Koṇṭal* (2), *Kuṟukkai Nāṭu* after its city *Kuṟukkai* (2), *Veṇṇikkūṟṟam* after its city *Veṇṇi* (3), *Miḻalai Nāṭu* after its city *Miḻalai* (5), *Nāṅkūr Nāṭu* after its city *Nāṅkūr* (4), *Naṟaiyūr Nāṭu* after its city *Naṟaiyūr* (4), *Poṉṉūr Nāṭu* after its city *Poṉṉūr* (6), *Puricai Nāṭu* after its city *Puricai* (6), *Vēḷūr Nāṭu* after its city *Vēḷūr* (8), and *Viḷattūr Nāṭu* after its city *Viḷattūr* (8). In a third set of cases the name of the *Nāṭu* in the wider sense of a kingdom is given for purposes of description. *Māntōṭṭam* is said to be in *Īḻa Nāṭu* (7); *Rāmēc-*

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curam in *Teṉṉāṭu* (7); *Turutti* in *Cōḻa Nāṭu* (7). In *Ūrttokai* (*H.* 47) also, there are some names of *Nāṭus*, though the name *Nāṭu* does not occur. *Koṅkiṟkuṟumpiṟ Kurakkuttaḷi* (2) is the temple at *Kurakkuttaḷi* in the *Kuṟumpu Nāṭu* or district in the *Koṅku Nāṭu* or country.

In this enumeration of these holy places sometimes it is not clear whether we have to take the name as a proper name of merely as a description. In such doubtful cases we may mark it with an interrogation.

Name of the City	*Name of the Nāṭu*	*No. of hymns sung by Campantar*	*No. of hymns sung by Appar*	*No. of hymns sung by Ārūrar*
Kōvalūr	*Naṭu Nāṭu*	1	1	
Tāḻaiyūr				
Takaṭūr				
Takkaḷūr				
Tarumapuram	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Marukal	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	2	1	
Taṇṭantōṭṭam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*			
Taṇṭaṅkuṟai				
Taṇṭalai (Nīḷneṟi)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Ālaṅkāṭu	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	1	2	1
Kaḻippālai	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	2	5	1
Koṇṭal				
Kuṟukkai	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*		2	
Mūlaṉūr?				
Nālanūr?				
Kuṟṟālam	*Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu*	2		
Kuraṅkaṇilmuṭṭam	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	1		
Vēlaṉūr?				
Veṟṟiyūr?				
Veṇṇi (ūr)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	2	
Tēṅkūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Ciṟṟampalam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*			
Cirāppaḷḷi	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	
Pāṅkūr?				
Kaṭampanturai	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*		1	
Pūṅkūr?				
Nāṅkūr				
Naṟaiyūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	3	2	
Kīḻaivaḷi?				
Paḻaiyāṟu (Vaṭataḷi)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*		1	

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Name of the City	*Name of the Nāṭu*	*No. of hymns sung by Campantar*	*No. of hymns sung by Appar*	*No. of hymns sung by Āruūrar*
Kiḻaiyam				
Miḻalai				
Teṉṉūr				
Kaimmai?				
Tirucculiyal	*Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu*			1
Tirukkāṉappēr (Kāḷaiyārkōil)	*Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu*	1		1
Paṉṉūr?				
Eṉṉūr?				
Poṉṉūr				
Puricai				
Māntōṭṭam	*Īḻa Nātu*			
Rāmēccuram	*PāṇṭiyaNāṭu*	2	1	
Turutti (Kurrālam)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	1
Neyttāṉam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	5	
Tirumalai				
Kiḻḻikuṭi				
Naṉṉilam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*			1
Paṉaiyūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		1
Kañcaṉūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*		1	
Nellikka	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Neṭuṅkuḻam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Kaṭaimuṭi	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Kaṇṭiyūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	
Vēḷūr (Kiḻ)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	
Viḻattūr				
Cōṟṟuttuṟai	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	4	1
Paḻaṉam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	5	
Pāmpaṇi (Pāṭāḷīccuram)	*Cōḻa Naṭu*	1		
Pāmpuram	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Tañcai				
Tañcākkai				
Valañcuḻi	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	3	2	
Puṉkūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	1
Āvaṭuturai	*Cōḻa Nadu*	1	5	2

In the *Urttokai* the following places are catalogued:

Kāṭṭūr				
Kaṭampūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	2	
Kāṉaypēṟūr	*Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu*	1		
KōṭṭūrCōḻa Naṭu	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Aḻuntūr	*Cōḻa Naṭu*	1		

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Name of the City	Name of the Nāṭu	No. of hymns sung by Campantar	No. of hymns sung by Appar	No. of hymns sung by Arūrar
Paṭṭūr?				
Pāṉaṅkāṭṭūr	Toṇṭai Naṭu			1
Māṭṭūr?				
Kuṟumpu	Koṅku			
Kuṟṟālam	Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu	2		
Kōṭi	Cōḻa Nāṭu			1
Vāymūr	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1	2	
Niṟaikkāṭu?				
Miṟaikkāṭu?				
Maṟaikkāṭu	Cōḻa Nāṭu	4	5	1
Manturai	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1		
Kōṇam?	Īḻa Nāṭu			
Tirukkōṇam	Īḻa Nāṭu	1		
Ārūr	Cōḻa Nāṭu	5	21	8
Aiyaṟu	Cōḻa Naṭu	5	12	1
Aḻappur?				
Karukāvūr	Cōḻa Naṭu	1	1	
Pērūr				
Pācūr	Toṇṭai Nāṭu	1	2	
Marukal	Cōḻa Naṭu	2	1	
Mākāḷam (Ampar (Mākāḷam)?	Cōḻa Naṭu			
Karukal?				
Veṇṇi	Cōḻa Naṭu	1	2	
Kāṇūr	Cōḻa Naṭu	1	1	
Veṅkūr				
Viḷamar	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1		
Nāṅkūr				
Tēṅkūr	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1		
Nallūr	Cōḻa Naṭu	3	2	
Paḻaṇam	Cōḻa Naṭu	1	5	
Āṉaikkā	Cōḻa Naṭu	3	3	1
Aṇṇāmalai	Cōḻa Naṭu	2	3	
Turutti	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1	1	1
Neyttāṇam	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1	5	
Parutti niyamam (Paruti Niyamam)	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1		
Puliyūrccirṟam-palam (Chidam baram)	Cōḻa Nāṭu	2	8	1
Pukalūr	Cōḻa Nāṭu	2	5	1
Mūtur?				
Kaṭavūr	Cōḻa Nāṭu	1	3	1

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Name of the City	Name of the Nāṭu	No. of hymns sung by Campantar	No. of hymns sung by Appar	No. of hymns sung by Ārūrar
In the *Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai* the following places are mentioned:				
Muntaiyūr?				
Mutukuṉṟam	*Naṭu Nāṭu*	7	1	3
Kuṟaṅkaṇilmuṭṭam	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	1		
Tiruvārūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	5	21	8
Pantaiyūr				
Paḻaiyāṟu	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*		1	
Paḻaṉam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	5	
Paiñṇīli	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	1
Iṭaiyāṟu	*Naṭu Nāṭu*			1
Cuṟṟumūr?				
Culiyal	*Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu*			1
Cōpuram	*Naṭu Nāṭu*	1		
Orriyūr	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	1	5	2
Ural	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	1		1
Kaṭaṅkaḻūr?				
Kārikkarai				
Kayilāyam	*Vaṭa Nāṭu*	2	4	1
Viṭaṅkaḻūṟ?				
Veṇṇi	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	2	
Aṇṇāmalai	*Naṭu Nāṭu*	2	3	
Kaccaiyūṟ?				
Kāvam?				
Kaḻukkuṉṟam	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	1	1	1
Kārōṇam (Nākai, Kacci, Kuṭantai)				
Kaṭavūṟ	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	3	1
Vaṭapēṟūr Kacciyūṟ				
Kacci	*Toṇṭai Nāṭu*	4	7	1
Cikkal	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Neyttāṉam	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	5	
Miḻalai (Viḻi)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	15	8	1
Niṟaiyaṉūr?				
Niṉṟiyūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	2
Koṭuṅkuṉṟam	*Pāṇṭiya Nāṭu*	1		
Piṟaiyaṉūr?				
Perumūr				
Perumpaṟṟap-puliyūr Chi-dambaram)				
Maṟaiyaṉūr?				
Maṟaikkāṭu	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	4	5	1

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Name of the City	*Name of the Nāṭu*	*No. of hymns sung by Campantar*	*No. of hymns sung by Appar*	*No. of hymns sung by Arūrar*
Valañculi	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	3	2	
Tiṅkaḷūr (of Appūti)				
Paṭṭiṉam (Kaviripūmpaṭṭiṉam)				
Ūr (Uraiyūr)				
Naṅkaḷūr?				
Naṟaiyūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	3	2	
Nālūr	*Cōḻa Naṭu*	1		
Naṉināḷicai?				
Taṅkaḷūr?				
Tēcaṉūr?				
Ākkūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	
Naṉipaḷḷi	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	1
Naḷḷāṟu	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	4	2	1
Pēṟaṉūr				
Peruvēḷūr	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	
Tēṟaṉūr?				
Kuraṅkāṭuturai (South)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1	1	
Kuraṅkāṭuturai (North)	*Cōḻa Nāṭu*	1		
Kōval	*Naṭu Nāṭu*	1		
Eṯamāṉ Iṭaiyāṟiṭaimarutu				
Iṭaiyāṟu	*Naṭu Nāṭu*			1

IV

In the *Ūrttokai* (*H.* 47) the poet follows a novel way of describing the Lord in relation to the holy places—the Ocean (of love) of *Kāṭṭūr* (1), the Mountain of (good qualities) of *Kaṭampūr* (1), the Sprout of *Kōṭṭūr* (1), the Sovereign of *Aḻuntūr* (1), the Virtuous of *Māṭṭūr* (1), the Bridegroom of *Vāymūr* (2), the Lord father of *Ārūr* (4), the nectar of *Aiyāṟu* (4), the Lord father of *Aḷappūr* (4), the Sheaf (of Grace) of *Karukal* (5), the Sugarcane of *Veṇṇi* (5), the Sugr candy of *Kāṉūr* (5), the Prince of *Nallūr* (6), the Hara of *Āṉaikkā* (7), the Flame of *Turutti* (8), the Wise of *Pukalūr* (9). It is for further research whether these were the descriptions current in that age. As for *Kōṭṭūr*, it is

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clear that it was so, for *Ñāna Campantar* has sung of the Lord there as '*Naṟkoḻuntu*' and He is even now called '*Koḻuntīcar*'.

In the *Nāṭṭuttokai* (*H.* 12), the poet describes the cities as the places where resides the Lord. In the *Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai* (*H.* 31), the emphasis is on *Iṭaiyāṟṟu Iṭaimarutu* as the city of the Lord though the other cities of the Lord are also mentioned as though by way of contrast.

V

The *Purāṇic* descriptions also occur. In *Ūrttokai* (*H.* 47), we get references to His ear adorned with conch ear-ring (2), the fire in His hand (2, 3), His midnight dance in the graveyard (2), His mat-lock full of water (3), His Crescent moon (5, 9), His *koṉṟai* garland (7), His banyan tree (8), His destruction of the three cities (9), vanquishment of *Rāvaṇa* (9), and His elephant skin (10).

In the *Nāṭṭuttokai* (*H.* 12), we get references to His detsruction of Death (1), His ride on the bull (1), His three eyes (3, 10), His beautiful ash (3), His company of the damsel of sweet words (5, 9), His long mat-lock (8), His blue throat (8, 10) and His roaming about making serpents dance (10).

In the *Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai* (*H.* 31), we have references to His bull (2), His sharing His form with the Damsel (2), His waist-string of a serpent (3), His touring life of beggary (4), His feast of poison (7), His banyan tree (7), His conquest of the Sun (7), His flower of '*Erukku*' (7), *Mattam* (7), His crescent moon (9) and His sharing His form with *Viṣṇu* (9) (*Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa*).

VI

The philosophical significance and religious worth of the Lord are also brought out in these *hymns*. The very descriptions already referred to of the Lord in relation to the holy places emphasize His beauty, His Grace, His knowledge and His power. He is the Lord praised by many by those to whom verses overflowed (47: 1). He is the eternal youth (47: 2), the most Beautiful One (47: 2). He occupies the Heart (47: 3). He is of the Birthless path (47: 4), *i.e.*, the path leading to the birthless stage. He is the path unknown even to those who have undertaken the duty of ruling and protecting the Heavens (47: 7). He is the sunshine; He is the air (47: 8). He is the *Tēcaṉ* (31: 8), the

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shining one or the Lord of the lands. He is *Paramēṭṭi* (31: 8), the Supreme God; He is One who destroys the sin (31: 8); *Īcaṉ* (31: 8) the Lord; *Paramcōti* (31: 3), the Supreme Light; *Niṟaiyaṉ* (31: 5) the Perfect One; *Maṟaiyaṉ* (31: 5) the Lord of knowledge; *Iṟaivaṉ* (31: 5) the Sovereign or Omnipresent; *Pēṟaṉ* (31: 9), the Lord of gifts; *Tēṟaṉ* (31: 9), He who is of clear wisdom. He is *Nampaṉ* (12: 3) our Lord; and '*Eṅkaḷ Pirāṉ*' (12: 6) our Patron.

VII

Our poet's prayers and his expression of his relationship with God are equally significant. "O, Lord of *Kailās*, coming and occupying my mind and continuously reforming it (47: 8), will you not show yourself for a while unto me, O, father of my father (47: 3)? Make me sing of you without ever forgetting you (47: 1)". Apart from these personal requests, as usual, he rises to a universal level and prays in general for all the devotees: "Weed out all the miseries of your servants" (47: 2). "May you shower your Grace so that there may depart the terrible diseases and *karma* rushing on your servants who have taken refuge in you with all love" (47: 5, 6, 8). "May you order yourself to be drunk by your devotees" (47: 5). And our poet praises the devotees: "They are the people who alone leaving their guard over the flesh, love you and realise you". (47: 7). In *Tirunāṭṭuttokai*, there is no such prayer but there our poet asserts that the Lord is the great light (12: 9), curing the old *karmas* as soon as one worships Him. He also speaks of God as the great Beginning worshipped by His servants whose is the great order or command (12: 11). In the *Iṭaiyāṟṟuttokai* he describes *Oṟṟiyūr* as the city where the servants of the Lord flock together (31: 2). *Tiruvākkūr* is described as belonging to Him who stands for the *karmas* to be erased out (31: 8). We have seen our poet laying great emphasis on *Tamiḻ* and its great message, giving us a picture of the saints of the *Tamiḻ* land. The poet calls this group, "Our group!' In describing *Iṭaiyāṟiṭaimarutu*, he speaks of it as '*Tamiḻāṉ eṉṟu pāvikka valla eṅkaḷ*' (*ūr*) (31: 6), '(the city of) ours who contemplate on the Lord as the *Tamilian*'.

VIII

The poet speaks of the Lord as occupying the holy cities as His places — '*Iṭaṅkoṇṭatu*' (12: 1). He speaks of the Lord as

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residing there—'*Ūraiyum*' (12: 4), and of frequenting incessantly —'*Payilum*' (12: 4). He resides every day—'*Nāḷum*' (12: 8). These are the places which He loves—'*Kātalikkumiṭam*' (12: 9), '*Mēya*' (12: 10). There are cities which He loves—'*Iccai Ūr*' (31 : 4); and cities where He is—'*Irukkum Ūr*' (31: 7).

In *Ūrttokai* the word, '*Uṟai* (47 : 4, 5, 6) is very often repeated. The Lord enshrining Himself in so many cities is, therefore, spoken of as the Great One who lovingly wanders about in all the *Nāṭus* (12: 11); He speaks of the Lord as the gem of all the *Naṭus* (12: 7). In the *Ūrttokai* our poet states that he contemplated on the idea of the Lord protecting various holy cities and has thus come to sing that *hymn* (47: 10). The devotees flock there as already stated (31: 2). This city of temple (*Iṭaiyāṟiṭaimarutu*) is the holy place where the people of clear vision get their mind clarified and are made of firm resolve (31: 10).

Our poet describes some of the holy places as briefly as possible. In *Marukal* the plantains are said to ripen and the plantain is the holy plant of this place (12: 1). *Kaḻippālai* is described as being surrounded by '*kaṇṭal*' a variety of sword flower plant, '*muṇṭal*' a variety of thorny plant—plants which abound on the sea shore, an appropriate description of the city which lies on the sea shore near the back waters (12: 2).

Mutukuṉṟam is described as '*Muntaiyūr*, (31 : 1), or the ancient city, probably emphasizing the epithet '*mutu*' in the name '*Mutukuṉṟam*'. *Tiruvārūr* is described as that of the Lord who reaches well the city of the heart (31: 1). *Tiruvārūr* is often spoken of by the later generation as the very heart of the world and there is also the tradition that the Lord of *Tiruvārūr* is the Lord of the Heart of *Nārāyāṇa* sleeping on the Oceans.

Tiruppuṉkūr is described as the place where in the fields roll and jump the *vāḻai* fish (12: 10). *Āvaṭuturai* is described as the place beautified by the gardens (12: 10). *Iṭaiyāṟiṭaimarutu* is spoken of as being dashed against by the waters of *Peṇṇār* (31:2). This makes it clear that this holy place must be on the banks of *Peṇṇār* and not in any other place. *Nālūr* is described as '*Naṉi nālicai Nālūr*' (31: 6), as the place where resound the four kinds of musical instruments, skin, wind, strings and metal, thus in a way suggesting the explanation of the name *Nālūr*. Or, it may be that '*Naṉi nālicai*' is another place. *Karukāvūr* is described

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as lying in a pastoral region surrounded by gardens with overhanging clouds (47: 4). *Kaṭavūr* also is said to be in a pastoral region full of sound (47: 9) — '*Kalicēr puṟaviṉ Kaṭavūr*'. In other places the descriptions are merely denoting the direction: '*Paṉaiyūr* is described as the '*Paṉaiyūr*' of the south — '*Teṉ Paṉaiyūr*' and *Kañcaṉūr* of the *North-Vaṭakaṉcaṉur*, (12: 8) — He speaks of one '*Vaṭa Pēṟūr*, (31 4).

IX

The poet calls himself "*Ūraṉ, Vaṉappakai appaṉ* and *Vaṉṟoṇṭaṉ*' (*H.* 12); "*Vaṉṟoṇṭaṉ* and *Ūraṉ*" (*H.* 31); '*Ciṅkaṭitammāṉ, Ūraṉ, Caṭaiyaṉ Ciṟuvaṉ* and *Aṭiyaṉ*' (*H.* 47). The poet says, 'With a reverential fear "*Nāṇi*" he composed that *hymn*, '*Nāṭṭuttokai*" (12: 11). It is not clear what that fear was due to. In that verse, he speaks of the devotees worshipping Him and the fear was due perhaps to the incompleteness of his description and enumeration of the temples he has sung and to be enumeration of the holy places. As already stated, these *hymns* come in the best tradition of the *Śaivite* saints — of *Aiyaṭikaḷ. Kāṭavarkōṉ*, who has sung *Kṣēttiraveṇpā*, of *Campantar* who has sung *Kṣettirakkōvai* and of *Appar* who has sung *Kṣēṭṭirakkōvaittiruttāṇṭakam* and *Aṭaivuttiruttāṇṭakam*. These *hymns* emphasise the cult of the temples where the Lord stands as an incarnation of beauty in the *liṅga* and in the images within these temples. These temples are to be looked upon as heavens on Earth. Those who sing of these temples are therefore, worshipping that way experiencing the highest state of bliss of *Paralōka* becoming devoid of all their *karmas*, happy in the thought of their certainty of His Grace. Therefore, our poet assures the readers of his *hymns* the same experiences. With reference to *Nāṭṭuttokai*, he states that those who praise the Lord with the musical song composed by him will reach *Paralōka*, the Supreme Sphere beyond everything else (Instead of '*cērvār Paralōkam*' we have '*Cēr Paralokam*'—12: 11—reminding us of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar's* usage '*Koḷvārum kaḷvarum nēr*' (813) where '*nēr*' stands for '*nērvar*' — an example of the grammarian's '*kaṭaikkuṟai*'). "Where will there be the *karma* of those who speak of *Iṭaiyāṟiṭaimarutu*' sung by *Ūraṉ* and he continues to assert, "Their own form and personality will become cool, calm and happy" (31: 10). In *Ūrttokai*, he affirms that those who seated in a happy mood, open their beautiful mouths to recite this *hymn* of our poet, will be in *Śivalōka* (47: 10).

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PART VI

AWAY FROM ORRIYŪR AND CAṄKILI

Introduction

I

The *hymns* sung by our poet after he left *Orriyūr* deserting *Caṅkili*, and losing his eyesight therefor till he reached *Tiruvārūr*, are included in this part. There is a feeling of sincere repentance and heartfelt sorrow, running through all the *hymns*, though his firm faith and high spirituality stand revealed therein. His great attachment to *Tiruvārūr* shines here as the great guiding light. Perhaps the political complications were getting resolved almost inviting the poet's re-entry into the political arena. The *hymn* on *Nākai-k-kārōṇam* gives us a picture of our poet as a chieftain. Hence that *hymn* also may be included in this part itself, for in the next part there seems to be a change in his life.

II

Our poet exclaims in these *hymns* as follows: "How can I remain separated from the Lord of *Tiruvārūr*?" (*H.* 51); "O, Lord of *Orriyūr*! Save me from this pain, this disease and this blindness" (*H.* 54); "O, *Pāśupatā*, Great Light! Remove my sufferings" (*H.* 69); "I inquired, are you inside the temple, but alas! the Lord replied, we are here all right; you go your way" (*H.* 89); "Do not great men excuse the faults of their servants, O, Lord of *Ālaṅkāṭu*! I shall become the slave of your followers" (*H.* 52); Ah! How I, a mere slave, got the eyesight to see the Lord!" (*H.* 61); "When am I to meet my father, my Lord at *Tiruvārūr* with joy! (*H.* 83); "I have seen Him, the Lord of *Āmāttūr*; I sing of Him" (*H.* 45); "Tell me, O, Lord of *Nelvāyil Arattuṟai*, a strategy or a place of escape" (*H.* 3); "Shower your blessings, O, Lord of *Tiruvāvaṭuturai*, by assuring me, 'Fear not'. Who is there as my relation or my help if not you?" (*H.* 70); "I cannot forget, enjoy, know, sing or praise the Lord, nor can I get away from His path or decry Him" (H. 74); "O, my Father! Pray, out of pity for me, cry alas!" (*H.* 96); "You birds, beasts and clouds! Are you capable of informing Him of my miserable conditions?" (*H.* 37); "The

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followers suffer, O, Lord! You take no note of them" (*H.* 95); "Well, to become prosperous, having heard the story of your Grace I took refuge in your feet" (*H.* 55); "Do not pretend to be a beggar; You must give me gold, horse and food" (*H.* 46).

III

Apart from the holy places which he describes as Heavens on earth, Nature appears to him in the beautiful form *Pālāru*, *Nivā* River, *Kāviri* River and the sea, *Orṟiyūr*, and Negapatam (*Nāka-p-paṭṭiṉam*). *Purāṇic* stories are also mentioned. *Bhikśāṭana* form has been referred to as the art motif of our poet. He, as the lady-love pines for the Lord. This is the mystic way.

IV

The last verse of each *hymn* as usual describes the goal to be reached, the goal which our poet assures us that those who recite his *hymns* will attain. It is described as *Paragati* above the people of the world, the highest, higher than the high spiritual sphere — the world of good path, the golden *Viṇṇulakam* of the virtuous, the *Amarulaku* reached through the path of *Tapas*. Those who reach the goal are beyond the reach of the cruel *karma* having attained His feet without any falsehood; they are the most virtuous, and they have cut away their fetters of births and deaths, knowing no old age or misery. This goal is sometimes spoken of in terms of sovereignty and rulership as one of becoming the rulers of the *Viṇṇulaku*, *Viṇṇavar*, of becoming the sovereigns riding on the elephant and ruling the whole of the Heavens. The happiness of Dancing, Singing and Worshipping the feet of the Supreme as a holy community of *Bhaktas* is itself sometimes described as the goal.

V

The cult of *Bhaktas* is thus emphasized. In the *Tiruvalaṅkāṭu hymn*, the poet seeks to become the slave of the followers of *Śiva*. Reference is made to the community of *Bhaktas* as the unique brotherhood. The learned worship the Lord. So, do the poets. *Āgamic* rites are also mentioned. Worship with flowers, music, *Pañcagavya*, especially milk and ghee, worship through poetry, and with *mantras* especially *Añcupadam* or *Pañcākṣara* worship at the three points of the day or *Muccanti* are described as obtaining during the poet's age. We get more details in *Kāñcīvaram*

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hymns where the poet describes the worship of the Lord, by the Mother—coming near Him, taking refuge in Him, embracing Him in love, praising and worshipping Him and contemplating on Him in joy. Our poet speaks of *Muttar*, *Cittar* and *Pattar* as the various kinds of the followers of *Śiva* and identifies the Lord with these. *Tapas* is another mode of worship and our poet brings out the importance of the sufferings of the world as a mode of *Tapas*. Our poet refers to *Caṇḍēśvara*, *Ēyarkōṉ Ñāṉa Campantar*, *Nāviṉukkaraiyar Nāḷaippōvār*, *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ Cākkiyar*, *Kaṇṇappar* and *Kaṇampullar*. To justify this gospel of Grace, our poet speaks of the faults of these saints becoming great merits in the eye of the Lord. He paints the whole world of men, beasts, serpents and all as a happy family of worshippers.

VI

Our poet also emphasizes the harmony of all religions, the six great religions being each one of them according to the fitness and development of the varied souls.

VII

The Lord is herein also praised as *Ārāvamudu*, *Mīsilāmaṇi* and *Maruntu*, thus emphasizing the bliss aspect of the Lord and His being the Supreme value curing us of our great *karma*; for He is described as being responsible for births, deaths, delusions and salvation. Reference is also made to *Śivōham Bhāvana* or contemplation and our poet explains its difficulty by crying out, "I cannot contemplate that I am yourself". The Lord is *Parañcōti*, *Tūṇṭāviḷakkiṉ cōti*, the eye of those who want to see Him. These emphasize the *Jñāna* or *Cit* aspect of God. Purity and holiness are also asserted. He is the Truth, the Blotless, the Holy. He is the great path, the path of the *Vēdas*.

Though our poet repents, he also asserts, "I do not know what mistakes I have committed". But at the same time in describing the gospel of Grace, he refers to the Lord saving him though he had forgotten the Lord, thus suggesting the '*Mārjāra Kiśōra Nyāya*'. In other places he speaks of himself of his own accord, coming to serve the Lord whole-heartedly without his being a hypotheca, a statement which is difficult to be reconciled with the story of the ancient document of slavery of our poet's family. The *Veṇṇeinallūr* incident is found described in detail in this part.

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God is described as Truth, Beauty and Goodness. He is the great dancer, the great Artist while He is the very form of Art, *Tamiḻ* and Music. He is our inseparable companion whether on the right or wrong path, always residing in our heart. His *Aṣṭa-mūrta* and His being all kinds of relationship are again and again emphasized. He is *Paśupati*, *Paramēṭṭi*, *Karuṇaiccēvakaṉ*. He is also described as "*Maiyaṉ*" a term which is not clear though we had tried to explain. The Lord is everything but if this is forgotten the world becomes a trap of death, miseries and illusion. Our poet, therefore, begins his message with emphasizing the ephemeral nature of this world.

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CHAPTER LXVI

TIRUVĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 51)

I

Though this *hymn* is addressed to the Lord of *Tiruvārūr*, it was really sung at *Tiruvorriyūr* where the thought of *Tiruvārūr* came once again to the poet. At *Tiruvorriyūr* he had settled down and married *Caṅkiliyār*. There can be no doubt about this incident of *Caṅkiliyār's* marriage with our poet. But we had already suggested in our study of the number of verses sung by *Ārūrar* that the other details about this marriage we could not be sure of. He must have promised not to part from *Caṅkiliyār*, but under certain circumstances he must have been forced to leave her. The poet must have felt a kind of psychological or spiritual guilt which brought him the blindness of his eyes. He repents and completely surrenders to the Lord which brings a gradual recovery from this sense of guilt and he gradually regains his eyesight, a recovery which is equally spiritual and psychological. It is this spiritual or psychological development of an escape from a sense of guilt which we see in the next fifteen *hymns* sung by our poet whilst going back to *Tiruvārūr*.

According to tradition, our poet married *Caṅkiliyār* whilst *Paravaiyār* was at *Tiruvārūr*. There is no internal evidence in *Ārūrar's* poems to prove this conclusively. There is nothing against a suggestion being made that the marriage with *Caṅkiliyār* was effected after the life time of *Paravai*. In this very *hymn* he refers to the Lord saving him by bestowing upon him *Paravai* (10). But that is referred to in the past tense (10). In this very *hymn* also he refers to the Lord bringing him and *Caṅkiliyār* together (11). In *Hymn* No. 69: 3, he speaks of the Lord depriving him of eyesight because of the *Caṅkili* incident. In *Hymn* No 45: 4, he refers back to his experience with *Caṅkili*:

Ōrntaṉaṉ ōrntaṉaṉ uḷḷāttuḷ ḷēniṉṟa voṇporuḷ
Cērntaṉaṉ cērntanan ceṉṟu Tiruvorri yūrpukkuc
Cārntaṉan carntaṉan Caṅkili meṉṟōl tatamulai
Ārntaṉaṉ ārntaṉaṉ Āmāttūr aiyaṉ aruḷatē".

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"I realized that bright reality inside my mind. Reaching that place, I entered into *Tiruvorriyūr*. Then I embraced *Caṅkili*. That way, I became full of the experience of the Lord's Grace". He thus suggests his experience with *Caṅkili* was a kind of divine experience. It is necessary to read *Cēkkiḻār's* poetry for appreciating this point of view. In his *hymn* on *Tirunākaikkārōṇam* (*H.* 46), where our poet begs of the Lord to give him a horse and scimitar and other paraphernalia of power, he addresses the Lord as one who is the prop unto him and unto *Paravai* and *Caṅkili* (46: 11). That *hymn* may prove that our poet was becoming great politically once again but not that *Paravai* was alive at the time of the *hymn* for admittedly there was no physical relationship even with *Caṅkili* at the time of singing that *hymn* though she was mentioned therein.

Perhaps the political conditions have improved in his favour by the time of his singing this *hymn*. In is also clear that the poet has a special attachment to *Tiruvārūr* temple. Therefore, he feels all the more this kind of ostracism from *Tiruvārūr*.

II

In this *hymn* our poet gives vent to this feeling of separation and exclaims, "For how many days can I live separated from my Lord of *Ārūr*?" (1). "How can I get on separated from Him?" (2). "To wither away without His company, in which place shall I live separated from Him?" (3). "Without His company, in what way shall I live separated from Him"? (4). "In what capacity shall I live separated from Him?" (5). "To become what, shall I live separated from Him carrying this body?" (6). "Without reaching Him, to do what shall I live separated from Him?" (7). "Forgetting Him thus, to know what, shall I live separated from Him?" (8). "Leaving Him away, having what shall I live separated from?" (9). "Alas! Foolish and poor me! Shall I live separated from Him?" (10).

Our poet speaks of his own life in relation to the Lord: "That disease covered me, a sinner, so that I may leave off my love and service unto God. I have now realized the significance of this. I shall go and fall at the feet of the Lord." (1). "Born in this body to suffer here, I am without any sense. Here, thus I was born in this birth of misery and I was suffering to the point of exhaustion" (3). "But He came thus, so that I may not be

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exhausted and He saved me" (4). "I have not known that great wealth unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma,* I, of cruel *karma.* I am a stubborn fool; I had not thought of the Lord from the beginning" (5). "He became the seven tunes of music, the fruit of music, the sweet nectar, my friend and companion in my misfeasance. He saved me by making a gift of *Paravai* of the beautiful eyes" (10). "He feasted on poison, giving away the nectar to the *Dēvas.* In a similar way, He considered me, an insignificant being, as of importance, and He, the real Truth, brought me and *Caṅkili* together" (11).

III

Our poet gives expression to his feeling of divine bliss and divine greatness. He addresses the Lord as real nectar '*Ār amudu*' again and again (2, 4). He speaks of the Lord as the pearl, as the precious gem, as the diamond (1), as the rare medicine — '*Arumaruntu*' (4). He is the Lord of qualities possessed by no one else. (5). He is the One who has no other to compare with Himself (5). He is that great path, the beautiful path, that straight path (8), the divine fruit of education (9) (Compare: '*Kaṟṟataṇāl āya payaṉ eṉkol Vāalaṟivaṉ naṟṟāḷ toḻāar eṉiṉ*'—*Kuṟaḷ*: 2). He is One who resides in the heart giving joy to our imagination (9). Our poet calls Him *Śivamūrti* (2).

IV

Our poet also refers to the *Purāṇic* stories about the destruction of *Manmata* (2), the feast of the poison (3), His firelike form (4), the deer held in His hand (4), *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* unable even to know Him through contemplation (5), His destruction of the three cities (6) and the Lord of Death (7), His lightning-like matlock (7), His bull (7), the Absolute worshipped by the people of the Heavens in the ancient path (8), the Lord worshipped in the beautiful path by the Deathless (8) (here also our poet makes a distinction between the *Amarar* and *Vāṇavar*), the upright path of His servants (8), the sprout of the *Dēvas* (8), the Lord with the eye in the forehead (9) and his convering of the elephant skin (12).

V

Our poet describes the place of *Tiruvārūr* as the city where spreads the unique fame of great men and he calls this *hymn* as

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his very words uttered by him whilst hankering after the feet of *Śiva* of *Tiruvārūr* (12). He describes himself as *Ārūraṉ*, *Aṭittoṇṭaṉ*, *Aṭiyaṉ* (12). He assures those who are masters of this *hymn* that like him feeling elated and beyond the reach of the common men whilst singing this *hymn*, they would also be head and shoulders above the people of this world (12). The last verse reminds us of the tenth verse in *Hymn* No. 86. (*Ūr Ūraṉ* is not clear — 12) — perhaps it means that the poet was visiting shrine after shrine. This term — '*Ūr Ūraṉ*' — occurs also in *Hymn* No 90: 10 and in *Campantar's hymn* No. 3: 65: 2.

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CHAPTER LXVII

TIRUVORRIYŪR

(*Hymn* 54)

I

In the previous hymn itself, the poet had resolved to go to *Tiruvārūr*. This should amount to deserting *Caṅkili*. This sense of guilt was there in that *hymn*, but it took the form of condemning himself for having deserted *Tiruvārūr*. Modern psychologists will explain this coming in of the idea of desertion of *Tiruvārūr* instead of *Caṅkili* as the work of the unconscious mind. Whatever that may be, in the present *hymn*, the poet refers to the loss of his eyesight and the sufferings he experienced as a result of *Caṅkili's* incident.

The meaning of this *hymn* is not quite clear in many places probably because we do not know all the details of his life in relation to his love with *Caṅkili*, the details which he probably refers to in this *hymn*. It is a lamentation of his heart. His feelings are confused and that also probably explains the difficulty in understanding this *hymn*. Perhaps the *hymn* has not also come in the original form in which he has sung. But nobody can miss herein the pathos and the sincerity of the poet. Every verse ends with the words, "*Oṟṟiyūr eṉṉum ūr uṟaivāṉē*"—"O, Thou, who livest in the city known as *Oṟṟiyūr*". The rest of the verse expresses the feeling of misery and despair of the poet, all at the same time revealing his complete self-surrender to the Lord.

II

This *hymn* is so much pre-occupied with the personal aspect of the Poet's life that there is not much room for too many references to the *Purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord. Even the few references become one with his lamentations. The reference to the three eyes of the Lord (4) heightens the effect of his lamentation that God should deprive of his eyesight whilst He Himself has an extra eye. The poet speaks of God as being adorned with the honeyed *koṉṟai* flower (6) probably to suggest that the Lord Himself is as much fond of adornments and pleasures. The

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poet speaks of the Lord embracing the damsel of the Mountain (8) and crowning Himself with the damsel of the *Gaṅga* of 1000 faces (*i.e.*, which has a thousand branches) (8). This comes in, as a kind of retort to the possible complaint against the poet's love episodes with *Paravai* and *Caṅkili*. In another place, he addresses the Lord as the author of the *Vēdas* (9), probably suggesting that as an author of the *Vēda*, that regulates justice and spiritual life in this world, the Lord should not have made the poet suffer. The poet speaks of the Lord shining in the beautiful eight forms (2), the five elements, the sun, the moon and the soul. This is probably to suggest that the Lord being thus everything would know all his sufferings without the poet himself giving expression to them; this universal aspect is becoming more and more prominent from here.

In another place the poet speaks of the mat-lock upon which rests the *Ganges* (3). In that context the poet is referring to the Lord as the greatest bliss and describes Him in terms of sweetness, the sweetness of the sugar-cane, sugar-candy and the nectar. In describing the Lord as the sugar-cane, the poet sings, "*Gaṅgai taṅkiya caṭaiyuṭaik karumpē*".— Sometimes the word '*caṭai*' is used for the blades of the members of the grass-family; *c.f.*, '*Caṭaic cennel*' (*Naḷaveṇpā*, *Swayam.*, 68); '*Caṭaippul*' (*M.M.*, 331) The sugar-cane with thick lustre of blades may be spoken of as '*Caṭaiyuṭaik karumpu*'. When the blades are green and full of water, one is justified in describing it as "*Gaṅgai taṅkiya caṭaiyuṭaik karumpu*". Thus punning on this phrase, one can make that equally applicable to the Lord and the sugar-cane (*Caṭai* may also mean roots: *Kallāṭam*: 82: 3, when '*Gaṅgai taṅkiya caṭai*' may mean the roots standing inside the *Ganges*; *i.e.* water).

III

Our poet has found some place for describing the sea at *Tiruvorriyūr*; that shows his love of Nature. But those descriptions also fit in with the context. The conches and the pearl-oysters and the '*calañcalam*' or the king conch, resound in the sea when the flow of the tides is gathering up diamonds, pearls, gold and gems (3). The rising dark sea thus comes and goes, as it were, in a procession at *Tiruvorriyūr* during the days of tides (3). This description of procession is in keeping with his description of the Lord as the sweetest and as the most precious, the beautiful bridegroom—suggesting a bridal procession. The cool sea drives up

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the tides which come and move about at *Tiruvorṟiyūr* as though in a procession (9).

IV

One may now turn to the lamentations of the poet making as best of the meaning as one can. "With this body of dirt, I took refuge in your beautiful feet; if even that is something that I should suffer, O, Lord! (You know that) people of the world receive the (goat's) milk, even though it means removing with their hands its dung. Even if I do wrong I never wrong your beautiful feet. Even if I fall slipping down, I know of no utterance except that of your beautiful name. O, pray tell me, any medicine for pouring into my eye" (1).

"I am a miserable being. I came to be born. I became your servant because of loving *Caṅkili*. What can this slave of yours explain—to do what? Though I am passionate, I shall never be false to your beautiful feet. Even if I turn false to the service of your beautiful feet, I had sworn to accept all that you might do for me" (2).

"You are the sugar-cane, the candy, the prop for many, a goose-berry (*Nelli*) in the hands of your followers, the nectar within such a fruit. To whom shall I explain my miseries?" (3).

"It is not a relationship by birth (*Iṉṟu*), or by marriage or adoption (*Koṇṭatu*). Those who appear at the time of need, perform acts of mercy, they are the people whose wealth is love. What does it matter if they are anything? If people say anything (scandalous against them) you do not say, hard words to them. It may also mean, 'It is not a relationship by birth; but what does it matter if those who love you are anything? You appear and bless them. They praise you. You do not say anything against them — (but things are different for me). You are the Lord of three eyes and in spite of it, if it is justice and a proper rendering of an account that you should take away the eyes of your slave, bless me at least with a suitable walking stick" (4).

"I try to get into the path. I cannot contemplate that I am yourself. (This refers to *Sivōham bhāvanā*— or of identity). Like the water caught in an eddy, I whirl round and round and my mind whirls round; save me from anyone dragging me quickly in

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haste, catching hold of my walking stick, even as he will, a dog, tethered to a pole. Pray, do unto me what is merciful" (5).

"I was caught in the net of the beautiful deer-like eyes of the damsels and I suffered. I was afraid of the cruel *karma* which had come to my share. I have not contemplated on your good acts and good qualities. Even I, desire, however, but only this much. Pray, bless me by relieving me of all my defects so that I may not get immersed in hell whilst alive". (Blindness is referred to as hell on earth) (6).

"I shall never forget you. I shall not think of other *Dēvas*. I cannot live with others. I am a fool, who though the recipient of your blessing, still suffers as though he has not been. I fail to understand what mistake I committed. How am I, your slave, responsible for your hating me thoroughly? I do not forget you. Pray, bless me, by removing the physical and mental diseases to which I have been subjected. (The words, '*Urra nōy uṟupiṅi*' are sometimes interpreted to mean, 'the past and future sufferings') (7).

"You embraced the Damsel of the mountain; without even thinking of this, you crowned yourself with the damsel of the *Ganges* of 1000 faces (branches). In this way if I begin speaking of you, it is possible even for your slave to go on retorting. O, my mind! what can you do sitting and withering away like this? Suffering thus and becoming afraid of the cruel *karma* inflicting me, if I become sulky (with the Lord), can any benefit come out of this?" (8).

"O, Thou strong one, the gem, the bridegroom, you have become unto me the *Saturn* entering the constellation of Maka (Saturn entering Maka forebodes all kinds of calamities according to Indian astrology). If I say anything to the womenfolk, at home, I cannot bear them replying, 'Don't call us, get away, you blind fool!' O, Lord of three eyes! how can I live, losing my eyes in my face, O, thou who hast given out the *Vēdas*? Is this fair?" (9).

V

Though our poet, in some places, explains his passion, it ought not to be taken as referring to anything immoral or unlawful because he himself asks the Lord in the secrecy of his isolation, "I do not know, what mistake I have committed" (7).

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In the 10th verse he describes himself as the young man, who is great for his good conduct and behaviour who had mastered as a scholar through daily studies and recitation, the four *Vēdas* and their subsidiary arts praised by the world. He calls himself, *Von̲roṇṭaṉ̲*, and *Ūraṉ̲*.

VI

After giving expression to his sufferings, the poet must have felt a joy that he has attained the divine bliss of the goal he wanted to attain, the goal beyond all other goals, the '*paragati*'. Therefore, he assures those who are masters of these ten songs of him that they will also attain, as sure as anything, the supreme goal.

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CHAPTER LXVIII

TIRU MULLAIVĀYIL

(*Hymn* 69)

I

The poet on his way to *Tiruvarūr* passed through *Tirumullaivāyil*, which had grown into importance in the *Pallava* Period, thanks to the tradition, that a '*mullai*' creeper wound round the legs of the state elephant of the *Pallava* and that the Lord became manifest to the *Pallava* for enabling that king to receive the infinite bliss—a tradition referred to by our poet in verse 10.

II

The city is described as being on the northern bank of *Pāli* or *Pālāru* (5). But now, *Pālāru* runs many miles south of this place. Our poet describes the *Pālāru* in floods, carrying the roots of the sandal tree, the logs of '*akil*', the peacock tail, the elephant tusk, heaps of pearls and heaps of creeper-like corals and coming down pushing everything in front (5). Now the *Kuṭatalaiyāru* alone runs at a little distance.

The poet, after he has sung the precious *hymn*, had his peace of mind restored though his miseries have not disappeared altogether. The metre of the verse is the traditional metre of seven feet of the scheme, '*viḷa*', '*mā*', '*viḷa*', '*mā*', '*viḷa*', '*viḷa*', '*ma*'. In the last line of every verse (except the fourth verse), the last five metrical feet and in the words, '*paṭutvyar kaḷaiyāy pācupatā parañcuṭarē* — 'Weed out the sufferings that inflict me, O, Supreme Light. O, *Pācupatā*!" (On the word '*Pācupatā*', please see: Vol. II). Perhaps '*Mullaivāyil*' was an important place where assembled the members of the *Paśupata* school as their central place of influence). One can appreciate the poet who is now blind addressing the Lord as the Supreme Light.

III

Our poet also refers in this *hymn* to the *Tiruveṇṇeinallūr* incident: "O, our Lord! that day at *Veṇṇeinallūr* you saved me and made me a dog, your servant" (8).

IV

He gives expression to his subjective experience of the Lord and his inner life; "Thinking that your famous feet are to me

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the Beauty, the true Reality, and Wealth (Wealth as representing the inspiration for activity and conduct is goodness. Thus God is Beauty, Truth and Goodness — the three eternal values), doing all that is not proper and flaring up in resentment, I showed no respect to anyone. I roamed about obstinate this way. O, Lord! O, Supreme Light! Weed out my miseries that inflict your slave that praises you with the words of his tongue" (1). "Weed out the miseries that inflict your slave who out of love had sung the great fame of yours" (2). "O, Lord of that great quality which removed my eyes because of *Caṅkili*! Weed out the miseries that inflict your slave" (3). "Bless me, who out of love for your fame sing in *Tamiḻ* of varied beauty" (4); (this ending varies from the endings in other verses). "Weed out my miseries, destroying the fetters" (5). "O, Munificent Patron! Who else can be blessed with all that I have been blessed with? Even if I speak, and commit mistakes, it is your policy to accept all these as good qualities. Because of this ideal of yours, I had committed many excesses. I am your slave; I have no other support. Weed out the miseries which had come to inflict me" (6). "Night and day, I performed your services. Weed out my miseries" (7). I have roamed about in quest of you and you are the precious gold that I have found." "Weed out the miseries your slave is suffering from" (8). (This refrain is repeated in verses 9 and 10).

V

The description of *Tirumullaivāyil* shows, the poet has now become extrovert. There is a sweet fragrance there (1). It is a place surrounded by garden of *champaka* groves (3), a place of fields of paddy full of beauty and goodness, wherein roam about the crabs usually sleeping on the beautiful and comfortable seat of lotus flowers, sleeping to the lullaby sung by the bees beautified by dots and lines, bees which have become intoxicated with the fresh smelling honey of the fields yielding gold (4). It is a place embraced by thick groves where does not cease the rare dance of the damsels of beautiful carp-like eyes, of gem-like red lips, of white teeth, of black and long tresses of hair and of a suffused beauty of the peacock (7). The waters full of waves or ripples surround this holy place (11). Apart from these natural beauties, it is a place of man's art for it is surrounded by golden palaces (8). It is also the place where throng the *Dēvas*, who cry to Him and exclaim 'Where are you?' (2) for the Lord is the king of the *Dēvas* (3). It is also a place where the good men praise Him (10).

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VI

The *Purāṇic* stories are also referred to: His dance in the presence of the Mother (2), the Lordship over the *Vēdas* (3), the flaying of the skin of the elephant (3), the destruction of the three cities (6), the swallowing of the poison (8), the destruction of the Lord of Death rushing on the young one (*Mārkkaṇḍēya*) (9), the Lord growing up taller and taller (as a pillar of Fire) to frighten *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (11).

VII

The Lord is called '*Nampaṉ*' — 'Our man' (8), 'He of *Mullaivāyil*' (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6), or 'the wealth of *Tirumullaivāyil*' (7, 9. 11), 'the Lord of *Tirumullaivāyil*' (10), 'the Lord of the beautiful or loving eyes' (2), the most beautiful (2), the meaning and significance of the *Vēdas* (2), '*Ciṭṭaṉ*' (9), 'the wise and the learned', '*Paṭṭaṉ*' (9), 'the learned Doctor who is the author of the rich *Vēdas*', '*Palkalaipporuḷ*' (10), 'the meaning and significance of all arts', '*Paimpoṉ*' (8) 'the fresh gold', '*Māsilāmaṇi*' (5). 'the blotless gem. (we know we have noted our poet has partiality for this gem — the name of the deity of this temple)', '*Śambhu*' or One who creates happiness (8), '*Iṟaivaṉ*', the Sovereign (10), '*Nātaṉ*' the Lord (10). Thus the aspects of Beauty, Value, Knowledge, Bliss and Power of the Lord are emphasized, at the same time emphasizing his nearness to us. The *hymn* is important as giving us the doctrine of Grace that the Lord loves our faults (6) (even as the cow loves the dirt on its calf).

VIII

Our conclusion, that the poet has regained his mental peace and equanimity is confirmed by what our poet assures his readers. He has himself experienced a calm and cool mind whilst singing this *hymn*, when all mental agitations thus ceased, he must have felt transported to regions of the higher beings completely obvious of the miseries of the world inflicting him in the form of grey hair, wrinkles, old age and other sufferings. He, therefore, assures those who recite these five and five verses of this garland of words of '*Nāval Ārūraṉ*' and who are capable of praising the Lord with a calm cool mind, that they will attain the sovereignty over the people of Heavens without any grey hair, wrinkles, old age and other sufferings — a kind of existence which is considered heavenly.

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CHAPTER LXIX

TIRUVEṆPĀKKAM

(*Hymn* 89)

I

This is the place which our poet visits next. The place is called *Tiruveṇpākkam* and from the *hymn* we find that the temple was called *Veṇkōyil* (verse 10), probably because of the white colour of the plaster work. The verses of this *hymn* are in '*koccaka*' from, of four lines each of four feet of *kāyccīr*'. Every fourth line ends with the words '*Uḷōmpōkīr eṉṟṉē*' as its last two feet. In the third line, the poet raises the question, "Are you here inside this temple?" and it is to this he says he got the reply, "*Uḷōm pōkīr*" — 'We are here, you get away or you go your way'. The whole *hymn* is a complaint against this Lord and every verse elaborates this complaint: "I thought that great people would excuse faults and under that impression I committed mistakes; but without caring for the scandal, you have blinded my eyes." I asked, "Are you in the temple?" and the Lord remaining there inside said, "We are here, you go your way" (1).

II

"I know neither the intermediate nor the initial. I declare, I cry, My Lord, I take refuge in you. Without caring for the facts, that we are your slaves and your refugees, Ye, my Lord, said 'You may go" (2). "I know not how to act. Even if I, your false slave commit any mistake, saying, *i.e.*, pretending that your beautiful feet are my refuge, is it not necessary that you should excuse me?" When I asked, "Are you here?" the Lord who is capable of sympathizing with me, and helping me to attain salvation, said, "We are here, you may go" (3).

"O, Our Prince! Are you here?" — thus as soon as I asked Him, He replied, "We are here, you go your way" (4). He was there moving on the bull, by the side of the Mother, and I His slave inquired of Him in a high pitch, and He at once replied, "We are here, you may go" (5). "You have blinded the apple of my eye. Are you here?", I asked, and He replied, "I am here, you may go" (6). "O, Lord of the throat, blue like the blue gem, served by the *bhaktas* and the followers of the *Vēdas*! Are you here?", I asked, and He said, "We are here, you may go" (7). The Lord of *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr* said, "We are here, you may go" (8).

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"Are you here, inside this white temple?", I asked, and the Lord blessed me with a walking stick as a prop and said, "We are here, you go your way" (10).

III

In two verses, our poet refers to the *Caṅkili* incident. "I told you to go and be under the '*makiḻam*' tree. Without my knowledge you said that the vow should be taken under the '*makiḻam*' tree. You are so capable, O, Great Lord"! "Are you here?", I asked, and He as though He had sighted His enemies said, "We are here, you go your way" (9). (This verse, it was suggested by us might not have originally been in the *hymn*—Vol. 1). "You have given me *Caṅkili*, shining like a deer and you blessed in such a way that the good effects flowing therefrom became manifest" (10).

IV

Our poet refers also to some *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord: His long dangling ear-ring (1), His deer (1), His bull (2), His poisonous serpent (2, 3), His white sacred ash (2), His tiger's skin (2), His covering of an elephant skin (4), His throat with the poison (4, 7, 8), the skull (*Kāpāli*) (4), His beautitul red form, like the coral (4), His company of the Mother (4), His shining golden *koṉṟai* on the mat-lock (5, 6, 9), His destruction of *Maṉmata* (6), His *Ganges* on His crown (6), the serpent on His waist (7) and His dance on the burning ghat with the Mother surrounded by the ghost (8).

V

Though the *hymn* begins with a complaint and expresses the miserable feeling of the poet at the Lord curtly replying as though to an enemy that he should get away, yet in the end our poet gets awalking stick to lean on and walk. This must have inspired the poet with hope and our poet says he has sung this poem in love of the Lord since he is passionately attached to Him.

Our poet describes himself as one who has the name of '*Śiva* of *Tiruvārūr*' which we had explained as referring to the first part of his name *Ārūraṉ*. The gift of a walking stick — our poet would have considered the gift from any one as the gift from the Lord — makes him feel that he has been relieved of all his *karmas* and that they would afflict him no more. That is why he assures those who masters the *Tamiḻ* of his, that the cruel *karma* will never come near them.

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CHAPTER LXX

TIRUVĀLAṄKĀṬU

(*Hymn* 52)

I

In this *hymn*, the refrain of the verses is "*Ālaṅkāṭā uṉ aṭiyārk kaṭiyēṉ āvēṉē*" — 'I shall become the slave of your slaves'. Elsewhere we have explained the significance of the cult of the *bhaktas Ālaṅkāṭu* is always coupled with *Paḻaiyaṉūr. Ālaṅkāṭu* is probably the forest of banyan trees and the temple itself must have been once upon a time, one of the banyan trees. The city nearby came to be known after one '*Paḻaiyaṉ*' perhaps a chieftain. *Paḻaiyaṉ* is the name of a chieftain as is made clear by the *Caṅkam* poetry which speaks of '*Mōkūrp Paḻaiyaṉ*[1] and other chieftains. Our poet has regained his mental equipoise and as of yore refers to the *Purāṇic* stories in detail: His company of the Mother (7), His waist-band of a serpent (2), His ornament of bones (3), His destruction of three cities (3, 6, 7), His blue throat (4), His matlock (5), His *Ganges* (7), His bull (7), His form of fire worshipped by *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8), His dance in the company of the ghosts and the burning ghat (9).

II

The poet repeatedly addresses the Lord as *Paramā* in seven verses (1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10) out of ten and he also describes this supreme being above all others as curing the *karmas* (3, 4, 7, 8) which cannot be otherwise removed, the *karmas* in which we are submerged from very ancient times ('*Pāṇṭāḻ viṉai*' in the third verse is the same as '*Pāṇṭāḻ viṉai*' of the seventh verse except for the lengthening of the vowel in the former case) the *karmas* which become a void. The other idea which is emphasized in this *hymn* that He is prayed by many, comes uppermost in our poet's mind when he thinks of taking refuge in the *bhaktas* — 'the *pattar palar pōṟṟum paramā*' (1) — 'O, Supreme Being, praised by many *bhaktas*'; '*Paṇṇā ricaika ḷatu koṇṭu palaru mēttum Paḻaiyaṉūr Ammā*' (6) — 'O, Lord! praised by many with music full of melody', '*Paṉmā malarka ḷavaikoṇṭu palaru mēttum Paḻaiyanūr Ammā*" (9) — 'O, Lord! praised by many worshipping you with many valuable

1. *Maturaik kāñci*: *l.*, 508.

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flowers'. *'Pattar cittar palarēttum paramaṉ paḷaiyaṉūr mēya Attaṉ'* (10) — 'the Lord being praised by many *bhaktas* and *siddhas*'. In this way our poet has suggested the various kinds of worship with flowers (9), with music (6), and with praises (9). He refers to another form of worship as well: *Pālaṅkāṭī, neyyāṭī*' (5) — 'the Lord who bathes in milk and ghee'. The good effects of such a worship is also referred to: "*Toḻuvar taṅkaḷ tuyar tīrppāy*" (3) — 'You are the Lord who removes the miseries of those who worship you'. There is also the worship according to *Vēdas*; for, "He is the path of the *Vēdas*" — *Vēda neṟiyāṉē*" (7).

III

The poet also enumerates in a way the various kinds of worshippers and he sometimes calls the Lord Himself after the names of these followers "*Mutta* (1), *Cittā* (1), *Pattā* (1)" — 'the freed One, One who had achieved and reached the goal, One who loves the Lord.' These terms are thus used as the names of the Lord Himself (1). He speaks of the worshippers of the Lord as *Pattar* (1, 10), *Cittar* (10). The Lord is not only '*Muttā*' but confers '*Mutti*' (1). He is not only a '*Siddha*' but shows the ways of '*siddhi* (1). He is not only a '*Bhakta*' but One praised by *bhaktas* (1). He is by nature a freed soul, not one who is freed — that is why He is *Muttā*; the term *Bhakta* was had already referred to as the name of the Lord. He calls the Lord '*Tēvar Ciṅkamē*' (1), 'the Lord of the *Dēvas*' which must have been suggested the name of the *Pallava* chief *Rājasiṁha*, the contemporary (king) of *Ārūrar*. In this *hymn* also the poet calls the Lord, the good flame of the Light which requires no kindling — '*Tūṇṭā viḷakkiṉ narcōtī* (3). He calls Him '*Tattuvaṉ*' (8), the fundamental element of the thing in itself. The Poet who has lost his eyesight addresses the Lord as the eye of the world which with all His thought is concentrated on protecting the world — "*Kaṇṇāyulakam kākkiṉṟa Karuttā*" (6). The Lord is perfect, impossible to be perfected any more—"*Tiruttalākātāy*" (6). Our poet feels that not only he, but all his ancestors were the slaves of the Lord — "*Entāy entai Perumāṉē*" (6). "*Emmāṉ entai mūttappaṉ ēḻēḻ paṭikāl emaiyāṇṭa Pemmāṉ*" (9) — We have referred to this service of the Lord through seven generations.

IV

The first foot of every fourth line, as usual in our poet's *hymns*, consists of words expressing that God is the real relation-

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ship of all kinds. The words which we found in other *hymns* are repeated here: *Attā* (1), *Aiyā* (2), *Āṇṭā* (3), *Arivē* (4), *Aṇṇā* (6) *Aṇṭā* (7), *Āḷvāy* (8), *Ammā* (9).

V

Our poet also expresses certain aspects of his life in relation to the Lord. "I acted falsely and roamed about going more and more away from you. You came here as the truth, and preventing me from thus getting away from you, you saved me, O, Truth! the true principle or the truthful" (2).

"I was caught in the trap of the beautiful damsels of eyes shining like those of the deer. My intelligence became deluded and I lost my intelligence" (4). "I was caught in the net of the damsels of wide eyes flashing like the spear. I forgot you" (5). The unconscious probably is suggesting that the description of *Caṅkili* is after all just because he has escaped from the feminine trap. Therefore, these references ought not to be taken as referring to any immoral life of the poet. We will see the poet coming back from this confused state of mind when he reaches mental equipoise at *Tiruvātamattūr* (45) where he explains his true and divine relationship with *Caṅkili*.

VI

The poet in this *hymn* also refers to the precious worth and lovable character of the Lord and in his usual way he describes the Lord as the gem, the pearl and the emerald (5). Experiencing the Lord as such when he takes refuge in the *bhaktas* he is so overpowered by this joy that he dances and sings completely surrendering himself through worship to the feet of the Lord (10). He says, "He came to love the service alone, he, the young one *Ūraṉ*, the famous young one whom *siddhas* ever keep in their mind and he has sung these shining *Tamiḻ* verses (10). Therefore, he assures those who will read these *Tamiḻ* verses of his song and dance overpowered by this experience of the *hymn* will surely worship the feet of the Supreme Being (10). Such a worship itself is a state of Heaven.

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CHAPTER LXXI

TIRUVĒKAMPAM

(*Hymn* 61)

I

"*Ekampam*" is considered to be the *Tamiḻ* form of the Sanskrit word "*Ēkāmram*", the unique mango tree, probably the old temple of *Kāñcī* receiving all worship, the Lord there being known as *Ēkāmranātha*, *Ēkampavāṇaṉ* or *Kampaṉ*. The mango tree is even now within the temple premises. But by the time of *Nampi Ārūrar*, the temple has become of great importance to *Śaivities*. *Mahēndra Varma*, in his *Matta Vilāsam*, refers to the *Kāpāli* coming from the temple of *Ēkāmranātha*. The *Kāmakkōṭṭam* or the temple of the Mother Goddess is important in this city. The name of the deity of this temple had assumed the *Tamiḻ* form *Kampaṉ* which has become the proper name of the people of the age like *Kalikkampaṉ*, *etc.*

II

On reaching *Kāñcī*, on his way back to *Tiruvārūr*, the poet is said to have got back the sight of one eye. At this partial recovery of the eyesight, the poet exclaims in joy, "*Kāṇak kaṇ aṭiyēṉ peṟṟavārē*" — "Ah! how I, a slave, got the eye to see the Lord" (1-10).

The last half of every fourth line of this verse ends with the refrain of an exclamation '*Kāṇak kaṇ aṭiyēn peṟṟavārē*. The rest of the verses piles up the description of the Lord in the accusative case. In the last verse, the poet states that this *hymn* was sung by him — *Nāvalārūraṉ* — in good *Tamiḻ* expressing the idea that he as a slave has been blessed with an eye to see the Lord.

III

The *Purāṇic* descriptions which imply the Grace of God showered on His followers and removing at the same time the obstructions in the way are referred to — the Lord's feast of the

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poison (1, 5), the worship by the Mother Goddess, a worship which is repeated in every verse, His destruction of the Lord of Death (4), and the three cities (3, 9) and *Kāma* (3) and *Dakṣa* (9), His bull (11), His eight arms (9), His flaying of the elephant (3), His mat-lock (2), His *koṉṟai* flower (4), His ear with the *kuṇḍala* (4), His battle-axe (5), His crescent moon (6) and His *Ganges* (6).

IV

The Lord is referred to as '*Koṟṟavaṉ*' (11)—the victorious, '*Kampaṉ*' (1-11) the term already explained, '*Kūttaṉ* (11) the dancer, '*Adi*' (1) the beginning of everything, '*Vittakaṉ*' (5), the wise or mysterious person, '*Śiva*' (8), the name so dear and sacred to the *Śaivites*, '*Dēvadēvaṉ*' (6) the Lord of the *Dēvas*, '*Niṭkaṇṭakaṉ*' (9) the One who is just and strict and '*Icaṉ*' (10) the Lord.

The name '*Kampaṉ*' is found used with various significant adjectives '*Periyakampaṉ*' (3), '*Nallakampaṉ*' (5), '*Kaḷḷakkampaṉ*' (10): *Kampa* the Great; *Kampa* the Good; and *Kampa* the Deceitful, deceitful because He remained latent till *Pārvatī* worshipping Him embraced Him out of fear of the flood which the Lord Himself engineered for bringing about this happy consummation. It will be seen in this *hymn*, that all these references are to the deity worshipped by the Mother Goddess—*Kāñci-p-purāṇam*. However, some writers differentiate among these and other names by explaining them as referring to various deities worshipped by *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma*, *Rudra* and *Pārvatī* respectively.

V

The *hymn* is important in showing the method of worship followed by Mother Goddess *Ātarittu* (2, 8), *Ēṭṭi* (3, 5, 6, 7, 9), *Keḻumi* (4), *Maruvi* (6), *Paravi* (9), "*Uḷḷattuḷki yukantumai Naṅkai-vaḻipaṭaccenṟu*" (10)—Coming near and taking refuge in Him and embracing Him in love, praising and worshipping Him, always contemplating on Him in joy or with an elevated feeling. The poet also refers to the *Pañcagavya*, for he addresses the Lord as "*Pāloṭu āṉaiñcum āṭṭukantāṉ*—the Lord who is fond of the *Pañcagavya* (8) inclusive of milk.

VI

The results following the worship also are hinted at: the Lord resides in the Hearts of His followers as their ally removing

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all miseries and fetters; "*Cintippār avar cintai uḷāṉ*" (1)—'He who is in the mind of those who contemplate on Him'; "*Uṟṟavarkkuta-vum Perumāṉ*" (2)—"the Great One helping those taking refuge in Him"; "*Paṟṟiṉārkkeṉṟum paṟṟavaṉ*" (2)—'Ever the prop unto those who catch hold of Him or who is attached to Him'; "*Pāvippār maṉam pāvikkoṇṭāṉ*" (2)—'One who completely occupies the mind of those who contemplate on Him (probably as identical with themselves)'; "*Allal tīrttaruḷ ceyyavallāṉ*" (5)—'One who is capable of removing all our miseries and blessing us'; "*Naṉṉiṉārkkeṉṟum nallavaṉ*" (7) — 'He who is good unto those who approach Him,' "*Cintitteṉṟum niṉainteḻuvārkaḷ cintaiyiṟṟikalum civaṉ*" (8)—'Śiva who shines in the mind of those who contemplate on Him and ever get up remembering Him', "*Pantitta viṉaip paṟṟaṟuppāṉ*" (8)—'One who cuts away the fettering *kārmic bond*'. In one way these descriptions may be taken as referring to the blessings the poet himself has received from the Lord. '*Emmāṉ*' (1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9) or '*Eṅkaḷ pirāṉ*' (3, 5, 10)—'My father or the Lord, the Patron of ours' occurs in every verse. He refers to the Lord as "*Nāmukak-kiṉṟa Pirāṉ*" (7)—'the Patron whom we are fond of' and "*Periya Emperumāṉ*" (11)—'Our Great Lord of high rank'.

VII

He refers to the worship of the Lord by the learned men and the *Vēdic* scholars—"*Periya Emperumāṉ eṉṟu eppōtum kaṟṟavar para-vappaṭuvāṉ*" (11)—'Who is ever praised as the great Lord of high rank by the learned, the very form of the rare Lord Himself is considered as the most learned for He is spoken of as the expert in the *Vēdas* and their auxiliary studies. He is greatly fond of the *Śāmavēda* (6). It was He who has expounded the *Vēdas*.

Among His followers, as usual, our poet makes a distinction between *Amarar* (1) and *Viṇṇavar* (7), *Amarar* probably referring to those of His followers who had attained eternity. The Lord is possessed, in abundance, of that upright conduct so much praised and worshipped by the *Amarar*. In other places he speaks of the Lord as '*Umpar Kōṉ*' (2)—'the King of those of the higher regions'. '*Dēvadēvaṉ*' (6)—'the *Dēva* of the *Dēvas*', '*Imaiyavar Kōṉ*' (10)—'the King of those who do not wink, probably the *Dēvas*'.

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VIII

The joy of the special Grace of the Lord he had received by receiving partial eyesight, thanks to this feeling of guilt slowly fading away as a result of his confidence in the Lord's Grace and bliss, makes him feel that he has been saved so as to escape from the evil path. He feels that he has been safely transported to the sphere of upright path. He feels that those who are masters of these ten verses will feel the same experience of reaching His sphere of Good Path (11).

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CHAPTER LXXII

TIRUVĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 83)

I

As soon as our poet got back his partial eyesight his mind naturally goes back to *Tiruvārūr* and he exclaims, "When am I to approach my Lord after stepping into *Tiruvārūr*? "*Eṉṟukol eytuvatē*?" — 'When am I to reach Him?' is the refrain of all these verses, these words forming the last half of every fourth line of every verse.

He speaks of certain obstacles to be removed at the methods of worshipping the Lord, at the same time describing the Lord in terms of *Purāṇic* stories and also expressing his own views about the precious nature of the Lord. *Tiruvārūr* comes back to his mind — *Tiruvārūr* of the South (1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9), where the *zephyr* casts its fragrance (2), the city of rich fields full of excellent paddy (3), rich and cool fields beautified by rich soil and water (4), the city surrounded by strong fortress walls (9).

II

"At sunrise and sunset and at mid-day reciting the *Pañcākṣara* and mentally cogitating about Him, when am I to reach my father and patron before the ancient chronic *karma* coming uppermost enshrouds me?" (1), "When shall I reach Him with all my mind getting cool and collected, without any agitation, showering on Him crowded flowers both day and night and going round Him in circumambulation so that the well established *kārmic* cruelty may depart from me?" (2). "Because of the ancient ignorance in the previous births, the mind thought of, later on, so many things. For removing these thoughts and illusion or confusion of mind, when am I to reach *Tiruvārūr*, to attain the sweetest nectar of my life?" (3). "Good thoughts were destroyed during those days — thoughts of killing the rare lives and other faults cropped up. When am I to enter *Tiruvarūr*, stepping on to its frontiers. when am I, his slave, to reach Him for completely destroying all these thoughts and defects?" (4). These thoughts probably refer to his thoughts of war as a political leader.

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III

In the rest of the *hymn*, he refers to the descriptions of the Lord according to the *Purāṇas* and philosophies concluding at the end of every verse. "When am I to reach or attain Him?" He expresses the great value he sets upon the Lord in his usual way calling Him, "*Oppamarāc cempoṉ*" (7), 'fine gold which has no equal'; '*Naṉmaṇi*' (7) 'the good gem'; he further speaks of Him, '*Eṉ poṉ, eṉ maṇi*', 'my gold and my gem' (7) and '*Emmiṟai*' (8) 'my Lord'. He exclaims, "When shall I see the Lord, so that my eye which has been always remembering Him hankering after or burning as it were for His sight may become cool and happy?" (9).

The Lord is the light all round the five elements and the sun (6). He is the sevenfold tunes of those who are experts in the munificent *Tamiḻ* (6). He is the sound of the seven strings of the *yāḻ* (6). He is the treasure for every soul (7).

IV

He describes this *hymn* 'the ten verses of flowers' of many and high sounding words, uttered by *Ūraṉ*, the Lord of *Nāvalūr*, out of his longstanding good love for *Ārūr* where resides the Lord (10).

V

The Poet has referred to the *Purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord as the father of Him, who had cut the mango tree in the sea (5), as that light which besmears its body with the sacred ash (5) and adorns itself with the garment of the tiger skin (5), as One who receives the alms offered (5), as the beginning of everything (5, 9), as One who is beautified by the bull (8), as One sharing His form with that of the Mother Goddess (7), as One who crowns Himself with the dancing serpent up and above the crown beautified by the *Ganges* (8), as One who goes about begging in the skull as the great One beyond the reach of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (9) and as One who has the lightning-like ruddy mat-lock (10).

It is clear that the poet looks upon *Tiruvārūr* as a heaven on earth (10) and having experienced thus he assures the readers of this verse that those who had mastered the ten verses of this *hymn* will surely attain this bliss of the golden heaven (10).

VI

As already pointed out the poet has also experienced a golden holiness within himself driving away the sense of guilt from which he was suffering. This experience of feeling himself a '*Puṇṇiyaṉ*', inspires him to address his readers as *Puṇṇiyar* (10).

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CHAPTER LXXIII

TIRU ĀMĀTTŪR

(*Hymn* 45)

I

The sufferings are not completely over, but the poet is very much overpowered by the Grace of God; for, as we have seen, he has received a prop of a walking stick and partial eyesight. In this *hymn* at *Tiruvāmāttūr*, the cloud of pessimism clears away and we hear in this *hymn* the poet almost dancing in joy of a new found bliss; he repeats every verb. The Grace is always identified with the Mother Goddess who is said to share the very form of the Lord. It is the Grace which leads us all to the Lord. This is spoken of as the Lord out of His love for His consort condescending to save us all, Her children. The very name of the Lord *Śiva* which is considered to be a *mantra* is explained in this way: '*Va*' represents the Grace of the Lord, and '*Śi*' the Absolute *Brahmam*, whom one attains through '*Va*' or Grace which is finally dissolved in the ultimate unity of the Absolute.

II

The poet sings: "I have seen Him; I have seen Him; who is acting according to the whims and fancies of the beautiful damsel or rather having the same ideas as that of the beautiful damsel. He had saved me. He had saved me by accepting me as His slave and servant. I have assumed the role, I have assumed the role of the servant of the Lord of *Āmāttūr*. This is not a falsehood what I am asserting; pray, listen to me. I have returned away from those who are not blessed with the wisdom of His *Vēdas*" (1).

"I sing, I sing of *Parvati*, catching hold of her feet. I go in quest of Him, I go in quest of Him, finally catching hold of Him. I dance, I dance to become one with Him. Devoid of all faults, devoid of all faults with all my consciousness or ideal, I shall embrace, I shall embrace our Lord of *Āmāttūr*" (2).

What faults were removed, we are next told in the third verse by referring to the two great victorious feats of the Lord, as though these feats were performed for our poet's sake, *viz.*, con-

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quest of passion and death: "That day with the power of His eyes He burnt down, He burnt down *Kāma*. That day with His leg He rushed, He rushed on the Lord of Death. The Lord of *Āmāttūr* He has scrutinized carefully, He has scrutinized carefully (His servants). He shares He shares the form of the Mother Goddess" (3). The idea seems to be that the Lord was in search of a follower free from all defects. His Grace tempted Him to be merciful and to accept any soul, for, He could destroy their passions and their fate of Death.

Our poet in this very happy mood gives us the real relationship that existed between *Caṅkili* and himself, a relationship which he in a mood of care-worn pessimism began to condemn in his previous *hymn*: "I have realized, I have realized the shining truth standing inside my mind. I went, entered, and I reached, I reached *Tiruvorriyūr* and I have attained, I have attained the soft shoulders and broad bosoms of *Caṅkili*; thereby I have enjoyed, I have enjoyed the Grace of the chief of *Āmāttūr*" (4).

Our poet turns to state to the Lord going in search of the loving souls in the *Bhikṣāṭana* from while even great men if they are egoistic, He destroys. He attributes all these to the Grace of the Lord, to the Mother rather than to the Lord Himself. "He conquered, He conquered in that sacrifice the denizens of the Heavens. He went about in the streets for paltry alms. He stood firm, He stood firm on the side of those full of *Dharma*. It is not He, It is not He. It is the Grace He showers. Ah! Our chief of *Āmāttūr*!" (5).

The same contract involved in saving the poet whilst refusing to reveal Himself to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* is further emphasized in the next verse: "He appeared, He appeared as a God impossible to be seen. He went higher up whilst *Nāraṇaṉ* and *Nāṉmukaṉ* went in quest of Him. He accepted, He accepted *Āmāttur* and myself. He has adorned, He has adorned His chest with the sacred thread rolling on it" (6). This probably refers to the Lord coming, in the Brahmin form or to the fact that the Lord who to frighten *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* stood like a pillar of fire, accepted our poet as His servant making Himself known as the Lord of the *Vēdas* through the symbol of the sacred thread. Our poet continues, 'He is the thought, He is the thought of all the lives of the seven great worlds. To those who undertake to see Him, He is their eyes, He is their eyes. In His form, one half is a woman,

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one half is a woman, The Lord of *Āmāttūr* is He who is nearest, He who is nearest" (7).

"He is the gold, He is the gold. He shines like the lightning, He shines like the lightning, He who does not leave me depart after having given me the gold. He is that great thing, He is that great thing, the esoteric significance of the *Vēdas*. He is mine, He is mine. Out of love in my mind, I shall enjoy the Lord of *Āmāttūr* and be full of bliss" (8).

"I go in quest of Him, I go in quest of Him. Every day, four finger-widths above the naval, I search for Him, I search for Him and His feet like red lotus. I will reach Him, I will reach Him. (*Māṭṭu* is the transitive form of the root '*māṭu*'. *Māṭṭu* is to bring two things together through a hook, *etc.*, to make two things to become attached to one another. The original form '*māṭu*' must therefore mean to come together). I will come together with Him or I will be in communion with Him. Catching hold of Him I shall dance, I shall dance happy in my heart" (9). The poet is in this way referring to the *yōgic* path where the *yogis* through kindling and controlling the nerve-centres reach the super-conscious spiritual stage where they are said to be embracing the Lord.

"Leaving all other relations, I reached inside my mind. The substance there, I caught hold of, I caught hold of. For reaching His lotus-like russet feet, I became devoid, I became devoid of other attachments, so that I may not be born again and again. I received the blessing, I received the blessing of becoming the servant of the servants of the Lord of *Āmāttūr*" (10). Thus the poet hints at the truth that the culmination of *Śivabhakti* is the *Aṭiyar Bhakti*.

III

In this *hymn* the poet has given us the various stages of spiritual development which he himself had undergone. The poet is so overpowered by the experience whilst singing this *hymn* that he assures those who will, without any false pretensions and so moved as to be in tears, recite these words of *Ūraṉ Vaṉroṇṭaṉ*, praising the Lord of the dark throat, our elder brother, and father, the Lord of *Āmāttur*, having all of us as His servants who are true, the blotless — will reach the golden feet of the Lord. The poet speaks here of '*Pulampuvār*', *i.e.*, they will feel penitent and cry — *i.e.*, those who find nothing else except the Lord as their

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refuge (11). Though the *hymn* expresses the joy of the poet, it is in another sense the expression of his self-surrender to God.

IV

Our poet speaks of the Lord as '*Maiyaṉ*' after speaking of Him as the blotless and before referring to the blue throat. It may mean that He being the Absolute in which must exist everything, is also the blotful. He swallows away all the blots and miseries for saving others and purifying the world. Or, it may refer to the *Ardhanārīśvara* form where the Mother's form is beautified by collyrium or '*mai*', the mother whom the poet refers to in the other verses indirectly as the blessing or Grace of the Lord saving us. Or does it mean He is the centre? It is for consideration whether that meaning is as old as *Ārūrar*.

V

The *Purāṇic* references as already given are His company of the Mother (1, 2, 3, 7), His destruction of *Kāma* (3), and the Lord of Death (3), His destruction of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice (5), His begging in the streets (5) and His pillar of fire (6) appearing before *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (6), His sacred thread (6) and His blue throat (11). The poet refers to his own life, his company with *Caṅkili*, the Lord's gift of gold. He also refers to God being our father (11), our brother (7), our Lord (11), the Lord being the embodiment of truth to the truthful, the embodiment of *Dharma* (11), the eye unto those who want to see Him (7).

This *hymn* is important in bringing out the significance of Grace or Mother. It is one of the important *hymns* giving a *picture* of our poet's spiritual development.

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CHAPTER LXXIV

TIRUNELVĀYIL ARATTURAI

(*Hymn* 3)

I

The city is called *Nelvāyil*, while the temple is referred to as *Aratturai*, as the ford of Hara or Śiva. Perhaps *Aratturai* is a mistake for *Arattuṟai*, for, if it was connected with '*Ara*' the Tamilian form of the Sanskrit '*Hara*', one would expect '*Araṉ tuṟai*'. The name '*Aruṭṭuṟai*' referring to a temple at *Tiruveṇṇeinallūr*, will suggest *Aṟatturai* rather than *Aratturai*. But, it must be noted that all the manuscripts and editions give only the form *Aratturai*. This city is on the bank of '*Nivā*', a form which occurs in Periya *Tirumoḻi*.[1] According to *Tamiḻ* grammar this form will become '*Niva*', '*Nivavu*' and our *Nampi Ārūrar* uses the form '*Nivaviṉ karai*' which may be derived from both these latter forms. The inscriptions give the name of the river as *Nuka* (South Indian Inscriptions *Vol.* II, 15). This is the river now known as *Veḷḷāru* running near *Paraṅkippēṭṭai* or Porto Novo.

II

Our poet calls the Lord, the blotless One '*Niṉmalaṉ*' a word which is repeated in every second line of the first nine verses except in the 6th and in the first line of the tenth verse. After the last *hymn*, the poet seems to experience the Lord as the blotless and as one who removes the blot. He also calls Him '*Puṉitā*' (3), the Holy One. He is also the Beautiful One (*Aḻakā*—6); the Deathless (*Amarā*—6); the Supreme Light (*Parañjōti*—8): all these suggesting the conception of *Sat*, *Chit* and *Ānanda*. In this *hymn* the poet begs of the Lord to tell him a strategic way of escape, so as to reach the feet of the Lord: "*Uyyappōvatōr cūḻal collē*". This "*Uyyappōvatōr cūḻal collē*"—"Tell me a strategy of escape' is the ending of all the verses except verse No. 2, where the ending "*Uṉṉaṭiyē pukum cūḻal collē*"—'Tell me a strategy of entering your feet'. Instead of

1. 3: 2: 9.

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interpreting the word '*cūḻal* as "strategy', one can interpret it as a surrounding or a place where the poet can go and reach the Lord's feet as a safe place, where he can escape from the miseries of the world.

III

In this *hymn*, the poet after the dance of internal joy, has courage enough to face the world; and the beauty of the *Purāṇic* form of the Lord appears before him. In contrast to these, appear the miseries of the world, the slowly working Death, the temptations of the senses, the helpless state of his own partial blindness, the fear of the sea of births, the ephemeral nature of youth and this body—a body which is so flimsy and the temptation of women, and our poet cries to the Lord to show him a way out. The descriptions of the transitoriness of the world, youth and body, and the description of the Lord are reminiscent of ancient authors, *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* (From whose work a number of passages has been adopted), *Campantar*, and the authors of *Nālaṭiyār*, *etc.* Perhaps the poet also is referring to some proverbs prevalent in his age. That seems to be implied in our poet's statement '*Collāykkaḻi-kiṉṟatu*' (1).

The river *Nivā* rushes, pushing down the *akil*, the precious shining gems all mixed together, from the mountains (1), along with pepper creepers and big trees (2), with the flowers of the '*vēṅkai*' tree and the '*kōṅku*' tree of high branches (4). The river rushes down with tall bamboos, when the moving clouds rain on the topmost peak of the mountain (5). The river rushes down with beautiful gold, cardamom and clove (6). It comes pushing down with great force, heaps of *akil* from the face as it were of the peak (7). On the bank of this river stands the city, where dances the Lord in the presence of the damsels of curled tresses of hair (2). That holy place is the rendezvous of the damsels, glorious like the peacock, who have no compeers (7). The place is full of gardens with trees growing very high. In the tanks of blue water lilies the swans swarm (6). In the sylvan tract of the place surrounded by long fields full of water, the crabs play (8) — it is one of the characteristic features of the poet to note not only the significant swan, but also the insignificant crabs. The Lord, our poet says, lives here for long in this beauty spot.

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IV

The *Purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord refer to His crown of the crescent moon (1), His dance before the loving damsels (2), His ear-ring of *makara* (7), His girdle of a dancing serpent (3), the white bull (3), His love for being seated under the shade of a banyan tree (6), the vanquishment of *Rāvaṇa* (8), His becoming invisible to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (9) and His *Ardhanārīśvara form* (3). In this *hymn* also, our poet seems to be differentiating between *Amarar* and *Vāṉavar* — "*Amarark kamarar Perumāṉ*" (8) and '*Nīṇīḷ muṭi vāṉavar vantiṟaiñcum.....Niṉmalaṉ*' (9).

V

The rest of the *hymn* is his lamentations to the Lord with reference to the ephemeral nature of the world and his prayer to the Lord to inform him of a way out. "They have constructed a beautiful place to live in (perhaps a palace), they walked in, they dressed, they became grey and they died — thus in this world, life is passing away and this transitoriness has become a proverb. I, Your slave, realizing this, have clung to you. Tell me how I can escape from the crux." (1). "In this earthly world ephemeral and vain, you have made me a man but I cannot stand firm. Or, I may not be eternal. Tell me a place where I can enter your feet, successfully fighting against and extinguishing (these five sensations) of the five gates of sense organs" (2). "What alas! I have no eye except yourself. (This is on the basis of *Periyāḻvār*: "*Viḻikkum kaṇṇilēṇ niṉkaṇ maṟṟallāl*"[2] It is also possible to interpret, "One eye, I have not". For, that is the story about his present partial blindness. "I have no other attachment except yourself, O, my Lord! Please tell me of a place of escape which I may reach crossing such a full ocean of birth" (*Aṟṟār* must be split into '*aṟṟu*' meaning such, and '*ār*' meaning 'full' — 3). (The terror of this sea is so well known and therefore it is referred to as 'that' or such — 3).

"The youth is like the bank on which dashes the floods. This birth is like waking up from sleep. Without making me suffer residing in this body and withering away, tell me your servant, a place to which I could escape" (4). "The five senses will get confused and the heart will get troubled when the followers of the Lord

2. 5: 1: 2.

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of Death, who fight with their spears, attack. Before I become unconscious as a result of these, tell me a place to which I can escape" (5). "I am not happy with this body which suffers even when a tiny awn of paddy presses on it. I have suffered (enough). Tell me a place to which I, your slave, can now escape" (6). "This is a life where the decorations of a marriage become decorations of a corpse, O, Lord! tell me a place to which I could escape" (7). "Because of my good fortune which I had amassed in olden times, I was blessed with the gift of reciting your name; tell me a place to which, I, your slave, can now escape" (8). Before I become like the bees swarming the jack fruit, to be caught in the trap of the damsels of shining forehead, tell me a place to which, I, Your slave, can now escape" (9). (The reading given is '*Vāṇār nutalār valaippaṭ ṭaṭiyēṉ palaviṉ kaṇi īyatu pōlvataṉmuṉ*"—Samajam edn. of 1935). But Ramananda Yogi's annotation gives the reading '*Īpōlvatu*". But this will make the line shorter than it ought to be. All the other editions give the reading, "*Īntatu pōl*". The reading "*Īyatu pōlvatu*" was suggested perhaps by the lines in *Tiruvacakam*, "*Uḷaitaru nōkkiyar koṅkaip palāppaḷattīyiṉ oppāy*," (*Nīttal Viṇṇappam* : 46). One wonders whether the word '*īntu*' itself meant a bee. '*Īyal, ical, īka*' are words with the same root '*Ī*; with '*tu*' as a formative, and by nunnation the form '*Īntu*' may be had. '*Antu*' is a small grey winged insect found in stored paddy and the people of Chingleput Disitrict speak also of '*Antu*' as an insect affecting the paddy. Therefore, '*Īntu*' may mean such a small insect.

Our poet speaks of the Lord as standing firm like '*A*' (அ) standing first among the letters (7). This reminds us the first *kuraḷ* and the *Gīta* statement, "I am the letter '*A*' among the letters"—"*Akṣarāṇām akārō aṣmi* (*Gītā* : 10 : 33).

VI

The poet feels elated after singing this *hymn* and as result of this elation he feels in singing this *hymn*, he assures that those who mastered these ten verses of this garland of a *hymn* of good *Tamiḻ* sung by *Arūrar*, the servant and follower of the Lord, the chief of Southern *Nāvalūr*, full of beautiful palaces and long royal roads, where rush the chariots — that these experts will become kings or emperors riding on elephants, black elephants full of must on which will hum the bees and will rule the whole of Heavens (10). This shows the poet's mind still bears traces of his political associations.

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CHAPTER LXXV

TIRUVĀVAṬUTURAI

(*Hymn* 70)

I

Our poet according to *Cēkkiḻār* sang *Hymn* No. 66 on *Tiruvāvaṭuturai* whilst he was going north from *Tiruvārūr*. In that *hymn* he mentioned a few stories of *Śiva* which attracted his attention and inspired him to take refuge in the Lord. In the present *hymn*, every line ends with the refrain: "*Eṉai añcal eṉṟu aruḷāy, Yār eṉakku uṟavu Amararkaḷ ēṟē*"—"Shower your blessings by assuring me with the words, 'Fear not'. Who is there related to me (if not you) oh, lion amongst the *Amaras* or the Deathless?"

Because of this difference in the emotional tune of these *hymns*, *Cēkkiḻār* concluded that the *Hymn* No. 66 was sung when our poet went northward and this *Hymn* No. 70 when he returned southward. The idea of taking refuge inspired by the stories is going to occur, even according to *Cēkkiḻār* in a few *hymns* later on, as for instance in the famous *hymn* on *Tiruppuṉkūr* — *H.* 55. The prayer for the Lord's assuring words 'Fear not' occurred in the *hymn* No. 27 sung according to *Cēkkiḻār* at the period of the *hymn* No. 66. It is, therefore, possible to argue that instead of differentiating between these two *hymns* on *Tiruvāṭuturai*, both may belong to the same period of our poet's mental, physical and political suffering, a period perhaps when there was a political confusion in our poet's life, a confusion still further aggravated by the incident of *Caṅkili*, all of which brought on, a sense of guilt, blindness and other physical ailments, only to be cured when his feeling of repentance glowed with his faith in and the joy of the Lord's Grace—all belonging to the period of his pilgrimage to the North and his return.

II

The present *hymn* contains verses ending with the words "*Eṉai añcal eṉṟaruḷāy yār eṉakku uṟavu amarakaḷ ēṟē*". Thus the feeling of world's oppression still continues in this *hymn* also, though he is sure of the Lord's Grace and his absolute dependence on Him. This brings out the truth that the Lord is the real relation of ours—all kinds of relationship The third line ends in the

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phrase '*Tiruvāvaṭuturaiyuḷ*' and is connected with the first word of the fourth line, making thus a complete description of the Lord, '*Tiruvāvaṭuturaiyuḷ Aṅkaṇā etc.*' emphasizing His peculiar relationships: '*Aṅkaṇā*' (1) — Oh! Lord of the beautiful eyes or the Lord of mercy in *Tiruvāvaṭuturai*'; '*Aṇṇalē*' (2) — 'O, Great Personality'; '*Appaṉē*' (3) — 'O, Father'; '*Atipaṉē* (4) — 'O! Our Lord'; '*Antaṇā*' (5) — 'O, Seer!' (*i.e.*, Brahmin, *Guru* of beautiful and cool qualities); '*Aṟavaṉē* (6) — 'O, Lord of *Dharma*!' or, 'O, Saint'; '*Aiyaṉē*' (7) — 'O, Brother or Chief!'; *Ātiyē*' (8) — 'O, Beginning of everything!'; *Āṉaiyē* (9) — 'O, Elephant' (usually an endearing term used in addressing a child); '*Aṇṭavāṇaṉ*' (10) — 'The resident of this Universe — its inner principle'.

It was noted that the poet getting himself freed of his depressions and sufferings, feels purer and this inspires him to address the Lord as the Purest. In this *hymn* also our poet addresses the Lord as '*Puṉitā*' (1) — 'the Purest'; '*Puṇṇiyā*' (1) — 'the Virtuous'; '*Tīrttaṉē*' (1) — 'the Lord of the Holy Path'; *Tēvaṉē* (2) — 'the Bright One'; '*Uttamā*' (3) — 'the Best'; '*Vikirtā*' (4) — 'One who stands apart as unique (or, as we interpreted as the art form as differentiated from the Natural form)'. His emphasis on Truth also was noted. Here also, he addresses the Lord as '*Meyyaṉ*' (7) — 'the Truthful one' or 'the Lord of Truth'. The endearing terms of love and worth expressing our Poet's love, respect and bliss in relation to the Lord as the Supreme value bring out the feeling of holiness which he used to express by calling God the gem (4), the gold (6), the beautiful (8), the nectar (8), and the Light (7). The Lord is not merely honey but the clear honey (1). He is not merely the gold but the pure red gold of *Tiruvārūr* (6). He is not merely light but the shining (never dimming) light (7). He is not merely the gem but faultless glorious gem — '*Māciḷāmaṇiyē*' (9). Other descriptions are continued in the same strain. He is '*Kuṟaiviḷā niṟaivu*' — 'The Absolute Perfection without any defect or deficiency' (6), '*Kōtilā Amutu*' — (8) — 'the nectar without any dregs' (descriptions which are again reminiscent of *Tiruvācakam* (*Kōyiṟṟiuppatikam*-5). '*Guṇakkuṉṟē*' (6) — 'The mountain of good qualities' (This is reminiscent of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* and *Tiruvācakam*); '*Tītilā malai*' (8) — 'the mountain without any evil'.

III

The Grace of the Lord is emphasized as in the previous *hymn*. "On this earth, I lay confused. He of his own accord forcibly ac-

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cepted me as His servant and saved me. I have no eye. Because of the disease inflicting me in this body, I have become a burden to you. Be pleased to say 'Fear not' " (2). "I have no wisdom. I have been confused because of the disease oppressing me in this body" (4). "I, your slave have no relations except you. Will it be beneath your dignity to forgive one fault of mine?" (6). The Grace demands worship. The worship with honey, milk, curd — a bath in these the Lord loves — is referred. He is worshipped by all (9).

(*Amarar* as distinguished from *Vāṉavar or Viṇṇavar* may mean the freed souls. In this very *hymn* our poet addresses the Lord as, '*Imaiyōr toḻutēttum vikirtaṉē*' (4) — 'The form assumed by Him for being worshipped according to the rules and rites and for being praised by the *Dēvas* with all their eyes never even winking'; '*Imaiyōr cīr Īcaṉē*' (5) — 'The Lord of the *Dēvas*'; *Imaiyōr toḻu kōvē*' (8) — 'The king who is worshipped by the *Dēvas*'. This conception of the Lord's sovereignty over the *Dēvas* and this Universe is thus emphasized often and as usual, because the poet feels that there is nothing else except God. In this connection, the term '*Pacupatī*' (8) — 'The Lord of the souls', '*Bhutanātaṉ*' (1) — 'The Lord of the souls' and '*Aṇṭavāṇaṉ*' (10) — 'The life of the Universe', and '*Vāṉanāṭaṉ*' (9) — 'The Lord of the country of Heavens' become significant).

IV

The *Purāṇic* descriptions also seem to suggest the Grace of the Lord.

The Mother Goddess had been explained as the very form of Grace of the Lord and her company is referred to in this *hymn* (3, 8). He is under the shadow of the Banyan tree to deliver His message and bestow His Grace thus constituting our greatest wealth (3). The *Ganges* (1) and the crescent moon on the mat-lock (2), the gift bestowed on *Vijaya* or *Arjuna* (5), the mercy shown to the egoistic *Rāvaṇa* (5) and the gift of the discus to *Viṣṇu* (7) and the swallowing of the poison (1) are all mentioned as emphasizing this Grace of the Lord. Even the destructions are but aspects of divine Grace. The three castles were destroyed but their Lords were really blessed then (3). Hence our poet calls the Lord the warrior of divine Grace — "*Tiruvaruḷ cēr Cēvakā*" (8). He is of red form (7) and red eyes (7) — red eyes are usually referred to in the description of *Viṣṇu* as "*Cēvakā*' or Warrior. The

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Bull represents *Praṇava* or *Dharma* and its Lord is the Lord of all — '*Pacupatī*' (8); '*Paramēṭṭī*' (8) — the Great beyond the Great — The Supreme Being (one of the few terms our poet is fond of repeating; *Jains* also use this word). The frightful dance with the angry '*Kālī*' (4), the force of complete destruction and the bloody revolution is only to revolutionize her; to remove her anger; to convert bloody revolution into a revolution of love (4). So have to be interpreted, though the poet does not say so, the flaying of the elephant's skin (7), the tiger's skin (7), the destruction of the boar, the tortoise and others (9) and the conquest of the serpent (10): the skins, the shell and the bones are lovingly worn by the Lord as ornaments. He loves equally the great and the small, the *koṉṟai and mattam* (10), the serpent and the moon (10), all making a harmonious round laurel of a crown on His ruddy mat-lock (10). Thus this suggests the beauty aspect of the Lord; this is made clear by other references: "*Teṇṇilā erikkum caṭaiyaṉē*" (5), "*Intu cēkaraṉē*" (5).

V

The beauty and Grace of the Lord suggest and remind the beauty of *Tiruvārūr* — surrounded by the gardens full of bees with wings, a remembrance which it was stated inspired him to leave *Tiuvoṟṟiyūr* and *Caṅkili* for *Tiruvārūr*.

VI

Our poet feels he has been purified. The fear of death disappears at the thought of the Lord who is Death unto the Lord of Death (1). Passions no more inflict him, after his realization that the Lord is the fire unto *Kāma* (1). He is happy at the thought of the Lord of Grace showering blessings on worshippers witnessing the dance, where dance the ear-rings along with the ears (6). Our poet feels the Lord has cured him of his diseases; that the Lord is the medicine and the nectar all along his way: '*Vaḷittuṇai maruntu*" (9). He is proud that he is the father of the saintly *Ciṅkaṭi* (10); has become the nearest of the nearest servants of the Lord (10); the most obstinate follower (*Vaṉṟoṇṭaṉ* — 10) who would never leave Him. He feels elated at singing this *hymn* on the Lord of the Universe out of great love — this *hymn* of ten cool *Tamiḻ* flowers (10). This experience of his, whilst singing this *hymn*, makes him assure those who are masters of this *hymn* that they will also, like him, cut away the fetters of birth and death (10). Has not the first verse begun praising the Lord as '*Kālakāla*'?

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CHAPTER LXXVI

TIRUTTURUTTIYUM TIRUVĒḶVIKKUṬIYUM

(*Hymn* 74)

I

This *hymn* is on two temples, at *Tirutturutti* and *Tiruvēḷvikkuṭi* (*Turuṭti* is an island in a river). (*Tirutturutti* as distinguished from *Pūnturutti* is *Kuttālam* in the Tanjore District). The *hymn of Ñāna Campantar* explains this combination of these two temples:

"*Pāṅkiṉāl umaiyoṭum pakaliṭam pukaliṭam paimpoḻilcūl*
Vīṅkunīrt turuttiyār; iraviṭat turaivarvēḷ vikkuṭiyē."[1]

"The Lord enters *Turutti* as His resort for the day time along with the Mother, the *Turutti* of heaving up waters surrounded by the green groves; He resides during night in *Vēḷvikkuṭi*". This combination is also referred to in the first verse of the *hymn* No. 18 of *Nampi Ārūrar*:

"*Mūppatu millai piṟappatu millai iṟappatillai-c*
Cērppatu kāṭṭakat tūriṉu mākaccin tikkin tikkiṉallāl
Kāppatu veḷvik kuṭitaṇ ṭuruttiyeṅ kōṉaraimēl
Ārppatu nākama ṟintōmēl nāmivark kāṭpaṭōmē."[2]

The *Vēḷvikkuṭi* Grant of *Neṭuñcaṭaiyaṉ*[3] throws some light on this: The place was granted by the great king *Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumip Peruvaḻuti* to one Brahmin *Nāṟkorraṉ* for performing a *Vēdic* sacrifice and was named as such after the sacrifice was performed by the said Brahmin. It was usurped by the *Kalabhras* and continued to remain under the usurpation even after the resumption of authority of the *Pāṇḍyas*. When *Neṭuñcaṭaiyaṉ* came to the throne it was restored in the 8th century to the claimant on appeal, the claimant belonging to the line of *Nāṟkorraṉ*. Our poet belongs to the 7th Century and during that period *Vēḷvikkuṭi* must have continued to be under usurpation.

1. 3: 90: 1.
2. 7: 18: 1.
3. *Ep. Ind., Vol.* XVII, *Part* I, *pp.* 298ff.

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One wonders whether because of this, *Vēḷvekkuṭi* lost its importance and worship as a separate temple, so much so, people had to worship it only at *Tirutturutti* believing that the Lord who was present there at *Vēḷvekkuṭi* remained at *Tirutturutti* during day-time.

II

In this *hymn*, the poet is so very much taken up by the greatness and Grace of God that he feels he cannot forget or adequately enjoy, know, sing or praise Him nor could he get away from His path or decry Him. That is what he expresses forcibly in the first two feet of every fourth line. He condemns himself as the cruel one and the dog, in the last two feet of every third line. The words, "*Turuttiyār Vēḷvikkuṭiyuḷār aṭikaḷai*" as referring to the Lord of those two temples precede this condemnation and occur as the third, fourth, fifth and sixth feet in every third line. The first two lines usually give us the description of *Kāviri* in its floods in which *Turutti* is an island. "*Emperumāṉai*" is another phrase repeated as the third and fourth feet in every fourth line, a phrase put in apposition with "*Turuttiyār Vēḷvikkuṭi uḷār aṭikaḷ*". The last halves of the fourth lines are put in apposition with this same "*Emperumāṉai*" and describe the Lord as having removed the fetters and sufferings of the Poet. In this arrangement the verses end in the accusative case which usually never occupies the last place in a sentence in *Tamiḻ*. This rhetorical inversion lays the emphasis on the special Grace shown to the poet and suggests the rhythm called '*akappāṭṭu vaṇṇam*' (*Tol.* 1480) where the verse, though complete in sense, suggests apparently an incomplete sentence.

III

"How am I to forget my Lord who has destroyed the misery caused by the disease inflicting my body?" (1). "I do not know how to sing the praise of my Lord who had completely severed the attachment of all the old *karmas* that exist" (2). "I do not know how to praise my Lord who has cut away the disease which afflicted me" (3). "I do not know how to know my Lord who had cut away the defect or the welded link of the *karmas* which exist and which are impossible to be borne" (4). "I have not left off babbling (the names of) my Lord who had today itself removed completely the diseases with which I was afflicted" (5). "I do not know to despise my Lord who is capable of removing here

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and now, in this birth the vilest of diseases" (6). "I do not know how to express or praise my Lord who had completely removed the old *karmas* so well known to the world" (7). "I do not know how to enjoy or embrace my Lord who had cut away here and now in this birth the defect or welding link of the sufferings coming from previous births" (8). "I do not know how to stand aside or escape from my Lord who has here and now freed me from the diseases of the past" (10).

IV

The *hymn* represents our poet's complete self-surrender and the last verse emphasizes this truth. He describes himself as *Ārūraṉ*, the servant, the slave of the slaves of the Lord, one who does not know anything except the victorious feet of the Lord of the beautiful hands. Our poet has gone through this part of *Tapas* enduring all sufferings in the name of the Lord and getting relieved of the sufferings to reach higher sphere of the eternal. He, therefore, assures those who will carry this song of the Lord on their tongue with joy, worshipping the Lord with their hands will similarly rule the world of the eternal, reaching it through the path of *tapas*. Suffering thus becomes *tapas* — a new way of looking at the world.

V

There are not many *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord in this *hymn*, except in the last verse which refers to the Lord sharing His form with the Mother, the Lord riding on the bull and His destroying the three cities.

VI

The *hymn* is full of the description of the *Kāviri*, so full of beauty and divinity. It is placed on a par with the holy Ganges (10) and the Lord is praised equally as the Lord of the *Ganges* and Lord of *Turutti* inside *Kāviri* (10). The river makes the land rich, beautiful and holy. The cult of the holy rivers inspiring the people to bathe in these holy waters is seen reflected in this *hymn*.

"The great clouds send their lightning flashes. They rain in torrents. The stream rushes down with terrible cracking noise, bringing the waves to dash against the banks. There flows the *Kāviri* which is metamorphosed into our food. On its wide banks reside the *bhaktas* who wake up worshipping His two feet as his lovers. The Lord knows what they say. ('*Coṉṉavāṟaṟivār*'

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reminds us of the name of *Kaḷaṟiṟṟaṟivār* who is referred to as '*Coṉṉavāṟaṟivār*' in an inscription of *Nīṭūr*) (1).

"Those things which are there for coming together, come embracing others and get threaded up so to say. Thus the millet and mountain paddy are harvested and scattered by the water of the floods. The flood attacks the big '*kōṅku*' and '*marutam*' trees on the sides; it pushes the bunches of fruits so much, that they, like a mountain, obstruct the flow of water. But it still pushes even this mountain along, rushing fast. This is the *Kāviri* wherein is the island of *Turutti* whose Lord is our God.," (2).

"The tusks of the murderous huge elephants, the rich yield of fresh and swelling fruits — these the flood carries mixing and bringing together things from far off places. It reaches, it embraces, it flows down and it enters. The big river *Kāviri* goes on its march enabling the *yōgins* and *bhōgins* who both of them perform *tapas* in their own way to bathe at dawn [The conception of *yōgins* (people who perform *yōga* as ascetics) and *bhōgins* are people who enjoy probably as referring to house-holders — as performing *tapas* is significant; for, is not our poet himself a *bhōgi* performing *tapas*? This also reminds us of *Tiruttakka Tēvar* — "*Naṟṟavam ceyvārkkiṭam tavam ceyvārkku mahtiṭam*" — *Nāmakaḷ*: 48]" (3).

"The streams shower down rough surfaced big logs of sandal wood and of *akil*. They rush down and carry away pepper and plantains to be secreted away by the waste land (*Puṉpulam*); thus pushing everything goes to the sea this great river *Kāviri*. With the idea of production it flows on its sides and throws out its water and its gifts" (4).

"Pushing along the tusks of the elephants which rain down their three musts and the good golden flowers of '*vēṅkai*' tree, the mountain streams rush down and down and their fast rushing waters come together and here they whirl and flow down enabling the people of the eight points of the compass to come together and bathe" (5).

"The *Kāviri* carries the big and famous sandal logs and *akil*, gold and gems. It pushes along beautiful flowers. It swells up on the great banks of such rare workmanship which it digs down only for increasing the fertility and wealth, The glistening great *Kāviri* removes the sin of those who bathe in it and washes away the

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dark collyrium (some take it as referring to the *avidya*, *āṅava* or ignorance; some take it as the dirt of the body)" (6).

"Crossing as it were the plantain fruits and the mango fruits on the mountain and then slowly making them fall, fighting against the '*marā*' trees, it rushes with the sole idea of seeing the great blue sea crying for it; it carries the peacock feathers as though balanced on its shoulders, throwing out pearls on all sides: thus rushes the great *Kāviri*" (7).

"The great *Kāviri* becomes crystal clear, throwing out shining crystals and carrying the *chauire* of the yak. It goes with the sole intention of seeing the great blue and pungent sea whilst the cities and countries think of it, joyfully, with all their hearts whilst many birds dip into it and frisk about on its bright bank" (8).

"It makes rich the fields. It swells with no possibility of even flow. It carries gold. It creates commotion and this resounds everywhere. It topples down and scatters big sized shining pearls and groups of shining gems. It makes the great trees on the two banks split, carries them and dashes them against — thus goes the big *Kāviri* stirred up and agitated" (9).

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CHAPTER LXXVII

TIRU ĀRŪR-P PARAVAIYUṆMAṆṬALI

(*Hymn* 96)

I

The poet reaches *Tiruvārūr*. He enters the temple within the fortress wall. On the one side, he feels the Lord's superiority and his inferiority; on the other side, he feels the sufferings and he laments for them expressing however his own firm faith in the Lord. Every verse ends in this *hymn* with the own words, '*Paravai uṇ māṇṭaḷi Ammāṉē*' — "O, Lord of the Temple in the Fortress wall". The famous Fortress wall with its shrubs of '*karantai*' and '*mattam*' and trees of '*vaṉṉi*' and '*kūviḷam*' reminds the poet of the Lord, who is the Lord of these flowers as much as the Lord of this Temple of the Fortress (10). The conception of Holiness has taken root in him. He begins hy addressing the Lord as the Lord of holy tongue (or month) and this is appropriate to the occasion for he prays to the Lord that He may exclaim in pity, 'Alas!'; our poet sings, "Will you not protect those who perform your services, from the sufferings inflicting them? The five (sensations) have noted this and if even they prevent one, I will praise you with my tongue expressing good ideas in good words. Pray, out of pity for me cry 'Alas!' O, my father of the earthern temple in the Fortress Wall." (1): The same idea he repeats in the fourth verse, "I always contemplate on you. The five (sensations) prevent me from contemplating on good things (This is according to the reading, '*Nallāṉa nōkkāmaik kākkiṉṟāṉ*'. There is another reading '*kākkiṉṟāy*' — You prevent me from seeing other good things of the world). The five have noticed this. Even if they prevent me and keep a watch over me, I find you in my mind with the garland of words of speech, O, my father of *Paravaiyuḷ maṇṭaḷi*!" (4).

II

He tries to reach the universal stage forgetting his individual sufferings but feeling them as the sufferings of all the followers of the Lord. He begs of the Lord to hearten them with the assuring words, "Fear not". "With their mind beautified by you, getting

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elevated and hastening, they contemplate and think only of you. Tell them, "Fear Not" " (5). The Lord is here referred to as being in the company of the mother and with the blue throat, all symbolic of this love and Grace to which alone the poet is addressing.

"Without even changing from their wonted path, these followers ever speak well of you. What is their fate? You are the Lord of virtue (*Puṇṇiyā*), the very embodiment of virtue (*Puṇṇiyamāṉāṉē*). (It looks as though it were a rebuke. For, the Lord in the view of the poet is not evidently virtuous in His dealing with these followers). "What is it that is good for you, you who dance in joy in the graveyard of corpses which the ghosts do not leave?" (3). The poet seems to suggest that these followers are not worse than the ghosts. (We had elsewhere pointed out the pure mind of the followers is the real graveyard where dance the Lord).

Our poet, a scholar himself, thinks of the followers of the Lord, who are scholars and poets and describes God as their Lord. Their greatness makes him feel that the Lord is a special boon to them all. "You are the gold unto the scholars. Your fame can be praised by these poets, though, you are the self-luminous light yourself, praising your form by yourself. You are the lightning — a flash in the darkness of isolation when first experienced. You are like the young rising sun in the drawing sky of rose (*i.e.*, the gradually developing light of love after the night of suffering and darkness)." (There is no prayer in this verse. When the Lord has showered blessing where is the necessity for any prayer?) (2).

"My father, the Great Lord, showering your Grace on those following the path of *Āgamic* rites and great for such great conduct, the Lord and father of the chief of *Piṭavūr*, the chief of great love and mercy (Probably a well known chief of *Ārūrar's* age. Others take it as referring to the Lord Himself), the only father and Lord of those who live happily by their knowledge or erudition of the cool *Tamiḻ* works!" (6). Here also there is no prayer. This makes our poet think of the Lord as something supreme above everything and everyone. "You are Heavens. You are the Highest thought, up above the Higher spheres up above the High regions. All the letters, words and subject matter — are but your eyes (*i.e.*, three eyes — or, it means you have created all these). [Having addressed everything as His eye, he prays to the Lord,

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"O the Lord of (or the form of) the Universe! Show me those to be seen through your eye (by blessing me with an eye which I had lost and which when received will be holy as being your gift)]" (7).

This universal vision inspires the poet to praise the Lord and His Grace: "You are the wind, you are our speech (*kūṟṟu* is taken by others as the Death unto Death), shining with the throat blue like the clouds. You are of the (pure and sacred) ash, with the damsel of the beautiful bangles sharing your form. You are the Lord of the river full to its brim, remaining there upon your long mat-lock" (8) — these suggest His miraculous Grace and mysterious powers. Our poet forgets even to pray for anything because he stands enchanted by the thought and form of His Grace.

III

Thus contemplating on the Lord's greatness and Grace, our poet becomes conscious of himself as contrasted with the Lord. Naturally a feeling of self-condemnation arises. The poet condemns himself — "I am a sinner; I am the condemned, doing no good act amidst all my activities. I am the cruel one hankering after everything I see. I am your slave, but I am one who does not describe your services as I ought to (*kūṟumāṟu* or describe your services so as to embrace you, for, *kūṭumāṟu* is another reading)" (9).

But this condemnation is a passing phase; it has made the poet pure, holy and whole. He feels that he is full of divine knowledge and divine love. He describes himself '*Nirampiya Ūraṉ*' — '*Ūraṉ* who is full of perfection.' He sang of God that He is the highest conception, high above those of high spheres, higher than those of the still further higher spheres. The experience of perfection which came over him whilst singing this *hymn* in a communion with highest conception of Godhead, inspires him to assert that those who love this *hymn* of ten uttered by him with the experience above described, are like God, those who are the highest, higher than the people of a high spiritual sphere who are themselves higher above the people of the high spiritual sphere (10).

IV

In this *hymn*, the poet has referred to the *purāṇic* descriptions of the Mother (5), His ruddy form (2), His dance in the graveyard

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in the company of the ghosts (3), His sapphire and cloud like throat (5), His three eyes (7), His mat-lock with the river (8) and His favourite flowers of *karantai*, *vaṉṉi*, *mattam* and *kūviḷam* (10) — descriptions which become one with the contexts. The idea that His three eyes are the letters, words and subject matter is significant (7) to the *Tamils*, as explained elsewhere especially in this *hymn* which speaks of the Lord as the father and Lord of the *Tamiḻ* scholars. He refers to the worship with the garland of speech (4), a worship which is probably the special greatness of poets and scholars. The *Āgamic* path and conduct are also mentioned. The path of contemplation on God as the highest possible conception is also hinted at.

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CHAPTER LXXVIII

TIRU ĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 37)

I

This *hymn* is addressed to the bees, birds and the cloud as messengers of love. Every verse ends in a chorus like ending: "*Uṇartta vallīrkaḷē*". It is either an interrogation, "Are your capable of making Him realize this state of mine?" or better an assertion, "You are indeed capable of making Him realize this state of mine." This will imply a request that they should take pity on the love-sick maiden and carry her message for informing Him and impressing on Him her true desperate condition. Thus these verses are the speeches of a love-sick maiden, pining away, unable to bear His separation.

II

"Coming together of the loving couple" is technically known as '*Kuṟiñci*'. It occurs under ideal conditions in the mountain tract and at midnight. Without any conscious or previous arrangement, Providence brings them together. The two become one great embodiment of divine or natural love. "Separation" is known as '*Pālai*' and the ideal place and time are the desolate desert and the summer midday respectively. "Living together a chaste domestic life of complete identity of purpose" is called '*Mullai*". The ideal place is the sylvan tract and the ideal time is the dusk (first part of the night) of the rainy season. "The sulky mood" is known as '*Marutam*' and its ideal place is the city and the ideal time, the dawn. "When the hero is absent for a long time, the heroine is overpowered by a feeling of despair and desolation" and this is technically known as '*Neytal*' and the ideal place is the lonely mourning sea and the ideal time is the desolate and exhausting afternoon. It is this *neytal* which is described in this *hymn*. The crane (*nārai*-8), the stork (*kuruku*-1), the swan (*aṉṉam*-10) and the ruddy goose (*cakravāḷa*-4) are all water birds. To distinguish this sea-board from the desert, there will be a grove on the beach, known in *Tamiḻ* as '*Kāṉal*', wherein will gather all kinds of birds, the parrots, the *koel*, the bees (10).

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The clouds also come in as possible mesengers (7), because they travel through air as much as birds. The feeling of despair and desolation is so powerful that the lovesick maiden has no time to think whether the birds can be the messengers of love. One gets great relief by the very act of giving expression to the pent up feelings. We have already referred to the philosophy of the common folk who look upon the birds speaking and hearing perhaps better than men.

III

The commentator on *Tiruvāymoḻi* (the commentary known familiarly as '*Īṭu*'), refers to a tradition about one of the readers condemning this kind of poem as rank eroticism, *Yājñavalkya*, explaining the greatest truth about the '*Ātman*' to *Maitrēyī* in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upanishad*[1] speaks of the '*Ātman*' as that which is to be heard, that which is to be contemplated on, that which is to be seen and this commentator says that this describes the love, one has to bear to the *Ātman* or the Lord; this love is the *Bhagavatkāma*. *Nammāḻvar* asserts that he will not forget Him, that he will cry for Him, embrace Him and love by worshipping Him[2] and *Nāñjīyar* explains this as the *Āḻvar's* experience of the Lord enjoying Him with his mind, speech and body. This *hymn* of *Nampi Ārūrar* also is one such experience of love as is made clear by the statement in the last verse of this *hymn*:

"*Nittamā kanniṉain tuḷḷamēt tittoḻum*
Attaṉam porkaḻa laṭikaḷā rūraraic
Cittamvait tapukaḻc ciṅkati yappaṉmeyp
Pattaṉū raṉconṉa pāṭumiṉ pattarē" (37: 11)

The true *Bhakta* who daily meditates on Him with his mind, praises Him (through his speech) and worships Him (with his body).

IV

The '*Īṭu*' or the commentary on *Nammāḻvar* raises the question, 'If the saint is experiencing the Lord, where arises this despair and desolation of '*neytal*'?"

1. 6: 5: 6.
2. 1: 3: 10.

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In the previous *hymn*, the poet was referring to the Graces of the Lord through the *Purāṇic* stories such as the feast of poison, a feast which the saint feels he cannot see anymore because it happened once upon a time. It is this kind of disappointment that brings about this feeling of despair to the *Īṭu*.

The *Īṭu* next raises the question, "Where arises the separation when the saint is experiencing the Lord?" and it offers an explanation. The commentary follows the method of the catechism:

"Food is good, but it brings on disease when there is no hunger. Therefore, the doctor prevents the food coming near the patient. To enable the *Āḻvār* to bear the oncoming experiences, the Lord steps aside for a while, so that the saint may be without the divine bliss for nonce".

The *Īṭu* next raises the problem whether God is a Doctor and quotes *Periyāḻvār* who has answered the question in the affirmative by describing the Lord as '*Maruttuvaṉ*'. *Nampi Ārūrar* also described the Lord as '*Vaḻittuṇai maruntē*' (70:9).

The *Īṭu* continues to ask, "Can this saint, the great, wise master despair?" The reply is that if he was blessed merely with the knowledge of wisdom he might not have despaired but he was blessed with wisdom taking the form of *Bhakti*. This love for God it is that inspires the despair even where there is no room for despair. That is the characteristic feature of all love. The Lord is so unique, so beautiful, so great and so loving as described by our *Nampi Ārūrar* in the previous *hymn*, that even the thought of the Lord's absence for a while brings on despair making futile even the great wisdom conferred on the saint by God. The *Īṭu* points out, that the embodiment of God's Grace, *Sīta* herself, who ought to know better than anybody else, attempted to commit suicide with her own tresses of hair unable to bear the absence of her Lord.

The next objection raised and answered by the *Īṭu* is whether it is an ancient convention to send birds as messengers of love. Here again the commentator refers to *Rāmāyaṇa*, where *Sītā* addressed the trees and the river begging of them to report to *Rāmā* about her abduction by *Rāvaṇa*.

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V

The commentator raises another doubt about the masculine-saint becoming the lady-love. He refers to six points of identity of the lady-love with the saint: (1) Being a servant of the Lord (and becoming unfit for the service of others); (2) taking refuge in Him and none else; (3) being alive only when in communion with the Lord; (4) suffering the unbearable despair at the thought of separation; (5) offering happiness unto Him alone; and (6) accepting Him alone as the protector and abiding as the thing to be protected by Him alone. This reference to the saint as a lady-love, the *Īṭu* looks upon as a metaphor. But one may add that the souls and saints stand in the place of the ladies in love with the Lord as their ravisher.

"Will not the masculine qualities subvert this feminine behaviour of the saint?' asks the commentary (*Īṭu*). It answers, "Even men aspire to become women in the presence of the Lord; for, such is the characteristic of the Lord, the *Puruṣōttama*, the best of men.

VI

The commentator raises another question. "How the lady within the palace could get at birds for being sent as her messengers)" In answering this the commentator explains the convention of *Tamiḻ* poetry which we referred to above. In the garden of the sea beach or '*neytal*' there are the birds with wings to quickly reach the Lord and the heroine addresses them without any thought about the possibility of their speaking. As already explained, this kind of address to the birds as messengers is as old as the *Caṅkam* poetry, a convention, which came to be elaborated in later times.

VII

The descriptions of these birds are said to have an esoteric meaning and following the footsteps of the *Īṭu*, one can explain the significance of the birds referred to in *Nampi Ārūrar's hymn* as well. The birds are considered to be the *Guru* or the Master, who brings about the union of the Lord with the soul. The white crane (3) signifies the *Guru's* blotless purity and true *knowledge*. The parrot (2) repeats only what it has learnt without any interpolations — the '*āptavacana*' without introducing one's own whimsical fancies. The swan (10) which separates the milk from the water

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represents the *Guru* separating the grain from the husk of knowledge. The '*pāvai*' (2) reminds us of the sweet speech of the Master. The '*veṇṇārai*' (3) — it wanders about all around perhaps for the proper food for its lover and its young ones. That reminds us of the contemplation, love and the kind regard for the student, all characteristics of the *Guru,* working hard for the student's benefit. These white cranes are said to sit on the top of the groves full of leaves without caring to enjoy the shade but intent upon keeping a watch and waiting for the proper food. This reminds us of the *Guru,* keeping always a watch over the surrounding for the benefit of the student without caring for his own comforts. The '*kuruku*' (1) or the water bird perched on the sandy dunes reminds us of the same charaeteristic features. The humming honey-bees (7) gathering little drops of honey for the bees in the honey-comb reminds us of the untiring study and meditation of the *Guru* for the benefit of the student. The bee does not feed on anything else but the honey; so does the Master on the loving Grace of the Lord and nothing else. The *koel* (9) (*kuyil*) famous for its song reminds us of the sweet speech of the Master. *Cakravāḷa* birds (4) forming a loving couple are complementary to each other, bearing no separation. This reminds us of the Master feeling the indispensability of the student unto the Lord and to himself. The clouds (7) are symbolic of the help showered without any thought of return and this reminds us of the munificence and Grace of the Master.

VIII

The poet describes the pang of separation in every verse as consisting of three stages of development. The first verse speaks of the drinking or enjoying the Lord as though he was a nectar. This experience of communion or embrace as beyond words comes in only to describe the experience after it is over, though it must continue as a sweet remembrance, misleading thus the enjoyer himself into thinking that the experience is still continued. This unique experience of the Lord is so other-worldly, so holy that even the lover falls at His feet and praises Him, as soon as she recovers from the ecstasy of the experience. In the third stage even the remembrance becomes a distant past. The pang of separation comes on with all its force and the lover thinks of the experience with its past and the desolation which is the present, holding out hope for the future. She becomes perturbed, agitated, losing her very form and beauty, very much like things which

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melt thus. The fire responsible for this kind of melting is the fire of love. The question arises whether this is all a reference to the present desolation of the past experience. The verbal form used '*parukum*' (1) has to be taken in the sense of a habitual happening thus referring to the Lord blessing therewith His love and then stepping out for a while, as it were playing a game of hide and seek. The love-sick damsel has reached this stage of complete extinguishment — that is her feeling and that is what she expresses. Here also the body, the mind and the speech experience both the communion and the desolation.

The second verse speaks of (1) her incapacity or absolute powerlessness to forget the Lord, (2) of her bangles refusing to stay where they are because — thanks to her burning passion for the Lord — her body has become completely emaciated with no flesh to keep the bangles tight in the position and (3) of her sleeplessness even during nights which bring no peace or rest making her babble and cry. Thus the three *karaṇas* come into play in this state of desolation.

The third verse speaks of the lady-love, in spite of all this desolation, making a last attempt to live for the sake of Him so that He may not be disappointed when He chooses to come back to her. This is such a strain on her slender frame that the emaciation reaches such a stage that the loosening bangles completely fall down. The third stage is reached when this suffering ripens into her bitterness and rancidity, gradually passing through all the stages of suffering to reach this limit of its perfection.

The fourth verse speaks of her as still continuing to be her good old self, without becoming hard on Him for his unkindness, without swerving even to a hair's breadth from her usual path of love. But this is a great strain on her physical frame and, therefore, the bangles in spite of all her efforts, refuse to stand where they are. After this happens, one would expect her to become angry to the extent of taking revenge on Him, but in this third stage of development even when the body refuses to co-operate with her, there is no bad thought engendered in her mind.

The fifth verse speaks of her girdle or clothes gradually getting loose and slipping down because of her body becoming emaciated. The next stage is when the golden bangles fall down. The third stage is when her heaving bosom loses its beauty and colour, becoming anaemic and presenting the colour of the flower

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of '*pīrkku*' creeper. (These three stages, instead of referring to her state of desolation are sometimes interpreted as referring to her first meeting with Him at that state of love at first sight on the basis of '*uṭai peyarttuṭuttal etc.*' mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam*, 1207, *etc.*).

In the sixth verse, she speaks of her seeing Him—that is the first stage. In the next stage the fire of love flares up in her mind. In the third stage this fire consumes her body.

In the seventh verse this reference to three stages is wanting and that was one reason why it may be looked upon as an interpolation. This verse simply refers to her bosom, because of her anaemia, taking the colour of the pale gold.

The eighth verse continues to speak of her sufferings in three different stages—she speaks of her being without any other desire or attachment (except that of the Lord), of her being without any other greatness or power (except that of the Lord) and of her being without any other relations (except that of the Lord). This verse can be better understood in the light of *Appar's* verse:

"*Kaṉiyi nuṅkaṭṭi paṭṭa karumpiṉum*
Paṉima larkkuḻar pāvainal lāriṉum
Taṉimu ṭikavit tāḷu maraciṉum
Iṉiyaṉ tāṉṉaṭain tārkkiṭai marutaṉē".[3]

"The fruit and the sugar candy are objects of ordinary desire; women represent the most intimate relationship of love; kingship refers to the greatness of Power — These are the three things which man ordinarily aspires for. The Lord is sweeter than they". *Nampi Ārūrar* introduces a slight variation in the enumeration of these three. *Appar* who had known the intoxication of power and whom passions could not perturb, placed power as the greatest of man's aspirations, but *Ārūrar* who had enjoyed power but who could speak of the embrace of his wife as the experience of divine Grace places human relationship as the highest aspiration. The material desires have vanished first for the love-sick maiden. The ambiton of power next disappears. In the third stage all human relationships vanish.

In the ninth verse the love-sick maiden, a poetess herself, speaks of the three stages of her hankering after the Lord who

3. 5: 128: 10.

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had left her in desolation and whom she goes in quest of. She praises Him and thus tries to find Him. Then she sings in that quest after Him. Third comes her heart melting, silently suffering. The quest of verbose prose, the quest of poetry or music and finally the quest of the silent loving heart form a spiritual development.

The tenth verse represents the hope of the future or rather her dream during this period of separation. She sings the joy of His presence; then she praises and worships Him because of His unique greatness. She embraces and becomes one with Him but only to be in a sulky mood because of His indifference—a feeling which is unconsciously working in the mind.

IX

The way in which the Lord is referred to in this *hymn* of love is important. He is the Lord of beautiful and cool *Ārūr*, full of fields wherein flow nearby the juice of rich sugarcane which had become pressed and crushed because of the water birds rushing at them. This is a good recommendation to the waterbirds which are sent as her messengers of love. This also suggests the feeling of surprise at this kind of order existing in nature which makes the city of the unjust hero to be so very fertile and sweet. Perhaps it also reveals the innermost thought of hers that the Lord is as sweet to her even as the city is. It may also suggest that the reason why He has not chosen to come is that His mind is captivated by this beauty of nature so good for the world (1).

In the second verse the God is addressed as Master, who is fit to be described as the eye of *Dharma* thus assuring the birds that their eyesight can never miss the *Dhārmic* eye of us all and that they can expect no unkind act from Him. It also suggests that the reason for His not coming is His preoccupation with this *Dharma* (2).

The third speaks of the Lord as the Master of the beautiful golden but victorious feet which rule us all. The ruler will always render justice and nobody need be afraid of going near Him, with any just complaint; for, His delay in coming back to the lovesick maiden is suggested as His preoccupation with His rulership and sovereignty (3).

The fourth verse speaks of Him as the master performing things not in any regular order. The Lord makes us fall in love

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with Him at first sight showering all His blessings on us all at once; for, He believes in no gradual development of love. This suggests that the Lord is sure to listen to their pleadings on her behalf and that the reason for not coming to her earlier is His preoccupation with such kinds of race for love. The *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators emphasize this aspect of the Lord — the Lord hastening to save us all without believing in blessing us in instalments which makes His lovers also impatient at the separation and incapable of any thought of reaching Him gradually and by stages. (It is possible to interpret the '*akramam*' as the cruelty of the Lord but such an interpretation may not be in consonance with the general trend of this *hymn*) (4).

The fifth verse speaks of Him as the Master holding the weapon of the teasing trident. This trident also ought not to be taken as the sign of His cruelty. This dynamic trident is a symbol and a promise of God's Grace overcoming all obstacles and enemies of His love. It is thus an assurance to these messengers of love that the Lord is there destroying all the obstacles in the way and that the delay in His coming to the love-sick maiden is His preoccupation with such removal (5).

The sixth verse speaks of the Lord as the Master worshipped by the residents of this universe. This encourages the birds that He is the beloved of all the beings of this universe and that the delay if any is due to His preoccupation with these very people of the universe falling at His feet with their prayers (6).

The seventh speaks of Him as our Lord enjoying the bliss of the cow probably referring to the '*Pañcagavya*'. One who is fond of the cow is not going to be hard with these birds or with the damsel; the delay is due to the worship by the followers bathing Him in the '*Pañcagavya*'. ('*Āṉ*' may be the bull with reference to the *Praṇava* or the *Dharma*) (7).

The eighth verse does not describe Him as anything more than the Master. It begs of the birds to tell Him for all that this is the proper juncture for saving the damsel. Nothing more is needed except informing Him thus and He is sure to rush back to save her (8) the Lord of cool and beautiful *Ārūr* surrounded by garments where the serpents dance whilst the *koel* and the bees begin to sing intoxicated with the sweet fragrance of the *kurava* flower (9). (This has to be interpreted in the same way in which the first verse has been interpreted).

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The tenth verse describes Him as the Master who is adorned with His gold and victorious anklet. That great Master of art and dance is not going to present a deaf ear to the she-swan, to the musicians of a *koel* and a humming bee — that is the suggested assurance for these messengers of love. The delay is due to His preoccupation with the dance to please His love (10).

X

In the last verse also the poet speaks of the Lord's gold anklet of the Master of *Ārūrar*. The poet calls himself the father of *Ciṅkaṭi*, the true *Bhakta* who has kept within His mind the Lord *Ārūrar*. He begs of these *Bhaktas* to sing these verses of love. What more is necessary than this experience of love expressed in this *hymn* to any God-intoxicated person? Therefore our poet does not offer any further assurance.

XI

The descriptions of the birds may be conveniently given here. The first verse is addressed to '*kuruku*'; the second to, 'my parrots' which fly and to 'my *pūvai*' which sings. Flight is important at this juncture for carrying her message and that is why that aspect has to be emphasized. The next aspect is that they should express her message and that is why the aspect of singing is referred to (2). The white cranes are said to run all round and labour hard roaming and whirling. This refers to the capacity for going in search of the Lord and enduring all the hardships involved therein (3). The fourth verse is addressed to the '*cakravāḷa*' birds first to the female birds and next only through them to the male birds. *Cakravāḷa* is probably a water bird. It is said that the male and the female will form a complete circle while resting in peace; they do not bear separation. The female birds are first addressed because of the lovesick maiden belonging to the female sex naturally appeals to her sex. It is also considered not proper for a female addressing the male direct without going through its wife. That is why also the appeal is made to the female swan lying in embrace with its male in the tenth verse. The fifth is addressed to the crane sitting on the top of the leafy grove. The sixth is addressed to the bees, to the clouds and to the water birds sitting on the sandy dunes or the long expanse of sand. The seventh is addressed to the honey bees and to the clouds. The eighth is addressed to the white cranes repeating the

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same idea of their whirling and roaming completely all round. The ninth is not specifically addressed to any bird even as the first was not. The *koel* and the bee are mentioned perhaps to suggest that this verse may be taken to have been addressed to the *koel* and the bee which may be tempted by this statement about their kith and kin in the land of the hero. The tenth is addressed to the female swan, the *koels* and the bees.

XII

In the white heat of love and passion especially in the feeling of desolation and despair there is no reference to *Purāṇic* descriptions except for the reference to the anklet and the dance (11). This love is according to the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators the mutual love of *Aintiṇai* but *Cēkkiḻār* as already pointed out calls this '*kaikkiḷai*' perhaps because he feels the soul is not the equal half of the Lord. Or, we must take it that the love-sick maiden who is none other than the poet has not embraced or has not the embrace of the Lord, but is only giving expression to one's unrequited love. It is very difficult to justify this interpretation on our reading of this *hymn*. This *hymn* is important and significant as giving clear expression to our poet's mysticism in its aspect of erotic mysticism which is symbolic of the divine experience and which cannot be expressed in any other way.

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CHAPTER LXXIX

TIRUVĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 95)

I

Because of the importance of the mystic *hymn* it has been discussed at some length, ourselves following in the footsteps of *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators who represent the best *bhakti* tradition. Therein, one found the complete self-surrender of the poet as the lover of the Lord and his complete confidence in the Lord's Grace. But the world, being what it is, disturbs for a while this great confidence. Our poet has come back to *Tiruvārūr* but unfortunately his eyesight has not yet been completely restored. This drives him into a sulky mood and he almost curses the Lord in the present *hymn* though at the same time he once again expresses his complete confidence and self-surrender. Every poem ends with the expression '*Vāḻntu pōtīrē*' — 'You go prosperous'! The subjective element predominates in this *hymn*. Sometimes the sufferings are expressed as the poet's own, sometimes he reaches the universal stage where he describes the suffering as that of the followers in general as often found in *Ārūrar's* poems. "They have become irredeemable slaves and servants unto you alone, without caring for others. Like the fire which does not easily flare up, inside their mind itself, their suffering was smouldering. Their faces droop and fade a great deal. When these followers of yours serving you, inform you of their sufferings, you keep quiet (without being moved or without any word of assurance). You, the Lord of *Tiruvārūr*, you had better prosper!" (1).

II

"You may sell away, but I am not a hypothec. I lovingly became your servant. I have not committed any mistake. You have made me blind.[1] Why did you take away my eye, my Mas-

1. This meaning of blindness occurs elsewhere in *Tēvāram*, "*Kottaikku mūṅkar vaḷi kāṭṭuvittu*" — 1040: 2 of Swaminatha Panditar edition.

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ter? The calumny is yours. If you are going to leave off without giving the other eyesight, you had better prosper!" (2).

"The calf hits against the udder of its mother for feeding itself but the cow becomes full with milk and secretes in abundance to be drunk by its calf. Like those cows the *bhaktas* without any break, ever go on singing of you inspired by your love. (They have no other thought except your glorification). If the eyes of these followers of yours cannot see and if they dash against a hillock and fall into the pit, well, you had better prosper!" (3).

"Your followers full of love for you, express their miseries to you but you keep them in that state of misery and suffering and order for them only blessings for the next birth. If this must be so, well, you had better prosper!" (4).

"Our Lord! Is this the end to which they come, they who come to serve? These *Bhaktas* who sing in varied rhythms, have not eyes to see; if these, in their blindness come to you and cry, 'O, Our Lord! Is this just?' (You keep mum). Well! You had better prosper !" (5).

"It is not because of want of wealth that they grow emaciated. Their eyes become blind and could not see. Their minds suffer. If that is how your followers (have to) sit brooding, well, You had better prosper!" (6).

"O, Our Lord! Is this what becomes of those who come to serve? You display the delusions. You bring us our births. You bring about our mind which does not forget you. You bring about this body and the *Bhaktas* stand full of tears in their eyes. If this is what happens to them, well, You had better prosper!" (7).

"We were born in no bemeaning clan (elsewhere we have interpreted this as referring to the poet's superior birth of a Brahmin, but we had occasion to refer to our poet's conception of a community of *Bhaktas* and it is to this he must be referring here; for, the next sentence following this about birth speaks only about the characteristics of the *Bhaktas*). We praise you without any derision. Our Lord! You do not know that this is calumny or sin, if we, the *Bhaktas* who sing of you, sit with coanfused whirling mind without seeing the way out; well, You had better prosper; You that have become the lagoon and the sea near the lagoon the ship on the sea, the land as the shore to be reached by the

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ship and also the words connected with the experience of all these!" (8).

"All others say that it is cruel to separate even for once though it be from the devil. If your mind is intent on that and if you attain and accept it, even the unripe fruit, if it is loved, is it not as good as the sweet ripe fruit? Those who had come to serve, roam about in the centre, like a dutiful and grateful dog. If you do not open your mouth (in reply) to these servants, well, You had better prosper!" (9).

"We sit, we stand, we lay ourselves down; in whatever position we may be, we praise you without slighting you. We come all the way suffering and if we express to you our sufferings — well, You had better prosper (if you care not to listen to us and to shower your blessings on us)!" (10).

III

That this *hymn* is sung in a sulky mood is made clear by the last verse where the poet calling himself "*Ārūr-t tirumūlaṭṭānattē aṭippēr Ārūraṉ*" — "*Ārūraṉ*, who bears the name of the Lord in the *garbhagṛha* of *Ārūr*,' complains, 'You have taken away my eyesight. The cities of the whole world know this. You alone have become calumniated. You have appropriated Yourself half the body of the damsel of ribbon tucked up bosom, well, You had better prosper!" (11).

IV

The poet describes the holy place of *Ārūr* and the descriptions become one with the context. The Lord is inside *Ārūr* of the groves where come to rest without fail the '*aṉril*' couple (3). The erotic symbolism of the previous *hymn* is still working in the mind of the poet and this description suggests that the Lord of the place where even the loving couple of birds are never disappointed, should not disappoint His lovers, *viz.*, His followers. The tradition has suggested that our poet has been hankering after *Tiruvārūr* and at the sight or rather on reaching *Tiruvārūr*, which he could not clearly see because he did not completely recover from his blindness, he exclaims, "Is this *Tiruvārūr*, of the groves where '*cerunti*' puts forth its golden flowers and where shine the red and cool corals?" (10). And again the poet who had addressed the white crane in the previous *hymn* as the messenger of love laid the

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emphasis there on the whiteness of the wings which must carry the bird to the Lord for carrying the message of love. The erotic imagery continues here, and the poet speaks of the crane reaching *Tiruvārūr*, but here the crane has to sit or stand comfortably for delivering the message and the emphasis, therefore, is on the beautiful red leg appearing like the stem of the millet plant (6). The groves of *Ārūr* comes to his mind as the place where the swarm of birds, those messengers of love of the previous *hymn*, reach for rest, along with these loving couples. (7).

V

God is addressed as the Lord (*Aṭikaḷ*-5); as the Great Man (*Perumāṉ*-5); as One who is responsible for the illusion of the world, for births, and ultimately also for our mind which in the end never forgets the Lord (7) and as One who is the back water, the sea, the ship and the shore and the word describing these (8). (These seem to suggest the narrower experience of the world leading us on to the sea of births and deaths where one, if fortunate enough to get hold of the ship of confidence or reliance on God's feet, reaches the other shore of divine bliss. He is also the words — the '*sabdha prapañca*' expressing this experience).

VI

Our poet as usual in his *hymn* of subjective experience has not room enough for describing the *Purāṇic* stories. Here in this *hymn*, he refers to the Lord of the mat-lock, the twisted and dull mat-lock adorned with the gold-like garland of *koṉṟai* (6) and to His black throat (11), High eight arms (11), His three eyes (11), and His innumerable arts or knowledge (11) which are all but the forms of the Lord. The Lord, it is, who resides in the temples. The temple cult is thus emphasized especially in the fourth verse where the poet says, "You reside in *Turutti*; *Pāḻaṉam* is your city; You rule over *Cōṟṟuṟṟuṟai*; You have *Tiruvārūr* for your rendezvous; it is not necessary to speak of your residence of our mind (for you are not taking care of us much less the temple of our mind)".

VII

This *hymn* shows how pure and faultless is our poet. This is important also as singing the glories of the *Bhaktas* for whom

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the poet is making a special pleading, for, after all, he is one of them. The *Bhaktas* are like him lovers of the Lord, songsters and poets, always praising Him, representing the worship through poetry, music and love.

VIII

This *hymn* is peculiar in that it does not assure us of any good effect flowing from the recitation or mastery of this *hymn* probably because besides being purely a personal appeal the recitation is itself an inexpressible bliss.

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CHAPTER LXXX

TIRUPPUṈKŪR

(*Hymn* 55)

I

In this *hymn* as in his previous *hymn* on *Tiruvāvaṭutuṟai* (66), our poet refers to certain *Purāṇic* stories which have inspired him to take refuge in the feet of the Lord. This similarity or identity of thought strengthens the suggestions that these *hymns* should belong to one single period. The first verse refers to the story of the Lord saving *Mārkkaṇḍēya*, the Brahmin lad from the Lord of Death and going to the extent of doing away with the life of that *Kāla*, who was after all, following the regular law of nature. "I have seen or realized your munificence", exclaims the poet and continues, "O, my Father! Thinking that if the followers of Death attack me, you will prevent them from taking away my life by pointing out them that I am your slave and servant, I have come and taken refuge in your feet" (1).

II

The same idea, but with other *purāṇic* stories is repeated in every verse. Every verse ends with the words, "*Ceḻumpoḻil Tiruppuṉkūruḷāṉē*". In v. 3, it is *Pūmpoḻil* instead of *Ceḻumpoḻil* and in 4, '*Poykaicūḻ*'. "*Aṭiyaṭaintēṉ*" immediately precedes this (1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9). '*Aṭi*' is preceded by either, '*Uṉ Tiru*' or '*Niṉ Tiru*'. In verse 3, it is '*Niṉ poṉṉaṭi*' instead of '*Niṉ Tiruvaṭi*'. In verse 4, '*Niṉ kuraikaḻal*' occurs at the end of the third line.

In the second verse, the poet refers to the story of a famine when there was not a drop of water in the fields because the clouds came to be even forgotten. The people prayed to the Lord for saving them and offered to Him twelve '*vēlis*' of land. At once coming as the white cloud it rained. There was a dangerous flood and again the people prayed to the Lord. Once more the Lord saved them and received another twelve '*vēlis*' of land. Having seen this act of yours, I have taken refuge in you. (This word 'seeing the act' is repeated almost in every verse; since all these acts belong to the ancient past, the poet could not refer to his

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being a contemporary spectator. It is, therefore, necessary to interpret it as meaning realizing the truth of the acts of God).

The third verse refers to *Ēyarkōṉ* and to God relieving of his disease or fetters. As this is mentioned with reference to the twelve '*vēlis*' of land we had already suggested that it was "*Ēyarkōṉ*" who prayed for and offered this land. The disease must be the mental anguish which *Ēyarkōṉ* felt when the land was suffering from famine. If *Ēyarkōṉ* were to be a contemporary of *Nampi Ārūrar* and according to us of *Rajāshiṁha*, inscriptions and contemporary writings bear witness to the severe famine which afflicted the *Tamiḻ* country during that period. [(1) '*Dandin's Rājasundhara Kathā* ; (2) *Vajrabōdhi's* life from Chinese sources: See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1900, p. 418—article by Sylvain Levi; (3) Administration and Social Life under the *Pallavas* by Dr. *Mīnākshi*, p. 112].

In this verse our poet refers to *Caṇḍēśvara* who cut away the feet of his father, who kicked the white sand of *Śiva* (the story already given: See *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* Saints) and whom the Lord blessed with His own garlands. Our poet exclaims, "Seeing this extraordinary blessing of yours, O, Lord of *Bhūtas* or souls! I have taken refuge in your feet".

The fourth verse is very significant as giving us *Nampi Ārūrar's* gospel of Grace, a gospel which brings out the truth of the parable of the prodigal son. Our poet has referred to the loving behaviour of the Lord which considers even the faults as our good qualities : "*Kuṟṟañceyyiṉum kuṇameṉak koḷḷum koḷkai*" reminds us of *hymn* No. 69, where also it is stated, "*Kuṟṟamē ceyyiṉum kuṇameṉak koḷḷum koḷkaiyāl*". What is much more significant is that he enumerates a number of saints whose faults our God has accepted as their greatness, *viz.*, *Ñāna Campantaṉ*, that great master of good laurel, *Nāviṉukkaraiyaṉ*, *Nāḷaippōvāṉ*, the learned *Cūtaṉ*, the good *Cākkiyaṉ*, the spider, *Kaṇṇappaṉ*, and *Kaṇampullaṉ*. These we have discussed in our chapter on *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. Realizing this conviction of yours, I have taken refuge in your feet of jingling victorious anklets.

The fifth verse refers to the churning of the ocean and the swallowing of the poison coming out of it. "O, Madman! Seeing this characteristic behaviour of yours, I have taken refuge in your feet".

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The sixth verse refers to all sorts of people good and bad, worshipping the Lord and receiving His blessings, worshipping without fatigue or forgetfulness. It looks as though all their lives form one continuous rite of worship. "*Yakṣas*, *Kiṉṉaras*, *Yama*, *Varuṇa*, the Fire, the wind, the Sun and the Moon, the clean-hearted tiger, the monkey, the serpent, the *Vasus*, the *Dēvas* and the *Tānavas* — all have worshipped and received your blessings. Seeing this all, my confusions and doubts have ceased and I have taken refuge in your feet".

The seventh refers to the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* form expounding *Dharma* to the Brahmin Saints. It refers to the story of *Arjuna* receiving the *pāśupata* weapon and to *Bhagīratha* begging the Lord to receive the *Ganges* on His mat-lock. The Lord is, therefore, the Lord of purity and, therefore, the poet says he has taken refuge in Him.

The eighth verse refers to the three aerial cities. This has been referred to in almost all the *hymns* but it is only in *hymn* 70: 3 sung almost in this period that our poet emphasizes the fact that this destruction itself is a great blessing to the Lord of the three cities. That idea is made clearer in this *hymn* in verse No. 8. Their cities were destroyed but the rulers were saved by the Saviour, the Lord; two of them became the gatekeepers of the Lord and the third became important as the person playing on the drum or '*maṇimuḻā*' whilst the Lord dances to please his consort. "This act of unique love, O, *Dēva* of *Dēvas*", our poet exclaims, "has inspired me to take refuge in your feet".

The ninth verse is significant as giving our poet's philosophy of harmony. He says the Lord has showered His rare Grace on all those great men, following the six great philosophies, great for that wisdom and knowledge. He showered the blessings on all these whilst they were following their respective paths. In verse 6, our poet brought out that every living being in this universe has received the blessings of the Lord and in this verse he emphasizes that the very path leads to His Grace.

He next refers to the story of *Rāvaṇa* first getting himself crushed and then receiving the divine sword and the long life when he became repentant and began to sing verses of sweet music. This embracing love of the Lord has inspired our poet to take refuge in His feet.

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In the last verse the poet refers to the Lord as one who had flayed the skin of the elephant and who had destroyed the Lord of passion with His eye in the forehead, as one who has the beautiful form resembling pure gold, the ruler of the Heavens, the Lord of *Umā*, who resides in the city of *Tiruppuṉkūr*. Our poet *Ūraṉ*, *Vaṉroṇṭaṉ*, has with an elated mind given expression to his love in these rare *Tamiḻ* verses. Our poet has experienced whilst singing this *hymn* of taking refuge in the Lord, a feeling of complete freedom from those *karmas* so very difficult other wise to escape from. He assures that those who master this *hymn* will undergo the same experience of becoming devoid of all *karmas*. This *hymn* is a *hymn* of *purāṇic* stories. It is not necessary to enumerate the stories once again.

III

The holy place is described in every verse as being characterized by rich or fertile groves. The fourth verse adds that it is characterized by a tank where abound lotuses, gems and heaps of gold, even as our poet conceives our Lord as abounding in this kind of wealth and beauty.

IV

This doctrine of Grace expounded in this *hymn* is something different from what is usually represented as the Christian doctrine. For one thing no Hindu believes that the soul is in essence a slave of *Satan*. Hindu thought holds every soul as potentially divine — a limb of divinity or its reflection, though it may be enshrouded in the *māyā* or ignorance. What is aimed at is the perfection, the full blossoming of this divinity. It is not a self negation, unless one were to speak of the seed becoming a tree as self-negation. Everything is divine in the universal vision and what appears as defect and evil are due to the defect in the vision. The most valuable and useful thing becomes dirt and rubbish when misplaced and seen out of joint. When put in the proper place or utilizad in the right manner it becomes a source of power, happiness and beauty. Is not the modern age speaking of wealth from waste? As in the material sphere, so in the spiritual sphere. The prodigal son has a valuable place in the scheme of things ennobling and deifying the love of the father. So does every thing of this universe. That is the message of the story of all cruel beings listening to the teachings of the Lord. Every activity is

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a worship and that is how it appears to our saint who sees this universal vision of worship by all the beings including the serpents and lions. The natural law and moral law are not displaced by the law of Lord's Grace even as there is no displacement of the natural law when wealth is created out of waste.

The *karma* is not only individual but also social as the *Gīta* insists. Does not the Psycho-analyst speak of race memory? Is not our body itself experiencing in its development from the embryo the various stages of evolution the living beings of the world underwent. Salvation, therefore, should also be social and that is why it is spoken of as the spiritual sphere of the eternals forming into a whole of the Divine Being. There is here no hankering after physical pleasure. Pleasure is not always the consummation of a virtuous life. Mental equanimity is different from wealth: "*Tiru vēṟu teḷḷiyar ātalum vēṟu*" (*Kuṟaḷ*)—'Life of true wisdom and clear vision is different from life of material wealth.' Material or political success and failure are not spiritual success and failure. Our poet might have proved a political failure but that does not affect his spiritual eminence. That is the message of *Periapurāṇam*. Our poet may cry and suffer; but we do not see him losing his mental balance and moral grandeur. He is not, however, refusing the richness of even the material life. He is an expert in the art of life. Everything is God's gift in that universal vision and, therefore, our poet begs for all the means of livelihood which thus ceases to be material and become symbols of divine Grace. Therefore, there is no negation of life nor is there a glorification of the Bohemian life. There is no inducement to do evil. The doctrine of Grace does not cancel the doctrine of moral greatness. If harmony is restored, if the mind is changed, the evil is wiped out and divinity till now seemingly enshrouded in darkness begins to shine and encompass everything within itself. Divine Grace helps here. This revelation of the mind is spoken of as taking refuge in the Lord when there is no selfishness or self-conceit but only the dawn of the universal consciousness serving the whole and the Absolute to attain its perfection.

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CHAPTER LXXXI

TIRUNĀKAIKKĀRŌṆAM

(*Hymn* 46)

I

In this *hymn*, the poet is in a humorous mood, though not relieved of his wants. He addresses the Lord, as he would, an intimate friend of his. It is probably on the basis of this *hymn* that our poet is considered to have followed the path of friendship and *yōga*. The *Bhikṣāṭana* form is occupying the central place in his mind He speaks of *Bhikṣāṭana* in a jocular vein even as the damsels of *Dārukavaṇa* would have. Verses Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5 and 6 refer directly to this *Bhikṣāṭana* form. Our poet refers to the Lord going a-begging, wearing bones (1), riding on the bull (1, 4), with His serpents on the mat-lock (3), His ornament of a young tortoise shell (3), His begging bowl of a *kapāla* (3), His crescent moon (3), His damsel of a mountain (3, 6), His *vīṇā*, (4), His *pēy* (4), His deer (10), His *bhūta* (6) and His vanquishing *Rāvaṇa* though in the end showering blessings on him, when he began singing divine *hymns* (7).

Our poet demands of the Lord to provide for him the livelihood (9, 10) and to provide him with all the necessaries and luxuries of life (1, 8, 10, 11). He refers to the *purāṇic* stories also in a humorous vein in this context. "This world of earth and the world of heavens are under your sovereignty. I do not know much about *Subrahmaṇya*, the young son of the golden doll-like daughter of the mountain king. As for *Gaṇapathy*, the other son, he is with the big belly and eats away innumerable things; he knows nothing. My Lord! Is this fair? Pray tell me" (9). "Will the doll-like daughter of the mountain king put up with your escapades of love?" (3). "Is it real *tapas* or an act of beauty that inspires the damsels with confounding love?" (4). "If you do not provide me with the livelihood for my body on a firm basis, I shall besiege you (sit *Dhāraṇa*) making your form suffer. Don't accuse me tomorrow that I am hard-hearted and cruel in my acts" (9).

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II

This is the general trend of this *hymn* describing in the first few lines, the Lord according to the *purāṇas* and then beginning to refer to His special relationship with the poet making a request for many things of life and closing with the words "*Kaṭal Nākaikkārōṇam mēviyiruntīrē*". "You have fed me with a mixture of margosa and sweet sugar-cane (possible referring to the Lord providing with happy and unhappy experience). I begged of you for my livelihood. You entered *Turutti* and sat there. If you begin to frighten or charm me with your mat-locks and serpents, I cannot (be coerced to) agree to all these. I have suffered and laboured many a time. You entered and sat there at *Tiruvārūr* shining with '*ceṅkaḻunīr*' and '*cēmpu*' in its cool moat. You must order for me '*kāmpu* and *nēttiram*' (These are according to the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators two kinds of silk but some people take these as meaning walking stick and spectacles probably thinking that the poet was suffering still from defect of eyesight)" (2). "To remove all my sufferings, pray tell me when you are going to give me the golden bullion?" (4). "O, beautiful One! Placing on my head the duty of service, on me who had been roaming about as your '*toṇṭaṉ*' or servant, you must order for me from the treasury, clothes and ornaments, starting with good fragrant things. There is a *pramāṇa*, or a precedence for it" (5). What this precedence is, is referred to in verse 7. "In the city of *Viḻimiḻalai*, you daily offered gold coins, so that your followers of love might eat without suffering (Reference is to the gift of coins to *Campantar* and *Appar*). "Today you must give me" (7). It is on the basis of this precedence the poet is claiming all these luxuries from the treasury. "What is this pretension or cheating that you do not order silk or sandal paste?" (1). "You do not say anything in reply. You sit quiet. You accepted me as your slave promising me to make me live usefully or gloriously. I am your slave, generation after generation. You have enough of money. You have not become poor. Of that rare treasure poured into beautiful *Ārūr*, I want one third. If you do not give me, I shall not allow you take even one foot-step. I want for riding, a fast running horse moving like the wind. Stating that you will give me a big treasury, you accepted me as though you were one capable person (of fulfilling the promise" (8). "Speaking false things you entered into *Kiḻvēḷūr* and stayed there. Will I be duped by you? If your sovereignty is

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current here, I want a golden armour or scimitar full of shining brightness with dots interspersed. On the top of it, I want golden flowers and a sash. I want thrice a day, ghee-rice with side dishes, O, Lord!" (10). "O, Lord who was the prop for *Paravai* of musical words, of *Caṅkili* and myself, whom else have I? I am true to you. You must fulfil my prayer. I want shining pearls, garlands for wearing, shining silk, flower, musk, so beautiful for the eye and also fragrant sandal" (11). *Turutti*, *Ārūr* and *Kīḻveḷūr* are mentioned where something must have happened.

III

In singing this *hymn* the poet must have experienced as if enjoying the luxuries of heaven. Therefore, the poet assures those who master this *hymn* that they will be rulers of heaven even as he must have felt himself to be whilst singing this *hymn*.

IV

Nakai, the present Negapatam or *Nākappaṭṭiṇam*, is on the seashore. Hence our poet calls it a '*Kaṭal Nākai*'. It was one of the important sea-ports of the *Pallava* period, where the foreigners had built a temple for the *Buddha*. *Karōṇam* is *Kayārōhaṇam*, the temple of the *Lākulīśa* sect.

Our poet describes this Negapatam as being full of Royal roads where abound palaces of precious stones so sweet to look at (3). It is so full of wealth where dance the peacock-like damsels (6)

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PART VII

UNTO THE LAST

Introduction

I

The *hymns* included in this part belong to the last period of our Poet's life.

The *Nākaikkārōṇam hymn* suggests that the poet has come back to play an important part in the political life of the country. It is significant that in this part of his life, he does not go north of *Vēdāraṇyam* and *Tiruvaiyāṟu*. It is the first time that our poet enters the *Pāṇḍya* country and his *hymns* give expression to this new experience. He also goes through the *Koṅku* country, to the country of the *Cēras*. We know the *Tamiḻ* kings were opposed to *Nandivaram*, the *Pallavamalla*, who came to the throne after *Rājasiṁha's* successor, and they were supporting a prince of the direct line of *Rājasiṁha*. In the end *Nandivarma* was successful. Probably it is this kind of political trouble which cast its shadow in the last part of our poet's life. Perhaps he was the supporter of *Nandivarma's* rival which will explain why he is found during the period only in the *Pāṇḍya* and *Cēra* countries and also singing his *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam hymn* in the presenee of the three *Tamiḻ* kings.

The *hymns* of our third part, it was suggested by us, should belong to this period. *Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi hymn* which occurs in the third part is on the temple which *Rājasiṁha Pāṇḍya* is said to have specifically worshipped according to the epigraphical reports (*Tērmāṟaṉ* son of *Kōccaṭaiyaṉ* who according to Dubreuil married the daughter of *Rājasiṁha*, the *Pallava* ruler, after whom his grandson, the *Pāṇḍya* king was named). There is a spirit of renunciation running through this *hymn* rather a natural loosening of attachment to this world, a readiness and fitness to renounce this world if God decides so. The last *hymn* on Mount *Kailās* expresses the inexpressible final salvation.

It is true that there are *hymns* on *Ārūr* but they may be taken to have been sung when the poet was far from that favourite place of expressing his love and anxiety to go back to that city. We have

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noticed our poet's great attachment to *Tiruvārūr* and his singing about *Tiruvārūr* from *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr*. In this part in *Tiruvaiyāṟu hymn*, he asserts that he is thinking of *Tiruvārūr* (*Tiruvārūrē cintippaṉ* — 77: 11). The 59th *hymn* on *Triruvārūr* cries, "Is it possible to forget the Lord of *Tiruvārūr*?" Therefore, our poet need not have gone back to *Tiruvārūr* to sing these *hymns*. The *hymns* of this part are very important as showing the highest spiritual state attained by our poet.

II

Our poet's heart expresses itself as follows in these *hymns*: "The place, the Lord likes most is *Maṟaikkāṭu*" (*H.* 71); "Why are You, O, Lord, all alone in this place?" (*H.* 32); "Is this *Pūvaṇam*, where resides the Lord?" (*H.* 11); "We are afraid of serving you, O, Lord!" (*H.* 2); "The Lord who resides at *Tirukkētīccaram* removes the *karmas* and miseries of His followers" (*H.* 80); "Those who worship the Lord of *Tirucculiyal* will be happy devoid of their miseries" (*H.* 82); "When am I, the servant, to see and worship this Youth residing at *Kāṉappēr*)" (*H.* 84). "O, my mind! Instead of cursing me, think of *Puṉavāyil*, the ancient city of the Lord" (*H.* 50); "O, Father of *Ārūr*! I am afraid of this illusory body" (*H.* 8); "Is this the Lord of *Tiruvaiyāru*?" (*H.* 77); "Is there nothing else for the Lord except these serpents, etc.? Please, do not speak of deserting Him, O, *Bhaktas*!" (*H.* 44). "Is it possible to forget the Lord of *Ārūr*, who is all for me" (*H.* 52); "O' our Patron! Why are you here in this cruel and desolate place of *Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi*?" (*H.* 49); "How can I forget you, my Lord of *Avināci*?" (*H.* 92). "Why have you done this and that, O, my father of *Añcaikkaḷam*?" (*H.* 4); "The best One of *Noṭittāṉmalai* has blessed me thus to reach *Kailās*" (*H.* 100).

III

Our poet who had lost all confidence with the king of this world addresses the Lord now as the king: '*Uttamaṉ*' or the Best (100: 1). As usual he calls the Lord, *Śivaṉ*, *Paramāṉ*, *Pacupati*, *Paramēṭṭi*, *Śaṅkaraṉ*, *Puṇṇiyaṉ*, *Maṇavāḷaṉ*. The *aṣṭamūrtas* are also mentioned. The conception of the Lord as *Amudu* is repeated. Here occurs the beautiful phrase "*Cuntaraccōti*", the Flame of Beauty'. He is the Lord of the beautiful form who has however conquered the five senses, the latter description reminding us of '*Poṟivāyil aintavittāṉ*' of *Tirukkuraḷ* (*Tiruk.* : 5). He is the ruler of *Dharma*. He removes our *karmas*; the formless Lord

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becomes the Lord of forms. He is everything and He is the very organs of our senses as well as things enjoyed and the enjoyer. This universal form is really frightening even unto the followers. He resides in our heart. He is the Before and the After. Doubts are no good. We must wait, consider and worship Him alone in this ephemeral world, where everything is nauseating and revolting. He is the great sound evolving out of *Ñāda*. He offers the final release and salvation.

IV

The good results attained by the reciters of the *hymns* are given as usual in the last verses. Eternal fame, residence in *Amarulakam*, or *Śivalōka* of great fame, becoming the chief of the eternals ruling the whole Heavens, becoming the citizens of God when words yield their fruit, conquest of Death and Birth, freedom from miseries, obstacles and mental agitations, attachment to truth, sacrifice, achievement of goodness of a blotless heart, becoming *Bhaktas* and singing the *hymns* are as usual described as the great ideal of *Śaivites*.

V

Nature occupies a much more important place in these *hymns*. Perhaps the political failures have not affected his spiritual equanimity in enjoying Nature as the very form of the Lord. The desolation of the places visited does not fail to suggest an atmosphere of worship. Even the ships seem to bend low and worship the Lord. The sea-ports come in these *hymns*. The *Kāviri* is also described.

VI

Worship with flowers and water, with *Pañcagavya*, offerings of gold and gems, playing by *Bhaktas* on *Kallavaṭam* drum, learning the holy name of the Lord, uttering his 1000 names, contemplation on the Lord, melting in love, becoming almost one with the Lord, self-surrender and service, worship by the learned, worship of the feet of the *Bhaktas* are all mentioned. All kinds of worship are valid but self-surrender and service unto the Lord are considered very important.

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CHAPTER LXXXII

TIRUMARAIKKĀṬU

(*Hymn* 71)

I

After all these upheavals, the poet's mind begins now to flow like a calm stream in an even ground. The metrical pattern of the stanzas remind us of *hymns* No. 19 and 94, but the trend of this common majestic flow is different from the trotting and galloping march of the other *hymns*. "The place of the Lord (whose descriptions are given) is *Maṟaikkāṭu* of the natural beauties (described)" — This is the pattern of the stanza. Every verse ends with the phrase '*Maraikkaṭē*'. '*Iṭam*' or place coming after the genitive case thus making a genitive compound occurs usually in the second line (1, 4, 5, 6, 7) or in the first line (2, 3, 8) or in the 3rd line also (*V.* 8). The ninth verse is of a different pattern: "You worship this holy place of *Maṟaikkāṭu*". The word *Maṟaikkāṭu* occurs as usual at the end of the fourth line and the words 'you worship' occur at the end of the second line (9).

II

As usual when our poet is calm he loves describing the *purāṇic* stories. The Lord's company of the Mother, who is here described as '*yāḻaip paḻittaṉṉa moḻi maṅkai*' (1) a phrase which has become the name of the Goddess of this place, His mat-lock (1, 5, 6, 8), His crescent moon (1, 2, 7), His exposition of the four *Vēdas* and the *aṅgas* (3), *His, pañcavaṭi* (4), His *Ganges* (5, 8), His bull (6), His battle-axe (6), His garland of *koṉṟai* (6), His dark throat (7), His eight shoulders (9), His three eyes (9) are all referred to. (The significance of the *Pañcavaṭi* had already been explained by us).

III

Our poet brings in his own personal relationship with the Lord. He calls Him, 'Our king' (8) and describes the Lord of Grace symbolized by the blue throat as He who 'removing all the

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weeds of powerful *karmas* performed in the previous birth or before, saves me or accepts me as His servant' (7). He also refers to Him as the *Uttaman* (4), 'as the best man' of words of fame, "*Urai viraviya Uttaman*" (4). He addresses the mind, "O, mind, that had started knowing or experiencing the Lord; O, mind, start at once for worshipping and praising without thinking of getting into doubts" (5). In two verses, he states, "We have known the place of the Lord" (3, 8).

IV

The natural description of this holy place seems to occupy a much important place in this *hymn* than anything else. Our poet describes, so to say, certain visions of natural beauty. In the first vision, he sees a dwarfish young monkey passing through a cocoanut garden or a grove of sword flowers. It enters through a small opening and eats the fruits of the plaintain (1). "The tidal flow of the sea reaches the garden on the sea-board; the fragrant '*takara*' tree stands in these tidal waters. In between these trees come in the '*makara*' and the shark perhaps to enjoy the shade of the group of '*tāḻai*' and '*ñāḻal*' " (2). (The *makara* originally a name of the shark, has developed to signify a fabulous sea animal, springing and developing thus from the imagination of sculptors whose work even in the *Pallava* age has given a wonderful conception of their *makara* especially in the arches like '*makara tōraṇas*' on the top of niches). "The tides bring with them from the deep sea, the lustre of the pearl inside the conch and the coral reef. It looks as though they are throwing out on to the share" (5) (perhaps in return for the enjoyment of the shade offered). "There are cocoanut trees and the tall *palmyra* trees on the beach. Their fruits fall down in that expanse of sand" (3) (with their peculiar sound, an experience which none can forget). This upsets the calm equanimity of the sea-life. "The frightened conches, shining oysters and the '*valampuri*' (right twisting conch) become stumbling blocks to the ships after this fright. Stumbling on them the boats or ships get their equilibrium disturbed and they bend too much towards this holy place of *Maṟaikkāṭu* on the shore of the sea, suggesting the idea that the ship with the high mast worships the place as though folding up the hands right up above the crown" (3).

The description of the fourth verse is not clear especially the phrase '*kulai cēkarak koṇṭal*'. There is the noise of the sea proba-

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bly because of the eastern wind, the '*koṇṭal*'. "The big breakers of the sea rise up so high that their crown splits. The eastern wind struggles against these waves. It goes again and dashes against the shore" (4). "The great expanse of the sea which is beautiful, pushes the rare and valuable gems towards the shore so as to enable them to get on to the beach and brings the ship and the shark to be thrown on to the shore" (5). "There is the wide expanse of the sea. In between the sea and the sandy beach flow the back waters in channels, in canals. Near them stand the sword flower plant (*kaitai*) cool, bright and fragrant. In its blades rests the white water bird and this bird wakes up disturbed by the blue waters of the sea, dashing against the place where it rests" (6). "There is the paddy field where the paddies are grown and their ripe sheafs bend down. There rush in, the carps in that eastern sea near the extensive sand. The sea brings the conch with the bent nose and the '*calañcalam*', the emperor of the conches and throws them out on to the shore" (7). "It is a great beauty. It is full of honey bees" (8) "where the sea brings the '*valampuri* and *calañcalam*' conches to be thrown on to the shore" (8). "The blue waters of the sea surrounds the cool groves of the place where play the six legged bees" (9).

V

In this *hymn*, the poet refers to the *Buddhists* and the Jains and speaks of their stoutness and nakedness. He also refers to the short garment or dress. One wonders whether this reference is to the *Ājīvakas*. These had their visions wherein stood revealed to them the cause of misery of the world. Our poet begs of the followers not to think of these but to worship the Lord (9).

VI

As against these philosophies, our poet refers to his message of poetry and music by describing God as the Lord of seven musical notes (9). Our poet describes himself as the king of the people of *Nāvalūr* of fertile fields surrounded by many a city of this world. He also gives his name as *Ārūraṉ*. He assures those servants of the Lord who would sing these garlands of *Tamiḻ* that they will become full of fame growing with the earth surrounded by the water, *i.e.*, their fame will last as long as this world. This is one of the places (See 73: 11) where our poet speaks of fame as the great ideal to be aimed by the followers of

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the Lord. The word "*vēntaṉ*' as describing the Lord is significant suggesting that this *hymn* belongs to the period of his political pre-occupation. Fame according to *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* is the eternal mark left by our ephemeral life if usefully spent, thus conquering in its own way death and oblivion ever trying to smother us down. The poets live for ever through their poems which thus become embodiments of their fame. Our poet also, therefore, looks upon this fame as ideal, especially when his poetry consists of divine praises.

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CHAPTER LXXXIII

TIRUKKŌṬIKKUḶAKAR

(*Hymn* 32)

I

The poet's mind is now fully immersed in the temple cult and he speaks to the God there, in an intimate way. This temple—one cannot be sure whether there was a temple there—is at the place which is now known as Pt. Calimere, a kind of small cape and, therefore, it is called '*Kōṭi*'. The God of the temple is known as '*Kuḷakar*' or the youth. Without using the epicene plural, our poet endearingly addresses the Lord '*Kuḷakā*' (2, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8) but the first verse addresses Him as '*Kuḷakīr*'; the ninth verse addresses Him as '*Aṭikēḷ*' while the 5th verse contains no address whatever; the last verse mentions the Lord merely as '*Kuḷaku*'. He is surrounded by *Bhaktas* who sing about Him (3). Our poet describes the Lord as '*Paramā*' (3), the Supreme; and '*Empirāṉ*' (3, 6, 7 and 8) 'Our Patron'. He is also addressed as '*Iṟaivā*' (7) 'the King or the All Pervasive', and '*Amutē*' (7) 'the nectar'.

II

Our poet refers to the *Purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord referring to His feast of poison (2), His rendezvous of a graveyard (4), His company of the Mother (4, 5, 6), of the *Ganges* (5) and the Lady of the Forest (5), His dance (7), His crescent moon (8), His begging (9) and His being beyond the reach of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (9). Our poet refers to '*Orriyūr*' and '*Ārūr*' punning on these names as usual (8).

III

This *Kōṭi* is also described. The *Kōṭi* is surrounded by gardens which never lose their greatness (2), which never get reduced in beauty which are full of bunches of flowers (3), of '*kurava*' (6) and full of beauty. This place is to the south of *Maṟaikkāṭu* (3, 6, 10) which is surrounded by very many cities of this world (10). This *Maṟaikkāṭu* is surrounded by '*Ūmattam*' flowers (3) and full

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of the fragrance of '*marava*' flowers. (6). Our poet brings about the desolation of the place. The sea wind comes and dashes on the shore with cruel force (1). Many cruel hunters live on that shore (9). The slaves, these hunters, are great sinners and wicked people (4) and there is not a good citizen nearby (1, 2, 3, 7, 8). Compared to this place, the graveyard is pure, holy and great (4). The owls, the big owls, creep inside the holes of trees (4).

IV

The temple and the idol appear to him the very incarnation of God and this is made clear by the pang of exclamation proceeding from his heart at the sight of the Lord being in a desolate place (1, 2, 3, 7, 8) of hunters (4, 9). "Ah! I a cruel person! Alas! My eyes have seen this, Your residence in this desolate place where the sea-wind plays havoc. Will that be a great fault, if there were to be citizens residing nearby. O, Lord! With whom as help do you stay here?" (1). "Why are you, our patron, all alone! Is it because you once feasted on the poison yielded by '*paravai*' — the sea, that later you helped its namesake '*Paravai*' (my consort)?" (2). "On what account are you alone?" (3). "The graveyard is purer and greater. Ah! You have enshrined yourself in this place with the shrieking omenous owls (4) to the great fright of the damsel of your wife" (5, 6). "You are there with darkness alone as your help (6) (or alms alone as your food —6). O, Lord! You are all alone" (7).

V

After a while the mental shock disappears and his tension is relieved. Our poet gets into a jocular mood as well. "O, Lord! Sharing your form with the damsel, even *Ganges* is inside your form. There is no other place for the bangle bedecked Lady of the Forest. Therefore, you have enshrined yourself in this Point Calimere of groves" (5). "Why do you reside all alone here, leaving all other places? Is it because you deem it a shame that *Orriyūr* is a mortgaged city? Have you left away *Tiruvārūr* because the name suggests it is the city of some one else?" (8).

VI

In singing this *hymn*, our poet has reached a divine calmness and bliss which characterize the supreme state of *Śivalōka*. Here

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is a development of his mind proceeding from anxiety and grief to laughter and joke and finally to the final, of joy of love. In the ninth verse he states, "My Master, You have enshrined yourself with all love (*aṉpu* is the reading) or bliss (if *iṉpu* is the reading)" (9). Having experienced thus, our poet assures the readers — those who master this *hymn* — that they will be those who reside in the *Śivalōka* of great fame. He refers to the Lord as the Supreme One, being there in the desolate place even there being surrounded by innumerable *Bhūtas* (like him) singing His praises (10).

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CHAPTER LXXXIV

TIRUPPŪVAṆAM

(*Hymn* 11)

I

For the first time our poet sings of a temple of the Pāṇḍya country. "Is this *Pūvaṇam*, where resides the Lord"? is the refrain of this *hymn*. The fourth line of every verse ends with the words "*Urai Pūvaṇam ītō*?". The poet must have heard about this temple and must have been longing to see this. That is why he exclaims: "Is this *Pūvaṇam*?" After the poet's regret that the Lord is all alone at the Point Calimere, a regret that possibly gives expression to the desolation of that part of the *Cōḻa* country at that time, he breathes in this *hymn* a sigh of relief, that the Lord is here in all glory showering His Grace on all. This *hymn* begins with the statement, "*Tiru uṭaiyār*" — 'He is the Lord of wealth of Grace'. The place is not described at length. In the last verse, however, the poet describes the Lord as one who resides at *Tiruppūvaṇam* so glorious for its great fame, as his favourite resort.

II

The same love of the temple expressed in the previous *hymn* with almost childish simplicity inspires this *hymn* and our poet exclaims: "Is this the *Pūvaṇam* where resides the Lord"? The word preceding the ending '*Uṛai Pūvaṇam ītō*?' comes as the first word of the fourth line with the usual emphasis — thanks to assonance, "*Purivuṭaiyār*" — 'He who is blessed with sympathy, mercy or Grace' (1), "*Puṇṇiyaṉār*" — 'the virtuous or the fortunate' (2), "*Puḷḷuvaṉār*" — 'the dupe unto the dupes' (3), "*Poṉṉaṉaiyāṉ*" — 'One who is like gold' (6), "*Neñcam, pukkuṛaivāṉ*" (7, 8, 9) — 'one who resides in the heart'. The other two verses refer to the *Purāṇic* stories of the *Ganges* (4) and the sacred ash (5).

Our poet refers to the Lord as *Tiruvuṭaiyār*, one who is the Lord of beauty, wealth or Grace; *Śaṅkaran*, One who creates bliss as One who resides at *Tiruppūvaṇam* as His place of desire and love, thus suggesting that the Lord coming down to enshrine

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Himself for saving us all. Our poet also refers to the blessing the Lord showers on us (1). The Lord removes the *karma* of those who think of Him as '*Aṇṇal*', The Great One (2).

III

The *purāṇic* descriptions come back to his mind with all their glory. "The formless Lord because of His assuming the forms of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma*, becomes the Lord of the Form. He lovingly has by His side His consort, *Umā*" (1). "The young deer is in His hand; so is the burning battle-axe. There is also the fire in His hand. In the beautiful crown is the water": This verse (4) thus stresses the contrasts to suggest the divine harmony. The *Bhikṣāṭana* form comes to our poet's mind: "He goes a begging to the doors of damsels. He rides on the bull. He shines with the sacred ash in the company of the Mother" (5). His midnight dance with the ghosts also comes to his mind (3). "He is the creator of bliss, He who shares His form with the lightning-like Mother and (yet) He is the gold like one, burning the three cities belonging to those who did not think of Him" (6). The same contrast is further emphasized. "*Rāvaṇa*, thinking too high of his sovereign power and influenced by his wicked nature, tried to uproot *Kailās*. The Lord laughed and pressed a little His toe (and vanquished him)" (7, 8, 9). "But if any one loves Him even for a little while, He enters that unique heart and resides for ever there (7), this Lord removing the *karmas* of those who whilst lying and walking cogitate and think of Him as the Lord" (2). "He is so loving that He removes the *karmas* of those taking refuge in Him" (1). "Yes. He is true to the truthful and a cheat unto those who are cheats" (3).

IV

This *hymn* thus expresses the joy of the poet's arrival at the favourite resort of the Lord in the *Pāṇḍya* country and at the Lord's Grace removing the *karmas* of His followers. We found in this *hymn* that the poet referring again and again to the removal of the *karma* and which implies the removal of all sins. This feeling of holiness inspires our poet to assure those who recite this, the ten garlands of verses in this world that they will cut away their sins even as he has done while singing this *hymn* (10).

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CHAPTER LXXXV

TIRUKKŌTTIṬṬAIYUM TIRUKKŌVALŪRUM (TIRUPPARAṄKUNRAM)

(*Hymn* 2)

I

This *hymn* is on the lines of *hymn* No. 36 which is admittedly the speeches of the damsels in love with the *Bhikṣāṭana* form. This *hymn* is stated to have been sung by *Ārūrar* expressing the fear at the sight of the Lord, but the poet may be taken to have placed himself in the position of the love-sick maiden. The refrain of the *hymn* is: "We are afraid of serving" — '*Umakku āṭceya añcutumē*'.

II

The frightening objects in the company of the Lord are the proud bull (1), the *Bhūtas* (1), *Pāriṭam* (3), *Pēy* (3) on all sides, His garment of skin of a tiger (3), a lion (7), and His loin cloth (1), His waist cord of a serpent which was made motionless (3), His serpent held in the hand with the hood (4), His ornament of a skull (3), His residence in the burning ghat (2), His sacred ash (2), His ornament of a serpent round the neck and the shoulder (2), His feast of poison (2), His *muyalakaṉ* (3), His putrified skull of a begging bowl (3), His '*erukku*', *koṉṟai*' (3) and the crescent moon (4) and the *Ganges* (7) and the ceaseless company of the Mother (4) — (These are to be afraid of by those who wish to embrace Him); His flaying of the elephant (9), His enshrining Himself only on the top of mountains (9), His burning down of *Kāma* (9), His vanquishing of *Rāvaṇa* (10) — (These will frighten only those who are in love with Him and who pine for embracing Him).

"We thought that it was great to have the friendship of the Great; but we cannot embrace you carrying this body of ours. You will not leave off this snake" (2). "You know everything but you know not only this (that these things frighten us, your lovers)" (5): Thus we bemoan day and night. "Whilst we saw you one day under the shade of the banyan tree and we saw you in front of the *Kaṭampūrk Karakkōil* (This probably refers to some incident in his life) — except these we have no other stratagem; you will not leave off your love for the burning ghat" (5). "You said you

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are of *Aṇṇāmalai* (the mountain that cannot be reached). You are in *Ārūr* (In whose city are you?)" (6). "You catch hold of the servants who sing of you even whilst being spoken ill of. You accept them but you will not leave them. We do not know your mind. If they are in you (as if you are their eyes) you will not save them from the diseases of their bodies" (7). "You will not relieve them of the chronic *karmas*, inflicting and fettering them as a disease" (8). "You are not capable of giving food and clothes to those who serve" (9). "Your acts are not befitting any one. What is this? We are afraid of serving you" (10).

III

There is another vein. *Arjuna* was frightened at the Universal form of the Absolute which *Kṛṣṇa* showed him. This universal form is also suggested as frightening the devotees. "You go beyond the universe and sit extending beyond that great beyond" (10). "You have become this world, the Heavens, the day (the time), the great mountain of snow, the great expanse of sea, the waters, the fire, the extensive wind, the great expanse of space, the elemental earth. But yet you crushed the ten heads of him who uprooted the mountain to make room for his chariot to run (If you are everything, are you not also this very person?). Your actions do not harmonize with any one. O, Lord, what is this? We are afraid of serving you" (10). This universal vision suggests an esoteric meaning for all *purāṇic* descriptions.

This *hymn* emphasizes the universal aspect of the Lord ruling through and over everything. It breathes a spirit of overlordship over the Universe and a spirit of self-surrender to the Lord. Therefore, the poet assures those followers of Him that those who learn and become experts of this *hymn* of six, four and one, will become slave under the feet of the Supreme Being of *Paraṅkuṉram*, becoming at the same time the chief of the eternals, ruling the whole Heaven as its great king (11).

IV

The last verse states that the *hymn* was sung in the presence of the three *Tamiḻ* kings. It is not clear who the kings are. It is usually taken as referring to the *Pāṇḍyas*, *Cōḻas* and *Cēras*. In this connection, one may refer to *Ñāna Campantar*, praising *Tiruppūvaṇam* of the previous *hymn* as being worshipped by *Pāṇḍyas*, *Cēras* and *Cōḻas*.[1]

1. *Tiruppūvaṇam hymn of Campantar*, 1: 64: 1, 5.

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CHAPTER LXXXVI

TIRUKKĒTĪCCARAM

(*Hymn* 80)

I

This *hymn* is on the temple *Tirukkētīccaram* near *Talaimaṉṉār* in the *Maṉṉār* Peninsula of Ceylon, to which the Ceylon-boat now sails from *Danuṣkōṭi* Pier. The town was known during the days of *Ārūrar* as *Māntōṭṭam* on the banks of *Pālāvi*, which today exists as a back-water, still with milk-like white water. It must have been a big tank or *vāpī*. Sand dunes have made the sea recede and the city itself had disappeared under these sweeping sands though slowly revealing its past glory to the shovels of archaeologists.

It was once upon a time a flourishing seaport of Ceylon and *Ārūrar's hymn* bears witness to this fact. He sings, "Ships are ever increasing in number and prosperous in the sea of this port": "*Vaṅkam malikiṉṟa kaṭal Mātōṭṭa naṉṉakar*" (5); "The tides are flowing into the *Pālāvi*; the huge waves are thrown out by the flowing *Pālāvi*": "*Pariya tirai eriyā varu Pālāvi*" (4); "The whole world flourishes here': "*Vaiyam malikiṉṟa*" (6). 'It is surrounded by the dark sea' (10). 'It is a sea where abound the white conches' (7). *Pālāvi* is mentioned in nine verses and the last verse speaks of the '*Kaḻi*' or the lagoon and the temple is said to be on its bank.

The city *Mātoṭṭam* is mentioned in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th verses. It is now known as *Māntōṭṭam* or *Māntai*, probably after the *Māntai* on the west coast of the ancient *Cēra* country. In the name given in the *hymn*, however, the nasal '*n*' is absent, perhaps a peculiarity of the Singalese pronunciation —in the *Nāṭṭuttokai hymn* (*H.* 12) of our poet the name appears as *Māntōṭṭam* (7) with the nasal. The descriptions in this *hymn* seem to suggest that it must have received the name because it was a grove and that a mango grove. "It is the good city of the groves where hang the mango fruits" — "*Māviṉ kaṉi tūṅkum poḻil Matōṭṭa naṉṉakar*" (9). In other verses the beauty of this garden city is clearly brought out. "The bees feast on the honey and

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sing in the garden (8). They create the music of the harp — in the gardens on the banks (of *Pālāvi*) — these musicians, with wings beautified by lines (10). It is a city surrounded by a garden of cocoanuts" (5).

Ordinarily these graphic descriptions cannot but be from the pen of one who had actually experienced the beauty and glory of the city. Our poet must have crossed the seas to worship the Lord there. Perhaps he did so when the *Pallava* navy led its expedition into Ceylon. Or, did he sail in the *Pāṇḍya* boat?

The beauty of the garden, the music of the bees, the great expanse of the sea, the grandeur and wealth of this eity, the back waters through which the sea flows into the city— all these reflect the greatness, glory, beauty, music and overflowing Grace of the Lord.

II

The temple is the paramount abode of the Lord – His strong-hold for saving us all — '*Tiṭamā uṟaikiṉṟāṉ* (2): — 'He is there to save us all'. The poet gives his personal testimony; He is One who saves the poet (9). He resides there removing the cruel *karmas* (6) and the diseases of the flesh (7) and its various organs, rushing on to inflict His followers (5). He is the One whose characteristic feature is to cut away the gordian knot of sin and *karma* (9). His servants, the very incarnation of His love worship Him thus (1). So do the eternals, those who are like the very words of the *Vēdāṅgas* — those who could practise what is stated in the Books (3).

He, the Lord, is the Bright One — the light, *Dēvaṉ* (9), the master of the clear *Vēdas* (4). He is the Lord of *Ñāna*, a weapon full of love (1). "*Nattārpuṭai jñāṉaṉ*" (1) is the very beginning of this *hymn*. Perhaps it means (*Nattu* + *ārpu* + *uṭai* + *jñāṉaṉ*) that He is the very embodiment of *jñāna* who reaches us full of love (There is another way of reading '*nattār puṭai jñāṉaṉ*' one who punishes the enemies). He is the beautiful and auspicious bridegroom (1). Beauty and knowledge come with goodness. He is *Ciṭṭaṉ* (8). He is everything in the Universe — the eight categories *viz.*, the five elements, the Sun, the Moon and the soul (8).

III

The *purāṇic* references abound in this *hymn* — His riding on the bull (1), His elephant's skin (1, 2), His ornament of bones

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(1), His toilet of ashes (2), His crescent moon (2, 3), His loin cloth (2), His serpent (3, 8), His blotted throat (2, 4), His pendant of a boar's tusk (7), His mat-lock (6), His eye on eyes (4) (horizontally and vertically arranged making thus possible, if one may speak of in modern terminology, the vision of the fourth dimensional continuum) and His triple and double forms (9). His consort is referred to five times (2, 5, 6, 7, 8).

IV

From what has been said, the pattern of the sentence in every verse might have become clear. Every verse ends with the phrase the "*Tirukkēṭīccarattāṉē* as its last half: 'O, Lord of *Tirukkēṭīccaram*'; the first half describes the Lord. The last half of the third line ends with the words, '*Pālāviyiṉ karaimēl*" — 'on the bank of *Pālāvi*'. Except in the first two verses (1, 2), the third lines end with the words, "*Mātōṭṭa naṉṉakaril*", the first halves of these verses being descriptions of the sea or the groves of this city.

V

Our poet is '*Ūraṉ*', the slave and servant of the Lord but praised by the *Vēdic* scholars. His *hymn* is the defectless *Tamiḻ*. It has been describing the removal of the *karmas*. Therefore, the poet assures those who recite the *hymn* that cruel *karmas* can never touch them (10).

As to the period of the *hymn*, *Cēkkiḻār* holds that it was sung when the poet visited *Rāmēśvaram* in the *Pāṇḍya* country. If the references to the followers of the Lord being cured of their diseases and *karmas* are based on the personal experience of the poet, this *hymn* may belong to the later period of divine light and peace succeeding the period of the Dark Chamber.

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CHAPTER LXXXVII

TIRUCCULIYAL

(*Hymn* 82)

I

This is another temple in the *Pāṇḍya* country. This *hymn* describes in the last line of every verse, the efficacy of worshipping the Lord. At least, one verse points out how one can escape from birth (6) and the whole *hymn* may be taken as such an address. The greatness of the temples of the *Pāṇḍya* country, because of our poet almost hankering after them, comes surcharged with emotion. These temples, are so many oases in this desert of life; the Lord has enshrined Himself in these temples to save us, taking them as His favourite resort (5). What a good fortune that in these temples He is happily well established unlike in the desolate places elsewhere! The poet speaks of the place as *Tiruccuḷiyal* in every one of the verses — without omitting the word '*Tiru*'.

II

The swarms of bees sing their tune in their love for the honey of the gardens of this holy place (1), reminding one of the followers of the Lord singing His praises in their great love for the wonderful honey of the place — the Lord. It is the beautiful place where in the ponds, the damsels of soft ruddy lips — red like the '*kōvai*' fruit duck and bathe so much that their pearls drowned during their play in the pond are moved on to the shore by the very motion of the waves they create (3). These pearls are described as those which the roaring sea — '*Kavvaikkaṭal*' — the principal sacred tank of this holy place — brings with cries of fright (3). As the sea is far away from this place this must be taken as a general description of the pearls as being the tribute paid by the sea to the damsels of the *Pāṇḍya* country, the empresses of beauty. The tradition has felt this difficulty about the reference to the sea and the principal sacred tank of this holy place is pointed out as bearing the name "*Kavvaikkaṭal*" the very phrase found in *Ārūrar's* poem. Was the tank known by that name in his age? We know tanks being named '*Sāgaram*'. This

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picture of the pearl of the sea also suggests the followers of the Lord revealing to all, the pearl of the Lord as the inner secret of the universe. There is no room for further description of the place in the scheme of this *hymn*.

III

This is His place. He resides there, a place which He had occupied as his favourite resort. It is His city, and He resides there taking it as a great city. He resides there happily established — what a great boon for Him — (*Perrāṉ — pēru* is a rare gift received) (5). That way He had come to us, He our relative (5) — our Lord — '*Emperumāṉ*' (4). This seems to emphasize the idea that God is in search of loving souls. This is a new way of looking at the temple cult. It is our worship of self-surrender that He is hankering after. Love knows no restrictions and our poet as the poet of harmony looks upon every kind of worship as good, an expression of love as anything else. He is thought of in various ways and the people of the Lord of Death will never tease those who contemplate on the Lord (1). After this escape from the fear of Death, service comes next to our poet's mind. Those who are experts in performing services — they are all divine services— are indeed the good people who worship only the feet of these *Bhaktas* (3). Hark, these arr no slaves; they are those who become the kings of those various parts of the compass; they reside and the Goddess of wealth never deserts them (3).

IV

In passing it may be noted that this accepts regionalism as distinguished from universal sovereignty which our poet spoke of when referring to the *Pallava* king as ruling the world surrounded by the seas (39: 9). Perhaps the political picture had changed since then. It is said that freed souls are given power over the universe to save the souls and, therefore, power in the service of the Lord is not to be looked down upon. Therefore, our poet is preaching no philosophy of world negation. The followers worship the feet of the Lord and the defects of their mind do not continue. They shine in their glorious fame suggesting thereby their great achievements. The fame is eternal and they rise above into the high Heavens (4).

He is the Lord of the Beautiful Form contemplated on by those who had conquered their five senses (5). This conquest is

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not negation but a positive enjoyment of the Beauty, the incarnation of the Absolute. There again, those with an unswerving mind learn the Holy name of the Lord (5). Learning, as *Tiruvalluvar* puts it, is also acting according to the knowledge gained (*Kural* — 391). To know is to do. They reach without fail the ideal or the goal. Therefore, it is our duty to praise the Lord. "O, those who strive to cut away this fetter of birth resting on the '*malam*' or the intrinsic evil blot" (6) —thus our poet addresses the followers of the Lord and points out to them that the worship of the Lord with flowers and unguents will be the best kind of *Tapas*. The third line in the stanza '*Nilam tāṅkiya*' is relied upon as an internal evidence to the version in the *Stala Purāṇā* that *Bhūmi Dēvi* worshipped the Lord in this place with flowers and perfume, giving Him the name '*Bhūminātan*'. The earth bears up these flowers (6). Are not the trees in bloom firmly rooted in this earth? They are there showering the flowers on God; that seems the ideal of their florescence. The whole world goes on thus in this worship of beauty. The rich fragrant smokes curl up as though to go to the Heavens to please the Lord (6). The whole space thus offers as it were a foundation and support for the fame of those who contemplate on this universal worship of beauty and sweetness and who praise the Lord similarly with flowers and unguents (6). *Tiruvalluvar* speaks of fame as the happy consummation of domestic life and *Tapas* as the consummation of a life of renunciation. Here, this worship of beauty and sweetness making us understand the inner ideal of this universe, leads us not only to great fame but through this fame comes and stands created the great *Tapas* or sacrifice. For, the beauty and sweetness are not used for selfish ends; attachment to them is renounced in the cause of perfection and universal enjoyment. It is a great *Tapas*. This is indeed great wisdom (*catur*) an expert knowledge of the art of life; for, thus one achieves both the contradictory aims of the conflicting ways of life.

These devotees are the divine *Tapasvins*. The Lord worshipped and praised by them is the eternal child or youth (7); old age or decay is not in their fresh thoughts. To those who contemplate on His feet enshrining Truth in their mind, it is indeed easy to be cured of their *karmas* (7).

The humility which is still conscious of its power, ceases to be the humility of self surrender, being carried to the giddy heights of a superior egoism by this self-conscious rulership. These

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rulers know not the way of approach. The couchant bull, the *Dharma* of self-surrender is His banner. He is Himself the incarnation of such humility and mercy; for is He not Himself carrying in His hand the meek and humble deer? He thus stoops to conquer. His feet is on our heads (8).

The same idea of the fall of the arrogant is suggested by the vanquishment of *Rāvaṇa*. The mountain of the creeping waters of cataract is personified as *Tirumalaiyār* (10). (Here we are reminded of the *Vaiṣṇavites'* belief that the freed or free souls have become the various weapons of *Viṣṇu* and the many places in *Vaikuṇṭa*). The great *Dakṣa* never honoured the Lord and the sacrifice came to naught. It ended in His play of destruction. The heretics know not this truth and indulge in their wanton egoism. Alas! That is their fate coming according to the great law of the Heavens (9).

V

(The Heretics referred to are the *Jains* and the *Buddhists*. The *Buddhists* are called the *Cākkiyas* being the followers of the *Buddha* of the *Cākkiya* clan. They probably went about with an umbrella and hence the description '*kuṭai-c cākkiyar*'. — Some have interpreted this as to mean teasing *cākkiyar*. But in that case we must have '*kuṭai cākkiyar*' without the doubling of '*c*' — a reading given by no text. The *Jains* are called *Camaṇ* — perhaps a *Tamilian* form of *Śramaṇa*. This word had come to mean naked; for the *Digambara* Saints of *Tamiḻ* land went without any covering. '*Ātar*' is another description. It is also a name of the *Arhat* according to *Cūḍāmaṇi Nighaṇṭu* — perhaps a form of the word *Āpta*, though there is underlying this a humorous vein laughing at their '*āpta vacana*'. The word also signifies a mean person. '*Ātaṇ*' was such a common name of many persons in the *Caṅkam* age that it had come to mean any ordinary man — man of no worth. "*Kuṇṭāṭiya* — relishing in *kuṇṭu* — is another description of the Heretics. '*Kuṇṭu*' may refer to the well built form of flesh and it may mean the depth of meanness or ignorance or vulgarity. '*Miṇṭāṭiya*' is their revelling in their arrogance in debate and elsewhere. These words '*kuṇṭu*' and '*miṇṭu*' are often used by *Tēvāram* and *Nālāyira Prabhandam* with reference to these heretics derided as vile arrogant and violent — with what justification one cannot say though one cannot quarrel with the poets describing their rivals in the way in which they experienced them).

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VI

Leaving this digression at this point, one may continue to see the picture of the devotees. Their ideal (5) (*gati*) is the conquest of death and birth, of fetters, desires and blots, the achievement of fame, and truth, sacrifice, goodness of a blotless heart or mind, happiness derived from power of service, truth and the extinguishment of *karma*. As against the western prejudice accusing the East of indifference to morality, it is seen here that the poet is emphasizing truth and goodness of these followers of God lost in the worship of the Absolute and Beauty. There is one other name '*Śaivatta cevvuruvaṉ*' — 'The red or proper form of *Saivite*' — a name which summarizes all the greatness of *Śaivism* (7).

VII

The *purāṇic* stories of *Rāvaṇa* (10), of the banner of Bull (8) and the meek deer in His hand (8) and of the destruction of *Dakṣa's* sacrifice (9) have already been referred to as emphasizing the message of the *Bhakta's* life. His battle axe (2), His club (2), His bull (2), His feast of poison (3), His burning of the three castles of the air (2), His company of the damsel of the mountain (4), His flaying of the elephant's skin (4), His mat-lock with waves of the *Ganges* (4, 6), His crescent moon (5), His sacred ash (7), and His remaining unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8) — all these are also referred to. The description given of the Lord as *standing on the chariot* for the sake of the *Dēvas* at the time of the destruction of the three cities (2) has been probably influenced by the description of *Kṛṣṇa* standing on the chariot for delivering the message of the *Gīta*, suggesting thereby the Lord *Śiva* is equally a great *Guru*.

VIII

The universal vision is hinted at the very beginning itself. He becomes the flesh, the refuge, the soul, the vast expanse of space, and the Heavens showering the rains through the clouds (1). He comes as the intellectual, His decision finding out the way to conquer fate and He comes also as the Fate of Providence (1). The law of our mind or Intellectual decision of human effort and the law of Nature of Fate are thus harmonized as the aspects of the law of the Lord. The Lord is the blotless: He that removes the blot (4), This spirit of holiness breathes through the later *hymns*.

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The Lord is glorified as He who has extinguished the five senses, reminding us of *Kuraḷ's* description of God, '*Poṛivāyil aintavittāṉ*' (6). (It is possible to take this description as applicable to the *Bhakta* as we have already done — 5).

IX

The poet influenced by his description of the followers as kings, calls himself the king of the people of *Nāvalūr* (10). There is a pun in this word and one may call the poet the king as well of the lords of the tongue. But he glorifies himself in all humility as bearing the name of His Lord '*Aṭi peyar — Ārūraṉ*'. This *hymn* breathes the *Bhakta's* spirit freedom from all miseries, and therefore, the poet assures the readers who know well this *Tamiḻ* garland of Ten verses that they will be also devoid of miseries.

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CHAPTER LXXXVIII

TIRUKKĀṈAPPĒR(ŪR)

(*Hymn* 84)

I

This place had been famous from the times of the *Caṅkam* Age as a fortress conquered from a chieftain *Vēṅkai mārpaṉ* by the ancient *Pāṇḍya* king *Ukkiraṗ peruvaḻuti*. The other name of this place is *Kāḷaiyār Kōil*—the temple of the '*Kāḷai*' or the youth. This form of the Lord as the eternal youth appears before the mind of the Poet; according to *Cēkkiḻār*, our poet has a vision of this form in his dream when the Lord disappears saying that He resides at *Kāṉappēr*(*ūr*). The *hymn* describes this beautiful form and every last line exclaims, "When am I, the servant, to see and worship this youth residing at *Kāṉappēr* surrounded by the fields receiving water from the clouds?" The conception of '*Nāḷaippōvār*' of the devotee hankering after going to the temple to worship His beautiful form is a significant development of the Temple cult and pilgrimage. *Tirunāḷaippōvār* had become the name of the saint. This same conception is beautifully brought out by the first *hymn* of *Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār* who is known in Sanskrit tradition as *Āḻvār Nāḷaippōvār*. As *Kulaśēkharar*, according to our view, will be posterior to *Nampi Ārūrar*, his *hymn* has reminiscences of the present *hymn*. Probably *Kulaśēkharar*, the *Cēra* king had some difficulty in going to *Srī Raṅgam*, in the *Cōḻa* territory probably under the *Pallavas*. Our poet, as already pointed out, has been so desirous of visiting the temples in the *Pāṇḍya* country that he expresses this feeling in this *hymn*. It is this hankering, if the use of the word can be pardoned, that is brought out by the exclamations of this *hymn*.

II

"To the great joy and relief of my eyes, when am I to see and worship the devoted servants, worshipping at His feet, His bright and young crescent moon, His company of the damsel, His form like the lotus, His throat shining like the cloud where resides the idea of His feasting on the poison. His eight shoulders and His colourful form of the beautiful and sweet smelling mat-lock"? (1).

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It will be seen that the poet is as it were, concentrating and enjoying the sight of every one of the parts of the Lord beginning from His feet and ending with His crown. It will also seen that our poet suggests that these forms have a significance and an idea behind them; for instance, the idea of love or pity is behind the blue throat. The poet starts describing the Lord as the beloved of the devotees worshipping at His feet.

The other verses similarly refer to the *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord; "His cool mat-lock, with its harmony of the serpents, the crane's feather, the '*mattam*' flower (2) and the crescent moon (3), His lordship over the *Dēvas* (3), His dance in the midst of the forest (3), His great victory over the three castles of the air (4), His *Ardhanārīśvara* form, His shoulders befitting a wrestler (4), His sacred ash (4), His company of the damsel (4), the beauty of His bull (5), His *Tillai* dance (5), His battle-axe (5), the fire in His hand (5), the eye in His forehead (6), His being the forms of *Viṣṇu*, *Brahma* and *Rudra* (7), His form of *Vēdic* scholar (8), His great form unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8) and His ear wearing the '*makara kuṇṭala*' (9)".

III

What is more important and interesting is his subjective experience of the Lord as His devotee, an experience which is expressed in some places in general (1), as that of all the devotees and in others as special to him. The devotees worship at His feet (1). "They are learned masters of all that speak of His feet and they experience this truth" (2). "They contemplate your greatness and their hearts melt in love. They become one with you and there arises a voice within—the creative impulse trying to give expression to their mystic union" (2). "They sing. The are not different from you; they are but yourself. Realizing this, when am I to become one with them, big with love, to worship you lovingly with grand flowers in my hand so that my miseries (or, the sufferings of my eye in which case he could not have been cured completely of his eye defect) may disappear?" (2).

"He is the great Supreme—Patron, giving me all that is good, even as a thing and a wealth possessed wholly by me. He is *Śiva*, the great significance, vivifying the words pronounced by those who realize Him as the Highest sphere and the Best ideal. He is the sweet nectar — inside the honey, nay, its clear quintessence. He is the full moon in the skies; the blotless light and also the

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storm, the water and this earth (sphere); when am I to reach Him as the Great Dancer?" (3).

"The important characteristic features of His are (1) the image form (*bhāvakam*) (4) contemplated by His devotees and servants those who as devoid of all their defects (4), their path (*neṟi*) and their unique musical compositions they recite (*icaip-paricu*). When am I to worship with my heart and praise His holy marks with the help of all that I had studied for fame?" (4). "The devotees stand around Him, playing on the musical drum '*kallavaṭam*' in accompaniment to His dance with which everything in Him and around Him keep time" (5).

"The songs full of the best effects of music and tune—their continuous outpour—the love of the damsels beautiful and bright like the Goddess of Lotus, the great longing of those who wake up exclaiming that He is the first and the greatest Lord who thinks of His devotees only after conferring salvation and freedom on them—these are important marks of His identity. I stand by the side of these, mixed up with them, pining for a way of reaching Him and becoming one with my father and sovereign. He counts even me as of worth and showers His blessing on me so as to save me. When am I to see this Lord of the eye on the forehead (He is indeed the Lord of the eye; for has He not seen the poet) the sweetest fruit?" (6)

But pretensions will never pay. "He does not come near the heart of those of deceitful minds. He is the primaeval, first mould and seed of all. He is the nectar unto those who are attached to truth, without any pretensions and who embrace Him with their whole body (and soul). He is the Great Beyond relishing their five, (*pañcagavya*) beginning with milk, ghee and curd. (Thus we get the details of the ceremony of His worship of our poet's days). When am I to sing of Him as the sovereign protecting me?" (7).

"He is the flame and light, so easy of approach to His servants. He is the rule or order or *dharma*, the meaning and significance of the holy pure *Vēdas*. He is the eternal One escaping even the poison of the seas. He is the Universe. He is its Beginning and its Chief giving out to the Lords of the Universe the *Āgamas* or the Scriptures. He is the greatest mystic wisdom of great fame. When am I to go and reach Him with all love?" (8).

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"He is the Lord. He is the great sound evolved out of *Nāda*. He is the life in this body of flesh, in the form of the brightness of the lamp or *jñāna* or wisdom. He is the green corns, which feed the lives. He is Beauty. He never leaves even for a while His attachment to the minds of those great beloved devotees of His. His ideal followers are blotless. He is the envoy and messenger. He is the bosom companion saving me. He is my Lord (who listens with His ears, all my requests). When am I His dog of a slave, to reach Him? (9). He is the sugar candy, the sweet nectar, the youth of *Kāṉappēr*" (10).

IV

The poet has thus brought out the bliss, the power, the universality, the all pervasiveness, the wisdom, the truth and the purity of the Lord and His Grace, He has given us a picture of the devotees and their life and worship. He has taken us into His confidence and shown us his own heart of love. He describes himself as the *Ārūraṉ*, the chief of *Nāval* of shining gardens, praising in the cool *Tamiḻ* in which is enshrined all glory and greatness, the Eternal youth and contemplating on Him with all His heart melting in never forgetting love. His *hymn* expresses the joy of *Bhaktas* and their greatness. Those who will recite these ten verses of music of the peculiar repetitive rhythm will catch this contagion of love. They will also become blessed with the characteristic qualities of these *Bhaktas* — that is the assurance given by our poet. These *Bhaktas* are found in the company of the eternal Lord. Therefore, they will sit in happiness firm for ever, even praised by all the points of the compass. Even if they do not become rulers of the Heaven they are sure to live happily as the heads of *maṇḍalams* (kingdoms). It is curious that the poet is thinking of regional overlordship, once he is in the *Pāṇḍya* country, probably because of the troubles of the period succeeding the demise of *Rājasiṁha* (10).

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CHAPTER LXXXIX

TIRUPPUṆAVĀYIL

(*Hymn* 50)

I

This is another temple in the *Pāṇḍya* country, on the sea shore —an ancient city with its gate overlooking an upland jungle tract (*puṉam*). Here again, the poet speaks of desolation and of frightful life. This *hymn* is addressed to the mind advising it to think of the Lord every day, to think of *Puṉavāyil*, the ancient city of the Lord.

Two points are emphasized in this *hymn* about this place: One is the following, that it has become pestered with hunters and jungle (5). The songs of the owls occupying the hollow of the trees do not cease (1); nor does the commotion caused by the courageous hunters fighting with the company of the merchants (2); nor does the noise of the '*uṭukkai*' resounding in the commotion (7). The hunters tease the groups of deer with their sharp arrows of their bows, and the meek animals frightened go and enter their places of hiding (5). It is a place of hillocks of stones, wild bushes, and cruel expanse of space (9), all looking gloomy and colourless amidst those trees on the sea beach. Even the '*kaḷḷi*' gets dried up, the grasses become scorched in the heat and destroy the heated jungle (8). Seeing this, the dotted deer rush to hide themselves in safety (8). The male dove gets to the top of the tall but forked branch of the new born *kaḷḷi* and calls its mate in that golden dry fields of that place (6). In the dark jungle tract of the rocky bushes the black cock roams about for food. It goes and gets up to the top of the ant hill [reminding of the '*kuppaik-kōḻi*' (*Kuṟun.* 305) of the *Caṅkam* poetry], and sends its call of '*kū kū* (9). In that holy place the boar of sharp tusks in its mouth shining like a torch, and in the place torn by its tusk, the big precious gem comes up and blinks like fire (8). There is not the fright and alarm of the *Kōṭi hymn*; the poet is contemplating on this desolation with a detached romantic poetic outlook.

The other point emphasized by our poet about this place is that these devotees do not cease worshipping the temple even in the midst of all this desolation. The *Bhaktas* in good numbers, sing and dance in that ancient city (1). It is the place where stay *Vāṉavar* or *Dēvas* of the '*marutam*' or city (2). (It is not clear

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whether this is a reference to the *Bhūsura* or Brahmins or to the *Bhaktas*). The lovers of His feet enter this place. Their praises do not cease even as the song of the owl and commotion of hunters do not cease (1). It is the place where sing and dance those who have been freed from their fetters (7). The people of all the countries come and bow down before the Lord, day and night (7).

II

Therefore, our poet begs of his mind quarrelling, cursing and swearing at him, to leave off this and to think of the place of the Lord even as these *Bhaktas* do. For, it is His place which He frequents most (5). He is our patron-*Pirāṉ* (3), our Lord — *Emperumāṉ* (4), who has accepted us as His servants (5). He is the good person (5). He is all our relationships and aeons of time (6). We do not want anything more than the death and extinction of the chronic and irremovable *karmas* (9). "This He will effect; for He makes us all alike unto Himself. Does not the crow on reaching the mountain of gold become itself gold? (That is an old tradition) (4). Therefore, this Holy place is our refuge. O, mind of cogitation think of Him; contemplate on Him; consider the pros and cons and weigh all the groups of facts (*tokku — āya*; *āya* means *āyka* (3). Be firm; this is our refuge. Pray stand (without vascillation — 5). Pray do not forget (6). Think of Him with a great longing (or freed from your faults) (7). In whatever way, pray only think of Him" (2). (*Erru* (9) may also be taken as an exclamation of pity or wonder).

III

The *purāṇic* descriptions also come in as intensifying this desolation — the Lord's covering of an elephant's skin (1), His riding on the bull (2), His ash besmeared form (10), His waistcord of the serpent (3) and His great naked or smiling form (*nakkāṉ*—3), (perhaps on the chariot whilst burning to ashes the three cities).

IV

Our poet describes himself as *Ūraṉ* of *Nāval*, the slave of the servants of the Lord — an emphasis once again on the cult of *Bhaktas*. In this *hymn* the poet has been describing the joyous song and dance of the *Bhaktas* freed from *karmas*, even in this desolation becoming like unto God. Those who can study this *hymn* without any laziness and praise the Lord, will get their *karmas* extinguished and become the citizens of the city of God, singing and dancing; they will become pure and perfect without any defect whatever—that is the assurance given by our poet (10).

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CHAPTER XC

TIRUVĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 8)

I

This *hymn* is on *Tiruvārūr* and according to *Cēkkiḻār* this was sung when our poet returned to his residence in this city along with *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ*. Every one of the verses in this *hymn* ends with the words: "*Ārūrappaṉē añciṉēṉē*" — 'O, father of *Ārūr*, I am afraid of you'. The previous lines explain the ephemeral life in this nauseating and revolting body of flesh where everything turns out to be a delusion and it is this which inspires the fright in him. This feeling of fright cropped up in the *Tirukkaṟkuṭi hymn* (*H.* 27) where he begged of the Lord to assure him with the words 'Don't fear'. The condemnation of the ephemeral life is found also in *Tiruppuṟampayam hymn* (*H.* 35). Therefore, one would have expected this *hymn* to form part of those cycle of *hymns*. That is one reason we suggested all these *hymns* belonging to this last period of *Ārūrar's* life to the period succeeding the death of *Rājasiṁha*.

II

"Taking hold of this covering, looking like the torn drum I was through. I considered the happiness born of the company of sovereigns and the life harmonizing with such happiness. (As a result of this) I am frightened" (1). "This is a heap of flesh and blood, an illusion without any significance. Young damsels of fawn-like eyes alone consider this human birth as of any worth. I do not want this life" (2).

"The 96 elements of this body look like a thicket uprooted. Those who after consideration describe these, do not speak with one voice (or do not speak of it as anything of worth)" — (Sixty plus ten, reaching six plus five into four make up Ninety-six. '*Eṭṭum*' has to be taken as a relative participle rather than as a number) (3).

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"If we begin to describe (the defects) there is no end or limit. It is a foolish life of no taste. I had not known any good entering this (so called) good roof (of a body)" (4).

"This is a hut made of nerves and bones tied together not at all befitting all our ambitions and desires. Residing therein, I cannot lead the life of gentle folk" (5).

"Children, mother, father, and relatives are happy at marriage. All this is transformed and they themselves exclaim, 'it is corpse' and burn it away to ashes. I am a dog but I do not want this birth" (6).

"The servants leave off the characteristic humility of theirs. They treasure in their minds the idea of wealth. They think only of living (sometimes) this life. They cannot give anything for the sake of their next birth. When they fall into the deep pit, in the midst of all their sufferings, they become a prey to one person alone (probably the Lord of Death)" (7).

"This (body) was constructed out of the heap of flesh and the water of blood, this is a cave of '*mala*' or blots or evil things. It is a never ending illusion of a roof and a hut. I do not want this life within this body" (8).

"It is an illusory covering, all false. It is indeed a magic that this should be a thing thought of as something real and true. I do not want this life of magic nor can I aspire for it" (9).

III

The poet almost starts with the condemnation of royal life and this reminds us of his erstwhile political preoccupation. His description of the Lord by the *Dēvas* crowding together to worship Him with the tributes of gold and gems thrown at His feet (1) is couched in the terminology befitting a royal life.

IV

There are not many *purāṇic* descriptions referred to in this *hymn*. The poet speaks of the white bull (2), the infructuous quest of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (8) and the throat wherein saunters along, the poison (10). Our poet also speaks of our Lord playing on the *yāḻ* (7).

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V

The poet refers to the *Bhaktas* and their worship. The worship by the *Dēvas* with the offering to gold and gems has already been referred to. There are those who daily worship the Lord with sweet smelling flowers and water and on them our father of *Ārūr* confers knowledge or wisdom (3). The Lord Himself is the precious pearl and His *Bhaktas* worship Him daily with their crown and to them He becomes of that characteristic feature (9). It is not clear what this phrase means. It may mean, He becomes whatever they think of, *i.e.*, in whatever form one worships Him that particular form the Lord takes.

VI

He describes himself as *Ūrañ* and speaks of this *hymn* as a song which he had sung so lovingly with good words though inspired by fear. Those who are capable of contemplating on the meaning of this *hymn* and recite it will approach our Lord and their words will yield the fruits of Grace. Even in the midst of his feeling of fear the poet is conscious of the divine presence; for this fear itself is kindled in one's mind, when thought of God's holiness and reality stands in contrast to this delusion of a purifying flesh (10).

VII

The holy place itself is described as befitting the worship of the *Bhaktas*, full of flowers and people of good words. The damsels of heaving bosoms (10), and beautiful words (10) reside in that city. The group of '*mātavi*' creepers round the '*puṉṉai*' tree giving out its fragrance to our heart's content is ever in bloom, on its buds blossoming into flowers (5). All round the palaces, in all the long-drawn passages, the jasmine crowds and in the night the bees move about (guided by its fragrance) (4). It is a place of green groves full of gardens in the midst of cultivated fields, a proper resort of *Bhaktas* and here the Lord confers on them their rest and communion (6).

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CHAPTER XCI

TIRUVAIYĀṚU

(*Hymn* 77)

I

This *hymn* on *Tiruvaiyāṟu*, according to *Cēkkiḻār*, was composed by our poet whilst going to the *Cēra* capital along with the king *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ*, a story which we discussed elsewhere. The *Kāviri* was in floods at the time of our poet reaching its bank. "The stream swallows so quickly, without anybody knowing it, the arecanut fruits probably falling down over-ripe. (At this) under the green shade of the cocoanut palm, full of bunches of fruits, the sugar-cane crusher raises as it were a hue and cry. Thus roll the waves of *Kāviri* on whose bank stands *Aiyāṟu*" (1) and God is addressed as the Lord of *Aiyāṟu* on the bank of *Kāviri* in every one of the verses of this *hymn*.

"The flood gathers together (*paruvi-arittu*) the seeds and on its course it throws and scatters (*vicci*) them to grow on the mountain slopes. It takes hold of the barks of trees to play its pranks with the elephants. The maids of the mountains keep watch over their fields preventing the birds from coming in and driving out the parrots. The flood rushes carrying away the garlands of their tresses of hair. Rushing fast *Kāviri* becomes noisy" (3). "The beautiful waves of *Kāviri* in floods bring the plantain and the cocoanut palm full of fruits and throw them on to the banks; thus the waves are full of beauty" (4). "The river comes down (to the plains) so that the good damsels of cool eyes may bathe and play. It overflows unable to be kept within the mountain and the neighbouring lands. It mixes itself with the honey of the bamboos. It flows into the fields, the waves of the *Kāviri* getting up through the channels and proclaiming as it were its gift (to the needy)" (5). "The long drawn streams coming in great numbers gather the gems, the pearls and gold so much that the waves respond with the noise" (6, 7). "The *Kāviri* with its waters, deepens down so that those, who worship you and thereby desire to be rid of all their miseries, may bring it with all their hearts, wherever they stay and bathe you in the *Kāviri* waters" (8). "The clouds tremble (with their lightning)

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and the rain is poured out. The flood spreads; the foam is scattered. The *Kāviri* roars with its waves" (9). "Everywhere the people of the country bathe with a clear vision in the waters of the *Kāviri* when this settles down. It is for this, the stream of the *Kāviri* is so full of the waves of fragrance, waves that play" (10).

The last few descriptions make it clear that the *Kāviri* is described not only when it is in full floods but also when it is crystal clear enabling the devotees to bathe.

II

Our poet refers to the *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord: His mat-lock of hidden *Ganges* (2), the deer and the battle-axe (in His hand) (2), the hood of the cruel serpent encircling His waist (4), His *koṉṟai* (6, 8), His bull (6), His begging in the company of the damsel of the mountain (7), His crescent moon (8), His being a flame of light surrounded by the serpents (8) and His remaining unknown to *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* (10). The poet here identifies the king of the country with the *Tirumāl* or *Viṣṇu* — (*Tēcavēntaṉ — Tirumāl — Viṣṇu*) (10) thus proving that the divine right theory of kings had taken final form and shape by the time of *Nampi Ārūrar*.

III

Our poet describes the Lord as the past and the future '*Muṉ nī, piṉ nī*' (6); the basis and the first cause (or the chief) — '*Mutalvaṉ*' (6), The holiness of God is also emphasized. He is *Tīrttaṉ* (7) — the Lord of holy path or holy waters; He is *Puṇṇiyaṉ* (8), the virtuous, He is *Jyōti*, the light of flame — *Cuṭarccōti* (8). The Lord is as is often the case with *Nampi Ārūrar* spoken of as "*Emmāṉ tammāṉ tammāṉē*" (9) — the father of the father of my father.

IV

The rest of the *hymn* reveals two different lines of thoughts; one, emphasizing the Grace of the Lord and our poet's unworthiness; the other, emphasizing our poet's innocence and the Lord's indifference to the *Bhaktas*. There is thus a conflict of emotions. "I do not know any way of worshipping you; nor did I in my early days attune my mind to worship you; though thinking of you day and night, I cannot think of attaining you" (1). "Wherever I may go, you come and become enshrined in my mind. Without any doubt whatever, you remain ever loving, without any difference between the first day or the last day of our

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intimacy" (2). "Having come together, I cannot bear any separation from you. I have given myself completely to you, standing firmly in your path. I cannot leave it off" (3). "Those, who have become habituated to your service, who have become servants without slighting you, what gain they had, I know not" (4). "I do not know any mistakes committed by me. Pray, order that the mistakes if any may be erased" (5). "I have not seen or realized you, perhaps I have seen you as somewhat like the irradiating or pinching hunger. I cannot swim against the current" (9). "Though Your servants feel shy to approach you and keep quiet, You have no good in you, nor is there any sign in you of understanding their thoughts" (10). "Though devotees gather together you keep mum because you have not any good quality; nor do you understand their thoughts. Though I continue to be in a sulky mood I am not in a position to realize you, I, your servant, *Ūraṉ*. I have searched everywhere but cannot see or realize you; I think only of *Tiruvārūr*" (11).

Apart from the conflict of emotions, the construction of the sentences is also confusing. We have probably to take the conjunctive participles lying in the verses almost unconnected, as going with the verb implied in the word '*uṭaiya*' of the phrase, "*Aiyāruṭaiya Aṭikaḷō*" (1-11).

The Absolute is so rich in its varied aspects that what appears to be conflicts are resolved in its beauty of variety. The assertion that, "I am thinking only of *Tiruvārūr*" (11) suggests that this also must belong to the cycle of *hymns* hankering after *Tiruvārūr* like *hymns* No. 83, 51.

V

It is remarkable that our poet does not refer to any good effect flowing from a recitation of this hymn. The specific effect of recitation is not mentioned probably because mere recitation as giving vent to pent up fellings is itself a great boon. "*Aiyāṟuṭaiya Aṭikaḷō!*"—'Is it the Lord of *Aiyāṟu*!' may be an exclamation of wonder and joy as much as the exclamation, "*Pūvaṇamītō!*" (*H.* 11)—"Is it *Pūvaṇam*!" expressing the pent up desire for seeing the place a desire now being fulfilled. It is probably because of this that *Cēkkiḻār* is bringing together all these *hymns*. Our poet must then be visiting these places for the first time; there must have been some difficulty in his visiting this place, perhaps due to the war of succession to the *Pallava* throne.

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CHAPTER XCII

"MUṬIPPATU GAṄGAI"—TIRUVAÑCAIKKALAM

(*Hymn* 44)

I

This *hymn* according to tradition is on the temple in the *Cēra* capital, *Tiru Añcaikkaḷam*, probably the ancient *Vañci* or *Karūr*. But the *hymn* itself does not mention any specific place. The Lord is described as '*Empirāṉ*' in all the verses of this *hymn*. Does it refer to the *Cēra* Country calling their princes '*Tampirāṉ*' and princesses '*Tampirāṭṭi*'? This may be taken as one of the *Bhikṣāṭana hymns* or a *hymn* sung by our poet with the same feeling of love, reverence, fear and humour of those damsels who had the vision of the *Bhikṣāṭana*. Five verses end with the word, "Is there nothing else but snakes, bull, *etc.* for our Lord?" (1, 2, 6, 8, 9)—these end with the word "*Empirāṉukkē*'. These express the humour, fear and love—a curious combination of emotions. Five verses end with the word '*Empirāṉ*' (3, 4, 5, 10), two of which beg of the devotees not to speak harsh of the Lord (3) and not to speak of deserting the Lord (4); one speaks slightingly of the world which in spite of the Lord showering His Grace, condemns Him as mad (5) and the other requests the servants to speak about the Lord (10). Perhaps all the other verses also express this regret that the Lord is not receiving His deserts. Or, is it that the political failures had dashed the hopes of others to whom our poet suggests they should not speak of forsaking the Lord.

II

"His crown is the *Ganges* and the moon. What He destroyed are the three castles reduced to ashes in a second. Ah! I am afraid that the poison of His serpents will spread to the brain as soon as it bites. What beautiful hands of His! Is there nothing else to be held in these hands?" (1). "Is there no other dance hall but this jungle of bushes; no toilet except this ash of the burning ghat? Has He no share other than this share of the form of the damsel of the *Himalayas*? Has He nothing else to ride on, except this petty bull?" (2).

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This feeling of fright and love slowly gives place to a feeling of regret that the Lord in spite of His comming begging for our love, for our benefit continues to go about as a beggar without His love being returned — He who is the Lord of the *Dēvas* of great power. But all the same there is a sly humour in this kind of speech which amounts to decrying the Lord.

"The Lord begs of you often and often to prevent and remove hesitations and confusions of your mind and to challenge the slaughter of the lives of this great earth (Has our poet like the Great Asōka become sick of the slaughter of war — the war of succession to the *Pallava* throne?). He is the learned of the exemplary conduct — the *Dēva* of *Dēvas*, the light of lights, with great powers of destruction over evil, reducing to ashes the three cities" (3).

"He is our wealth adorning His mat-lock with a garland of grinning skulls, in the unapproachable dark graveyard surrounded by ghosts of fiery tufts of hair in the midnights whilst the fox steals away the dead head with its mouth and the wolves shriek (What penance and beggary for our sake! What meanness by the way!). O, devotees! Pray do not speak of deserting Him, our Lord" (4).

"There is no illusion about Him. He has become the Lord of the mountainous country (*Cēra* country is known as the country of mountains—the Lord becomes one of the residents of the place to save others). That is His greatness. People praise Him according to their capacity and the Lord cuts them away from their miseries. And yet, alas! He is spoken of as a mad man and as a wandering ghost" (5).

"The celestials and the eternals praise our Lord as their all pervasive sovereign. They come together concentrating their minds in their path (of Love). They worship His couple of feet with flowers of purity. But has not our Lord anything else to sing other than the secret chant (*Vēdas*). Has He nothing else to crown Himself with, except this crescent moon?" (6).

"His garland is but of *koṉṟai*, *kūviḷam*, and unique *mattam*. His beginning and end are what no one has fathomed. He has no city of His own. But yet it is said He has thousand names, to be worshipped by those who love Him, in all the worlds' (7).

"Great souls even when they had reached the state of greatness of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma*, find it impossible to know Him. But

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He adorns His mat-lock with only the serpent, the *vaṉṉi* leaves, the moon and the *mattam*. He is our Lord of purity (*Puṉitaṉ*). Has he, our Lord, nothing but fire for His hand?" (8).

"Alas, is this to be His characteristic feature — to feast on the consuming fire of scandals of the eagles revelling on their food or ghee — those heretics, *Jains*, of dark mind. Has He nothing but this elephant's skin frightening the large heart of the Damsel of the *Himālayas*?" (9).

III

Though all kinds of emotions struggle to find expression in this *hymn*, the poet himself assures us it is only humour that is the basic emotion. He calls this *hymn*, a *hymn* making fun of the Lord, the gem of the angry bull and blotted throat and that is why we characterized it as a *Bhikṣāṭana hymn*. Our poet calls himself *Ūraṉ*, the slave of the Lord, and the father of *Vaṉappakai* of great fame praised by willing tongues (10).

(*Vaṉappaikai* like her paternal grand mother is called *Jñāni*).

Our poet does not give any specific result of reciting this *hymn* but calls upon the devotees to recite it. That itself, our poet feels, is a great joy.

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CHAPTER XCIII

TIRUVĀRŪR

(*Hymn* 59)

I

This *hymn* is on *Tiruvārūr* sung according to *Cēkkiḻār* when the poet's thoughts went to *Tiruvārūr* whilst he was at the court of the *Cēra* king. *Cēkkiḻār* feels that because of *Tiru Murukaṉ Pūṇḍi* incident of the poet being robbed of by the hunters, a robbery, which could not have occurred if the poet was in the company of the *Cēra* king, the poet must have returned when he was robbed on the way. The last place sung by our poet is admittedly *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* and, therefore, the poet must return to that place. In the *Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam hymn*, the poet speaks of the presence of the three kings usually taken as the *Cōḻa*, the *Pāṇḍya* and the *Cēra* kings. If that were so, *Cēkkiḻār* assumes (1) that the *Cēra* took the poet to his capital for honouring the saint, (2) that on our poet thinking of *Tiruvārūr*, he returned to *Tiruvārūr* when he was robbed on the way and (3) that the saint once again went to *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* being drawn there by the loving memories of his previous visit.

If we are not so very much tied to tradition, we are free to assign the *hymn* on *Tiruvārūr* to the previous cycle of *hymns* expressing his longing to go back to *Tiruvārūr* which probably he had to leave because of political complications. He goes to the north on a pilgrimage to come and settle down at *Tiruvoṟṟiyūr*. He later on returns to *Tiruvārūr* from where he is in a position to visit the *Pāṇḍya* and the *Cēra* country including *Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi*. Perhaps the political party of His is not successful. He goes through places laid desolate. The *Cēra* need not necessarily have accompanied him. The poet goes to the *Cēra* capital where he resigns himself to his fate. His end comes there and according to the tradition, also the end of the *Cēra*, his political ally, perhaps against *Nandivarma*. If this conclusion is correct this *hymn* belongs to the cycle of *hymns* 51 and 83; or, the poet might have sung at *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* without going back.

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II

"The Lord got wild and kicked the Lord of Death (2). He is the Lord of the eight forms (2). He rides on the bull worshipped by the celestials and the eternals, as their pearl (or the ever free One) and their patron (4). He holds up in His hand the skin of the elephant which He had flayed (7). He has an eye above the eyes (7). It is High right of divinity to be crowned with the crescent moon (7). The *Ganges* is in His mat-lock (9). *Umā* is on one part of His form (9). He is the unruly mischievous theif (10) (of our hearts). He is the scholar (*Bhaṭṭa*) (10), the father of the *ceṭṭi* who out of love hewed down *Sūrapanma* in the sea (10). He stands crowned with the laurel of *koṉṟai* (11). He can never forget *Tiruvārūr* because of the beautiful damsel — *Paravai* (11):" — These are all the *purāṇic* allusions in the *hymn*.

III

The *hymn* expresses our poet's feeling of gratitude. "He is the One that gives gold and the true reality (of His own Absolute). What more, it is He who brings about their enjoyment and experience — the enjoyment of the world and His Grace or the wealth of salvation. He does not stop with that. He puts up with my excesses He orders the removal of all faults. He is my father impossible to be known specifically. He is the munificent patron so easy of reach. Is it proper or possible to forget this Lord of *Ārūr*?" (1). "He is the One who weed out our sufferings and fetters of disease. He weeds out the cruel diseases and filthy desires (or desires left off by great minds). It may mean that He weeds out the cruel diseases resulting from desires though the desires have now ceased). It is impossible to leave such a one if you had once been in communion with Him. He orders the prevention of the affliction of the past and future scandals (This again seems to suggest some political complication)" (2).

IV

From these personal experiences, he rises to the universal state of seeing God everywhere. "He showers as rain on the cloud-clad mountains. He is the significance of all arts and yet becomes one with the soul enjoying the arts, at the same time feeling sympathy for it. He stands as day and night — (as the time frame of art). He is the organs of senses — (the instruments

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of enjoyment). He is the ear that listens through, the sound to its significance and joy; He is the tongue experiencing the taste. He is the eye that sees, (He is the objects creating the impressions in artists' mind which gives expression to them as art). He is the roaring sea and the mountain" (3).

"He is the greatest. He weeds out our pains. He is the *Vēdas*. He is the light for all the living beings of this world, though He is impossible to approach to those who do not think of Him with loving contemplation. He is so easy of reach to me, His slave" (7). "He is the flower of my crown; He, after accepting me as His servant under a promise to save, has gone away and hidden Himself. He is the day-light and darkness. He is the honey, springing up in the minds of those contemplating on Him; He is the sugar candy, the strained juice of sugar cane" (10). "He is the basis of all, fit to be described as the one great city for all the people of the world. He is the real category, the Absolute in communion with everything" (11).

V

This greatness of God's love intensifies his feeling of his unworthiness. He cries, "I nourish and increase my flesh alone. I cannot cross the miseries — inflicting me as a result of the hankerings of many days. Nor, do I see a way out. Alas! I cannot (out of pity) throw anything into the hands of those who beg with sunken eyes" (9). This self-condemnation is more for the sake of others, in whose position he places himself and weeps thus bitterly for all. He speaks of these indifferent people. "God's followers worship Him losing themselves in Him and doing nothing of their own but standing in His presence. (Such is their self-surrender). These get the rulership of the Heavens. (Is there any reference to the death of *Rājasiṁha*?) To the ears of the people of this world this news reaches. And yet they do not worship Him every day with flowers. Nor do they realize the truth of his saving us. Having heard this, I labour hard to the point of prostration. Thinking that He will be the help and prop to all our relations (the human community) I call upon many of them to become His servants" (8).

VI

He reasons out on the basis of the ephemeral nature of this world and appeals to our reason:

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"People die. In the presence of their corpse, some congregate and laugh at the life of the dead. Before that happens to us, should we not escape this calamity? Have we not for helping us, therefore our faculties of '*cintai*' (*cittam*=recollections), '*manam* (desire to know) and '*mati*' (decision) already established in us (and not only *ahaṅkāram* or ego)? Have we not the results of fate to help us? If there is *yōgic* attachment to Him, if there is clarity of mind, if there is firmness coming out of faith and certainty, if there is such a thing a returning from old ways (and therefore hope of conversion), if there is next birth (when one is sure to get his divine desires fulfilled if not in this birth), if there is that deceit (of nature) leading its invasion on our life (therefore, egging us on to activity before death comes) can one forget the father of *Ārūr*, for, we are blessed with knowledge (to open our eyes) and there is life yet in our body (to be saved)?" (4).

"The five senses gradually make me view this body of holes as the reality of worth and significance and as wealth, relations and enjoyment and He, the Providence or Law, prevents all their activities occurring in me. He is the munificent patron (*Vaḷḷal*). Ever, day after day, the eternals worship and praise Him as their sole help and prop" (6).

VII

Our poet is proud of his name *Ārūrar*, the beautiful name of the father, but he is humble enough to praise himself as His servant the slave of a dog. He is however sure that those who become experts of the message of his, will be residents of the eternal world — for, that has been his experience whilst singing this *hymn* (11).

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CHAPTER XCIV

TIRUMURUKANPŪṆṬI

(*Hymn* 49)

I

This is a place in the *Koṅku Nāṭu*, sung by *Ārūrar* alone. There are many villages with the name *Pūṇṭi*. This term as referring to a village is as old as *Ārūrar* and *Piṅkala Nikaṇṭu*. *Pūṇṭi* is probably from the root '*pūṇ*' meaning a group of houses or people undertaking to live together or yoking themselves to a social life. The *Pūṇṭi* is called after *Murukaṉ*, the *Tamiḻ* God, or a chieftain of that name. According to the *Sthala Purāṇa*, the place derives its name from the fact that *Murukaṉ* worshipped *Śiva* at this place.

II

This is another desolate place, laid as such by the poor marauders of *Vaṭuku* hunters. These *Vaṭukars* were probably the ancestors of the *Badagas* of Nilgiris and thus *Vaṭuku* was probably the *Kannada* language. By their very speech they express their unsocial nature. (Is this a reference to their foreign language or is it that their speech is unsocial, as breathing hatred?) They speak very harsh (1). They look like monkeys (3). Their peculiar chin is characteristic of their savagery (*Mōṟai vēṭuvar*-4). There is about them an awful offensive odour of rancid flesh (1). (*Muṭuku*—if the formative '*ku*' is omitted, we get the root '*muṭu*' a root found in '*muṭai*', *i.e.*, odour of flesh *etc.*; and in '*muṭuval*', the dog). The hair of their head is tied round like those of women —'*cūṟaippaṅki*—*i.e.*, *paṉiccai* (4). (Or, it may mean they share the booty). These poor beings wear but rag and on that is fastened a small sword (4). They carry a curved but cruel bow and they frighten the wayfarers with it (1). They waylay and dash fast which our poet tries to express with the onomato-poetic phrase (*Tiṭuku moṭṭu*); (1) they box the poor people on the way and they throw stones at them (2). They have their own musical and battle drums; the sound of their '*mōntai*' or pot drum never ceases. (9). These devils live on killing cow and eating its flesh (3).

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They have no conception of sin; they undertake every day the slaughter of many lives (3)'.

The *Pūṇṭi* is the place of their highway robbery; the robbery is there, a daily event. But these wretches in torn clothes are only after clothes to cover their nakedness; they have been reduced to that level of poverty and savagery of bestial life. Therefore, they strip the wayfarers naked. This emphasis on their robbery of clothes heightens the desolation of the place. Our poet has given us a pen picture of their life and appearance. There is another beauty about this description in that the poet is trying to give it a local colour by using the dialectic words of the place and the people — '*Icukku*' (3), '*Tiṭukumoṭṭu*' (1), '*Ucirkkolai* (3); perhaps also '*cūṟai*' (4), '*mōṟai*' (4) and '*mōntai*' (9). The story of the robbery of all gold presented to *Ārūrar* by the *Cēra* is apparently based on this description of '*Kūṟai koḷḷumiṭam*'.

III

Even this rendezvous of these hunters is not without natural attractions to our poet. The pollen dusts of the jasmine cast all round this place, their sweet fragrance (2); the buds bloom and the sweet smell spreads (6). Is it desolation? No! For, our poet feels that invisible eternals worship there before every one—a secluded place, a quiet resort, for the happy couple of the damsel and of the Lord (10). But this is an idea which comes last. At the first flush, it is the desolation—horrid desolation that comes to his mind. "What a place for the Lord to live with His consort the embodiment of His Grace!" and the poet exclaims, "What for are you here my prince, and patron?" (1). "If it is not your duty to safeguard the suburban areas why are you here, My Lord?" (2). "You have the bull to ride upon. You are not lame. You have not been disabled by any pain or suffering" (8). "You are proud and capable enough to move about" (5). "You are riding on the bull; why then are you here?" (8). "What is the reason? What are you guarding over?" (7). "You are fond of the *Uttira* festival of *Orṟiyūr* of the tidal ocean (*Uttiram* is one reading; '*Utti*' is another) (7). "Why are you here? You receive alms to go down in this meanness of beggary" (6). '*Icukku*' is '*Iḻukku*', the fault or meanness. '*Ici*' probably as a corruption of '*Iḻu*' in the sense of break is found in *Tivākaram*. '*Icitta*' is found in *Aruṇagirināṭar*. Probably the poet is using the dialect of

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the *Vaṭukar*. '*Payikkam*' is begging (See: *Pāḻūril payikkam pukkuyntavārē*: Appar: 4: 5: 8). "If you live on the alms given, why permanently stay here?" (3).

IV

This begging brings to our mind the *Bhikṣāṭana* form and one may not be far wrong in calling this *hymn* also as a *Bhikṣāṭana hymn* — a recurring motif in *Ārūrar's* art. This beggar of love curiously enough as we had seen, comes with His loving consort. Our poet sings here, "You come as a beggar but you are dazed and you do not know any way of living on the alms offered in the cities" (5). We saw the poet emphasizing latterly the holiness and purity of the Lord. In keeping with this trend the poet harps on the white aspect of His ornaments. "He recites the holy *Vēdas*; He besmears Himself with the white ash wearing a white loin cloth" (7). "He carries as a begging bowl of a white skull; His laurel is the white crescent moon" (9). "The skin he wears is shining. He is a beggar but He is one who creates happiness or bliss. He is a great musician. He sings the musical *Sāma Vēda*" (5). "He is fond of the musical instruments and their intermittent sound — *kokkarai, koṭukoṭṭi, tattaḷakam, kuṭamuḻa, tuntumi* which are struck in accompaniment to the song; all accompaniments to the dance of the Beggar" (6).

V

These are the verses which the poet has spoken out of his heart — a *hymn* springing as it were out of his contemplation This *hymn* whilst reciting inspires us with a calm joy where disappear all miseries, kindling in us a contemplation of the love of the Lord, coming a-begging for our love. This same experience is vouchsafed to those who recite the praise of the Lord. Our poet calls himself *Ūraṉ*, the *Śiva Toṇṭaṉ*. Another reading is '*Ciru Toṇṭaṉ*' or the humbler servant (a meaning which we noted in *Campantar's words*: 3: 63: 1-11).

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CHAPTER XCV

TIRUPPUKKOLIYŪR AVINĀCI

(*Hymn* 92)

I

This *hymn* is on the temple at the place called *Tiruppukkoḷi*. The Lord of the Temple is *Avināci, i.e.*, one who knows no destruction. Now the place itself goes by the name of *Avināci*. But in the *hymn*, it occurs as the name of the Lord, as a noun put in apposition with the other names describing the Lord. Every third line of the verses ends with the words, '*Pukkoḷiyūr Avināciyē*' except in verses 2 and 9 which speak of '*Pukkoḷiyūriṟ kuḷattiṭai* (2 & 9), referring to some *Brahmachari* or youngster getting into the tank and bathing and playing a prank or deceiving the poet. The story about the boy dead long ago coming alive from the mouth of a crocodile had been discussed earlier (in the life) of *Cuntarar-Ārūrar*).

II

The place is described as being full of gardens which dance in the woods (4), as it were for the Temple — a garden where play the monkeys (7) and where the birds get to the top of the trees (9). Our poet is so overpowered by his feeling of universal love that he speaks of the she-monkey going in search of edible fruits for its beloved and also worshipping the Lord in the mountain slopes at the time of every *sandhi* (morning, midday and evening) with the offerings of water and flower and the Lord residing in its heart (7) — a beautiful picture of domestic life and *tapas* rolled into one, something contemplated in *Naṟṟiṇai* (v. 22).

If Kālidāsa's Sākuntala speaks of the creepers as sisters, our poet speaks of even the she-monkey as a spiritual colleague like him performing the duties of domestic life and *tapas* (7). This worship of the monkey, and that of a she-monkey, takes, in the seventh verse, the place of worship by the celestials in the previous verse (6). "The tongue will not utter anything except singing of you" (6). So saying, the *Dēvas* or celestials worship and salute as the Lord's servants. For, He becomes the crown

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of those who contemplate on Him; for He is so fond of their praises (6).

III

The Lord is the beautiful light of the *Dēvas—cuntaraccōti*—6. Our poet thus emphasizes the beauty aspect and the *jñāna* aspect of the Absolute. He is the great gem — '*Māmaṇi*' (2). He is *Pacupati* (1) — the Lord of the souls, a name which expresses the unique philosophy of the *Śaivites*. He is *Paramēṭṭi* (1) — the Supreme. He is *Nandi* (7), a name which is sacred to the later day *Śaivites*, though it is also a name of *Arhats* in ancient times especially of *Ṛṣaba Dēva*. He is our Man and Prince (3). He is our Chief (1). He is the *Alpha* and *Omega* (4). He is the blotless and the Pure: '*Niṉmala mūrti*" (10). He is the great Dancer (6).

IV

The *Purāṇic* references here are not many as is the case with our poet's *hymns* in which the subjective element predominates. But the serpent is spoken of often and often (1, 3, 4 & 8). The blotted throat (10). the destruction of the three cities (5) and the mat-lock of flowers (6) which mat-lock rises mercifully (*arulōṅku*) higher and higher with the increasing waters of the *Ganges* (10), His dance hall of graveyard (5), His fighting bull (10), His preferring the garment of tiger's skin to white clothes (9) — are all mentioned. The temple cult is also emphasized. He resides at *Naḷḷāṟu*, *Teḷḷāṟu* and *Arattuṟai* (9).

V

One may turn to the personal representations of the poet to the Lord. The *Ārūr hymn* exclaimed, "Is it possible to forget the father of *Ārūr*? (*H.* 59). Here our poet begins in the same strain, "Because of what, will I forget my Lord even in the seven fold births? With all my heart I think of you alone as my relative, realize that truth. I live attached to you" (1). "Wherever I may go, if I just think of my Lord no evil befalls me (3); even if I enter the *Koṅku* country there is none to waylay me and rob me of my clothes" (3). (This is the reference to the condition of affairs at *Tirumurukaṉ Pūṇṭi* already described — *H.* 49). "Excepting you, I worship not other gods. I see not, if you do not show. If you show me I shall still see" (8). "You are capable of making even blind eyes to see". (Has it anything to do with

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the blindness of the poet? Or, does it mean that the Lord is capable of showing things which the physical eyes cannot see?) (8). There are a few requests of the poet; "My Lord! I beg of you and pray for the birthless state. I pray for escaping from Hell" (3).

VI

In these stanzas occur the reference to *Māṇi* (2, 9) and '*Piḷḷai*' (4). "You came and joined those wayfarers. Is it fair that you should leave off and disappear in the middle. The *Māṇi* who descended into and bathed in the pond of *Pukkoḷiyūr* has duped me" (2). "The *Māṇi* that began to bathe inside the pond of *Pukkoḷiyūr* has duped me" (9), It is not clear what the incident in his life that the poet is referring to. "*Karaikkāl mutalaiyaip piḷḷai taraccollu Kālaṉaiyē*" (4) is the last line of the fourth verse and this remains a problem; for, the meaning given as referring to a miracle is not convincing. The construction seems to be peculiar. Has this anything to do with what the poet had spoken of probably in the *Kaḻumala hymn*? (58: 9).

"Maṟaiyiṭait tuṇintavar maṉaiyiṭai yiruppa
Vañcaṉai ceytavar poykaiyu māyat
Tuṟaiyuṟak kuḷittuḷa tākavait tuytta
Vuṇmaiye ṉuntaka viṉmaiyai yōrēṉ
Piṟaiyuṭaic cataiyaṉai yeṅkaḷ pirāṉaip
Pēraru ḷāḷaṉaik kāriruḷ pōṉṟa
Kaṟaiyaṇi miṭaruṭai yaṭikaḷai yaṭiyēṉ
Kaḻumala vaḷanakark kaṇṭukoṇṭēṉē" (58. 9).

VII

The poet speaks of himself as *Toṇṭaṉ* (10) and these are the verses which he had conceived and which are of growing fame. In singing this *hymn*, our poet must have experienced a spiritual calmness devoid of all miseries and he assures that those who can recite this will also enjoy the same experience.

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CHAPTER XCVI

TIRUVAÑCAIKKALAM

(*Hymn* 4)

I

This is the *hymn* on the Father of *Añcaikkaḷam*, the temple at *Karūr* or *Vañci*. Every verse ends with the address, '*Añcaikkaḷattappaṉē*'. This usage of addressing God as *Appaṉ* of the temple as *Guruvāyūr Appaṉ*, *etc.*, is widespread even now in Malabar. Our poet had prayed for a birthless state (92:3). This *hymn* reveals the highest state of spiritual development, an intense emotion of *jñāna*, almost an identity with God, a natural loosening of attachment to the world as though there is no more use for him in this world, a readiness to quit the world if God so decides but no more assertions of his own, even if it be a prayer for birthless state or an escape from Hell—a feeling of self-surrender leaving everything to be done as God wills.

This *hymn* begins with questions about the peculiar ornaments of the Lord even as it was found in the *Bhikṣāṭana hymns* (No. 36, verse 7 and also in *hymn* No. 6). The *Bhikṣāṭana hymns*, as already referred to, form the one great motif of *Ārūrar's* art, as the best vehicle of his mystic thought. The personal narrations have been predominating latterly in his *hymns* but now comes the calm and peace and he with his childlike simplicity goes back to the *purāṇic* stories seeing therein the best way of expressing his experience of the Lord. The complete identity of love takes the form of the happy speech of a damsel in love with the *Bhikṣāṭana* form.

II

"Why (of what significance) is the adornment of the laurel of skulls on your crown?" (1). "Why is this wearing of the flood of the *Ganges* on your mat-lock?" (1) "Why is this clothing yourself with the tiger's skin and why this tightening it up with the tape of poisonous serpent?" (1). "Why is the wearing of the serpent after catching and making it dance?" (See the reference to holding of the serpent to dance in the *Bhikṣāṭana hymn*) (2). "Why thus adorning yourself with the crescent moon on the mat-

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lock?" (2). "Why is this besmearing of the ash all over your body?" (2). "Why is this loving ride on the bull?" (2). "What is the fruit of salvation?" (5). "What is the result of birth?" (5). "When elephants are standing at your beck and call, why ride on the bull?" (5). "Why crown yourself with the damsel of the *Ganges* whilst you stand embracing the damsel of the mountain?" (5). "What is the thing you confer on those scholars who sing of You?" (5). "Why this midnight dance of the graveyard?" (6). "Why this begging with deadman's skull?" (6). "What is the substantial thing that those who worship and praise you get?" (6).

III

In a way all the mystic significance of the *Purāṇic* stories which we had explained elsewhere thus comes here as it were in a final flash with a glow of complete realization and mystic love. Without any such interrogations, the poet lovingly and significantly addresses the Lord's *purāṇic* personality as the Vēdic scholar with the ears wearing the shining *Kuṇḍala* (suggesting He is all ears) (8) and the Lord who vanquished *Rāvaṇa* (8), as the Lord who shines with the dark and sapphire like throat after the feast of poison (8), as the One who cut away one of the heads of *Brahma* and as the destroyer of the three cities (8). These addresses are continued with more direct and revealing experiences and conclusions of his. "You are the gooseberry fruit (tasting sweet every time it is enjoyed) to those who wake up ever contemplating on you. Whether they are great or small, if your thought begins to spread in their mind, they that worship you before anything else will never die and never be born again" (3). "You are the Seer of the Seers, the Eternal of the Eternals" (3). "You are like what the vowel is to the letters (or the life unto the pictures). You are like what the leaves (the feeders) are for the trees; You are like unto Yourself. You are like what the cloud is to the sprouting crops. You are the refuge of your servants" (4).

Then follow his assertions: "I assert or I say that You are the Creator, Destroyer, and Sustainer. I state that You are the significance of words uttered by the speakers. I state that You are the tongue, the ear and the eyes. O, Good! Now I have realized you completely" (7). This is followed by two great assertions casually made in the midst of his joy of the *purāṇic* descriptions. "I have become sick of the surfeit of the domestic life and I

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left it off completely" (8). "I will not forget you" (9). "He is our Lord and Master, the Lord of the Eternals, He who for ever showers His Grace on me my Father of *Añcaikkaḷam*" (10).

IV

The poet once again takes an innoncent pleasure in Nature and we have here the description of the sea port of *Vañci* of his times. The city is called *Makōtai*: "*Kaṭalaṅkaraimēl Makōtai aṇiyār poḻil Añcaikkaḷattappaṉē*" (1) — "The father of *Añcaikkaḷam* of groves in *Makōtai* in the sea beach". It is the fourth line in every one of the first nine verses except the third. To it, the first foot is added variously according to the rules of assonance — "*Alaikkuṅ kaṭal*" (1) — 'the sea where the waves roll to and for'; "*Aṭittār kaṭal*" (2), "*Aṭikkum kaṭal*" (9) — 'the full sea which dashes against the beach'; "*Aḻaikkum kaṭal*" (4) 'the sea that calls'; "*Āṭum kaṭal*" (5) — 'the sea that dances (with its waves) or plays'; "*Aravakkaṭal*" (6) — 'the sea of great noise'; "*Ārkkum kaṭal*" (7) — 'the roaring sea' and "*Antaṇ kaṭal*" (10) 'the beautiful cool sea'.

"The forceful waves like mountains draw inside the sea (everything caught) and then dash against the shore with a great roar and tease the '*valampuri*' conch carried by them" (1). "The forceful waves curl back and then run forward and dash against the beach so that the growing conches open their mouth and pour out their pearls" (2). "The waves like connected huge and dark mountains ceaselessly topple over the shore" (3). "The powerful waves like rain-bearing clouds draw in and dash against the beach with a roar calling in, with *valampuri* conches, the people" (4). "In the motion of the ships which have made possible the amassing of many a treasure, the dance of the sea is seen" (5). "The sea brings the conches, the oyster and the pearl and dashes them with force on the beach and with a roar resonating through the *valampuri* conches" (6). "Any number of ships are laden with many a treasure which inspire as with varied thoughts and the sea carries these ships pushing them on to move with a roar" (7). "A few forceful waves powerfully draw the things and thereafter dash against the beach with a roar as though straining the water with the '*valampuri*' conches they carry" (9).

Here we have a picture of the powerful Arabian sea carrying the ships to distant countries. It is surprising that our poet has given no such description of Negapatam or Pt. Calimere. The

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mighty waves remind us of the activities of the Lord rising forth from the Absolute of an ocean blessing the world all through these activities, the pearls and conches and carrying the ships of all our efforts and dreams without realizing which we groan and moan in this world.

The poet has a vision of the Lord with the sea as the background and exclaims, "O, Lord, Our father of *Añcaikkaḷam*, Lord of the beautiful gardens on the sea! You look like the ruddy evening heavens" (3):—a beautiful description of the setting sun being thus deified in the eye of the saint. Whatever confusion and commotion might have been in the heart of the poet, they have completely disappeared, leaving a calm and peaceful experience of divinity, the commotion and confusion being now seen only in the waves springing up from the quiet ocean — even here the commotion and confusion being really the play of the Lord, play intended for the benefit of the souls which because of their blurred vision speak of confusion and commotion and run away from these blessings in fright and ignorance.

V

The poet has experienced whilst singing this *hymn* a calmness and peace of mind that he assures those who fall at the feet of the Lord with this garland of *hymn* of cool *Tamiḻ* of ever increasing rhythm that they will also experience the same peace of mind without any agitations or confusions of mind. Everything now become harmonious as music and whilst calling himself *Nampiyūraṉ*, the chief of the people of *Nāvalūr*, he describes that city of his as the place where resounds the musical rhythm of the drum and the flute with a restraint and slow movement (10).

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CHAPTER XCVII

TIRUNOṬITTĀNMALAI

(*Hymn* 100)

I

This *hymn* is on the Best Lord — *Uttamaṉ* — of *Noṭittāṉmalai* which is considered to be *Kailās*, the mountain of *Noṭittāṉ* or the Destroyer (*Noṭittāṉ* has this meaning of destruction as established by *Meikaṇṭār's* usage in his *Śivajñānabhōdam — Sūtram*: 1, *Veṇpā*: 4)). According to tradition, this *hymn* was sung when God sent him a white elephant for transporting him from this world to the *Kailās*. The *Kailās* is not only the name of the mountain but also the name of the highest Heavens according to the *Śaivite* mythology. *Śivalōkam*, *Rudralōkam* and *Paralōkam* have all been mentioned by our poet.

There are two sets of interpretations for these terms: One, which believes in *Padamukti* or *Sālōka*, hoiding that the highest spiritual development and salvation consists in reaching this highest sphere. The others, who believe in *Paramukti* or *Sāyujya*, hold, the highest spiritual development is to become one with the Lord and they interpret the *Śivalōka etc.*, as a spiritual state of Absolute communion with the Lord. This school of thought also speaks of a lower degree of spiritual development where souls reach a place of holiness and spirituality which is also called *Kailās* where *Srikaṇṭa Rudra*, one of the saved souls, given the power of rulership, resides to save the world.

Unless one holds that *Nampi Ārūrar* also believed in *Padamukti* and attained only what the other school of thought considers a lower order of spiritual attainment, it is difficult to understand this *hymn* literally. *Rāmānuja's* philosophy interprets the poems of *Āḻvārs* as holding out this *Padamukti* the highest state of spiritual development, though there are others who will controvert this position. The penultimate *hymn* in *Tiruvāymoḻi* beginning with the word '*Cūḻvicumpu*' gives his vision of the reception which the *Bhaktas* get when they reach *Vaikuṇṭa* or the world of *Viṣṇu*. The whole universe is said to be happy and welcoming alone with the *ṛṣis* and celestials, these *Bhaktas* entering through the gates of

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Vaikuṇṭa to the great *maṇṭapam* there. A reception, or rather something like that, is described in this *hymn* as having been offered to *Ārūrar*.

If this *hymn* is thus taken as having been sung when the poet reached the heavenly *Kailās*, the last verse has to be interpreted as an address to the Lord of the Ocean to carry this *hymn* to the *Cēra* King and through him to the people of the world; for according to tradition *Ārūrar* did not know the *Cēra* king following him on horse back.

II

If something more than *padamukti* is the ultimate goal of *Śaivism*, this *hymn* has to be interpreted metaphorically signifying the great *paramukti* itself or a vision thereof. An elephant, and that a white elephant, is said to have been offered to *Nampi Ārūrar*. The elephant usually signifies two different things; One is the gross materialism leading on to the slavery of five senses. The other is the unperturbed absolute knowledge in the form of *Praṇava*. By describing this elephant as being white, it is the latter interpretation that is suggested. The flaying of the elephant is the destruction of materialism while the story of riding on the white elephant represents reaching the state of spiritual development through the knowledge of *Praṇava*. The contrast between the material and the spiritual is emphasized by our poet in the second verse: "Is it to get rid of your enmity with the elephant you have flayed, you had offered me this elephant on which the eternals of the heavens that circumambulate me have made me ride?" (2).

The highest spiritual state is one of peace, self forgetful bliss losing oneself in God and this aspect is emphasized by the epithet '*matta*' in the phrase, '*Matta yāṉai*' (1). The beauty aspect of the Absolute is spoken of and emphasized by the description of the Lord as '*Aḻakaṉ*' in the big heavens (3). Its purity and knowledge aspects are emphasized by the term '*Veḷḷai yāṉai*' (5). That it is angry with the ways of the world is spoken of as it being the '*Veñciṉa yāṉai*' (16). The gradual spiritual development through higher and higher states of realization is spoken of as a kind of riding on the elephant and going up the mountain. The heavens and earth tremble in reverential love losing their old balance (7). It is the crown of everything and it is described as '*ciramali yāṉai*' (8), where there is a pun on the word '*ciram*' which means not only the zenith of spiritual perfection but also

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the high head of the elephant. Our poet often speaks of '*paramallatoru vēḻam*" (4, 6), a phrase usually cited with reference to spiritual joy and bliss (*Tiruvācakam*: 22: 2) as something beyond what we could bear or control. This makes our suggestion that the elephant signifies a spiritual state, plausible.

III

Our poet also addresses his mind rhetorically interrogating it, "*Aḻakāṉai aruḷ purintatuntaramō*?" (3). The heavens are said to welcome the rider on the elephant (1). The elephant is offered in the mid heavens far away from gross matter. It is not clear how this statement of the offer in the heavens has to be explained in the light of the usual version of the tradition that the elephant came down to earth to carry away *Nampi Ārūrar*. The deathless ones worship and go round the poet (2). The celestials are happy at the sight of this elephant-ride (5). "In the presence of these celestials the Lord who has always been residing in my mind has removed death and had offered me the elephant beyond my control" (6). It has been offered so that the poet may not embrace destruction. He speaks of his coming on the elephant through the (established) path (7).

The king of the seas bows down before our poet with his followers (7). This reminds us of *Nammāḻvār's* poem: "*Āḻkaṭal alaitirai kai eṭuttāṭiṉa*" : 'the sea raised up its hands of waves and danced in joy', thus suggesting the whole universe is happy at the spiritual development attained by the poet. Our poet also speaks of the reverential and loving tremble of the sea (7). All through the heavens or the various spheres of spiritual development there is the welcome to the poet which resounds long before he reaches the respective states. It is full of the sound of '*Hara Hara*', of *Āgamas* of songs of praises known to the *Jñānsis* and the sound of the *Vēdas* mixing with these (8). *Indra, Viṣṇu, Brahma* and the beautiful *Dēvas* welcome the poet and for this consummation, the Lord has offered the elephant. The saints and seers, the great *munis* of *mantra* fame, so near the Lord, ask of Him, "Who is this?" and the Lord replies "He is our man, *Ūraṉ*" (9). Probably it is this which is responsible for the story that when the *ṛṣis* enquired of *Upamanyu*, what that light appearing before them was which he was worshipping, this great master told them that the coming in of light was the returning of *Ārūrar* back to *Kailās*.

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Vāṇa is mentioned as leading (*Valitara — Cintāmaṇi — V.* 989) his march (8). It is probably the *Vāṇāṉ* who has become the *Śivagaṇa*, to play on the pot drum whilst the Lord dances. "*Varumali Vāṇaṉ*" (8) is the full phrase and that will mean one who lives rich in his offerings of blessings, a fitting name for the Lord begging for our love and feeling happy only when He saves the souls while at other times does not feel like living at all.

IV

"*Uṉuyir vēṟu ceytāṉ*" (1) — 'the Lord separated the body from the soul': that does not mean death; but signifies the conferring of a spiritual achievement where the souls become freed from the evils and sufferings of the body, a realization that the soul has nothing to do with this flesh. Therefore, when the poet speaks of the Lord exhibiting his body on the white elephant it must not be interpreted as referring to the corpse. In the *jīvanmukta* state, the soul reaches its communion with the Lord, thanks to the conferment of the white elephant of true knowledge.

V

In the presence of this flood of God's Grace the poet looks very small and gives expression to his feeling of self-condemnation. "He created me. Realizing that, alas, what is it that I should sing unto His golden feet! He has counted me a dog as of some worth and offered me the elephant" (1). "I know no *mantra*. I, a slave, was intoxicated in my domestic life committing all faults and excesses, though assuming various forms of seeming beauty. He has offered me the beautiful elephant, O, my mind! Is it within your capacity?" (3). "O, my heart! who art hankering after life! The Lord has transformed me, who was caught till now within the cruel fetter of *karmas* as a result of women. He has offered me the elephant" (4). "I was a deceit knowing not how to attain His feet with flowers and with contemplation on Him, and bringing all my five senses in concentration on Him. Still, He has been residing in my mind and he has removed my death and offered the elephant" (6).

VI

Our poet says, "I have seen and realized today thoroughly the fact that those born in this world and praise you through generations of your devotees, reach the world of gold" (5), meaning

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hereby the precious and blissful state of salvation — *Kailās* or *Noṭittāṉmalai* which goes on growing through aeons after aeons. This spiritual state he is singing in verses as sweet as sugar, verses becoming famous all round. Our poet has with his heart praised the Mountain, with the sweet *Tamiḻ* of seven tunes (10).

The poet calls himself *Nāvala Ūraṉ* and as we mentionsd elsewhere he refers to his '*Sundara Vēṭam*' (3) probably suggesting to the later age the name *Cuntarar* for himself.

VII

The *hymn* closes with the statement or with an address to the king of the ocean that these ten verses should be made known to the father of *Añcai*, *Añcaiyappar*, who is no other than the Lord; for, in the previous *hymn* our poet has addressed the Lord as *Añcaikkaḷattappaṉ*. In the universal vision of the poet where the whole universe is happy, he feels that the very waves would carry this news of his bliss to the very Lord who has conferred the bliss.

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VOLUME IV

SECTION A

RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

(1)

I

Nampi Ārūrar is a *Śaivite* in the sense he worships God as *Śiva*. The study of his *hymns* as revealing the progress and attainment of final spiritual or divine experience shows that he is a mystic. It is, therefore, difficult to define his creed and dogma. All the same, we learn from his poems certain ideals; certain means of attaining those ideals are referred to as prevalent in his time and as appealing to him. It is very difficult to identify his religion either as *Kāpālika's* or *Pāśupata's* or for that matter with any other sect. As a mystic he refuses to be sectarian. The *Tāntric* forms of worship have become popular by the time of our poet, and he refers to *Āgamas* also. In his work, the 7th *Tirumurai*, there is one great *hymn* which is very significant. It is the *hymn* known as *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*.

This *Tiruttoṇṭattokai hymn* is important for giving us a clear idea of the Religious and Philosophical views dear to the heart of *Nampi Ārūrār*. It must be regarded that he has given the names of those saints of *Śaivism*, who, he thought, had a message to give to the world through their lives. It is true, that, in this selection of names, he must have been guided by the popularity of these names in his own age. The lives of the saints described in this *Tiruttoṇṭattokai hymn* give a concrete representation of the abstract principles of his *Religion* and *Philosophy*. Therefore, it becomes necessary to study this *hymn* in greater detail, for arriving at an estimate of *Nampi Ārūrar's* conception of an ideal *Śaivite*.

A study of this *hymn* will give us an idea of religion, and religious ideas and practices, which appealed to *Ārūrar*.

To verify this conclusion, we have to study the other poems of *Ārūrar*, for finding out whether these ideas and pratices are referred to there.

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The *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* has been looked upon as the message, as it were, of *Ārūrar*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, in his *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*, elaborates this *hymn Tiruttoṇṭaṭṭokai*, by singing a verse each on every one of the saints mentioned in the *hymn*, giving the details of the respective life of the saint. *Cēkkiḻār* has composed his great epic of *Periyapurāṇam*, giving the life history of these saints in the order in which the *hymn Tiruttoṇṭattokai* mentions them. The great *Śaiva Siddhānta* saint and philosopher *Umāpati Śivam* has summarized this great epic in a few verses known as *Tiruttoṇṭar Purāṇasāram*. The sculptures of all these saints are found in most of the great *Śaivite* temples from the age of *Dārāsuram* Temple. Therefore, we are right in searching for the views and ideals of *Arūrar's* religion in this *hymn*.

But our poet *Nampi Ārūrar* gives only the names and sometimes the places of birth of these saints. For other details we have to go to the later day writers. The difficulty here is that it is not possible to conclude that all these details were also in the mind of *Ārūrar* while he sang the *hymn*. It is, therefore, necessary to find out how much of these detils could have been known to *Ārūrar*. A comparative study of these later traditions along with the references found in *Ārūrar's* other poems and in the poets who went before him is undertaken to arrive at the irreducible minimum of knowledge about these saints which *Ārūrar* could have had.

II

From a study of the details of these saints, details which we can attribute to *Ārūrar*, we have to arrive at the religious practices and conceptions which appealed to *Ārūrar*. It is found that the tenth verse of the *hymn* helps us here and the grouping there is, therefore, followed in all the references to these kinds of worship in *Ārūrar's* poems themselves apart from this particular *hymn*.

Certain problems are raised with reference to this *hymn*, and they are incidentally discussed, so that the genuineness of the *hymn* and its proper significance may be brought out.

III

In the next part of the study, the significance of the conception of *Paramaṉaiyē Pāṭuvār* as the *Tamiḻ* mystic poets of whom *Ārūrar* is one, is explained at length from the point of view of *Tamiḻ* and *Tamilian* history. This *hymn* becomes the national poetry of the *Tamilians*. To avoid any parochialism or narrow

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partisanship, *Ārūrar's* conception of '*Appālum Aṭiccārntār*' is explained as his final and universal vision.

The first study herein is the lives of the saints. The second part examines the religious ideals and practices which have appealed to *Ārūrar*. The third, studies the peculiar method of worship which *Cēkkiḻār* calls '*Arccaṇai pāṭṭē ākum*'[1] in relation to *Tamiḻ*, *Tamiḻ* Poetry, *Tamiḻ Mantras*, *Tamiḻ* Nationalism and Final Universalism of *Nampi Ārūrar*. In this part, to start with, certain problems relating to *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* are discussed and at the end his universalism is explained as yielding the fruit of his toleration of wider outlook, of harmony even with reference to *Jainism* and *Buddhism* which were considered by him as hostile to *Śaivism*.

(2)

I

A word may be said here about the lives of the saints of the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*.

Cēkkiḻār gives us the details of the lives of these saints in *Periyapurāṇam*, but this poet came nearly four or five centuries after *Ārūrar* either in the reign of *Kulōttuṅga II* or *Kulōttuṅga III*. Therefore, it is not possible to assume that all these details formed the prevalent tradition even in the time of *Nampi Ārūrar*. *Cēkkiḻār* states that he is closely following the stories or the details given by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*[2] probably referring to *Nampiyāṇṭār's Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*. Even *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* came only in the 10th century A.D., whilst our poet *Nampi Ārūrar* lived in the 7th and 8th centuries (*Cf.*, Age of *Ārūrar* by the present writer), as the Epigraphists state: "The stories of the 63 *Śaiva* saints which must have been extant almost from the very period in which the saints flourished, were compiled in an abbreviated form by *Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi* in the time of *Rājarāja I*, under the name *Tiruttoṇḍattogai*."[3]

1. *Taṭut.*, 70.
2. *Periyapurāṇam, Tirumalaic ciṟappu*, V. 39.
3. *(Note: Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is not by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* but by *Nampi Ārūrar*. *Nampiyāṇṭār's* work is *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti)*. The latter work is referred to in No. 137 of *Appendix B* where mention is also made of the images of the Bhaktas (*i.e.*, the 63 *Śaiva devotees) (Annual Report* on *Epigraphy*, 1913)

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II

In a few places, the description given by *Ārūrar* is not literal too according to the later tradition. The later tradition will be discussed at length but at this stage the fact of variation may be emphasized and explained. *Eṟipattar*, according to *Periyapurāṇam*, carried a '*paraśu*' (a war-axe), but *Ārūrar* describes him as the hero of '*Vēl*' (the spear)—"*Ilaimalinta vēl Nampi Eṟipattar*".[4] The saint *Candēśvara* is described by our poet as using the '*maḻu*' (the axe)—"*Tātai tāḷ maḻuviṉāḷ eṟinta ..... Caṇṭi*".[5] *Periyapurāṇam* describes the metamorphosis of a stick lying near *Caṇḍēśvara* into an axe as soon as he touched it.

Māṉakkañcāṟar cuts away the lock of hair of his own daughter on the day of her marriage and *Ārūrar* does not specify this story, but describes him a '*Vaḷḷal*'—the great munificent donor, at the same time emphasizing the fact that any gift given, was not given away in a moment of weakness, for, according to *Ārūrar*, he had the shoulders as strong as hillocks—"*Malai malinta tōl vaḷḷal Māṉakkañcāṟaṉ*".[6]

Tāyaṉ is a cultivator saint according to *Cēkkiḻār*, but our poet describes him as the *Tāyaṉ* of the scythe of completeness probably because it was the scythe of self sacrifice—"*Eñcāta Vāṭṭāyaṉ*".[7] Or, perhaps the '*vāḷ*' is mentioned because he was a chieftain and a patron.

Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār is described as famous for his cloud-like gifts; probably this was understood as referring to the story of *Śiva* sending a minstrel or '*Pāṇa*' to *Cēramāṉ*. with a song requesting the latter to honour the minstrel with proper gifts—"*Kārkoṇṭa koṭaik Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār*".[8]

Ciṟappuli is described as "*Cīṟkoṇṭa pukaḻ vaḷḷal*"[9]—the munificent patron of excellent fame. Nothing more is said. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, however, he belonged to *Ākkūr*, whose residents were praised by *Campantar* in his innumerable verses

4. 7: 39: 2.
5. 7: 39: 3.
6. 7: 39: 2.
7. 7: 39: 2.
8. 7: 39: 6.
9. 7: 39: 6.

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as great patrons and probably it is this which prompts our poet to describe *Cirappuli* in those terms.

Kurruva Nāyaṉār is described as "*Ārkoṇṭa vēl Kūrraṉ*".[10]

This saint was desirous of being crowned at *Citamparam* like the *Cōḷas*. The meaning of the phrase '*Ārkoṇṭa*' is not clear. Does it mean that he himself assumed the laurel of '*ātti*' of the *Cōḷas*?

Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar is described as a true servant of the Lord—"*Meyyaṭiyāṉ Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ*".[11]

Kaṇampullar is described as having for his armour or protection, the heroic feet of the Lord of the blotted throat—"*Karaikkaṇṭaṉ kaḷalaṭiyē kāppukkoṇṭirunta Kaṇampulla Nampi*".[12] But the story in the *Periyapurāṇam* refers only to this saint burning away his own head (tuft).

Ārūrar speaks of *Poyyaṭimaiyillāta Pulavar*,[13] when he is enumerating individual saints but *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* has taken this to refer to the poets of the *Caṅkam* age in which case it will be a reference to a group of saints. Groups of saints are referred to in the 10th verse and, therefore, the reference to a group in the seventh verse is not in keeping with the scheme adopted by *Ārūrar*. Some have suggested that this may be a reference to *Māṇikkavācakar*, whom, some, however, will bring down to the 9th century A.D. *Cēkkiḻār* seems to describe this *Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar* as an individual, though not specifically.

Ārūrar describes *Ceruttuṇaiyār* as the king of *Tañcai*.[14] But *Periyapurāṇam* speaks of him as one belonging to the community of cultivators—"*Vēḷāṉ kuṭi mutalvar*", but courageous enough to cut away the nose of the *Pallava* Queen, who smelt with the nose, the flowers to be offered to *Śiva*. This is the story given by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*. One wonders whether after all, this is the significance of the term *Tañcaimaṉṉaṉ*.

10. 7: 39: 6.
11. 7: 39: 7.
12. 7: 39: 8.
13. 7: 39: 7.
14. 7: 39: 9.

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Ceṅkaṇār, the great *Cōḷa* king, is described curiously enough as "*Teṉṉavaṉāyulakāṇṭa Ceṅkaṇār*".[15] Ordinarily, the word *Teṉṉavaṉ* refers to a *Pāṇḍya*. As already noted, our poet is thinking of the whole *Tamiḻ* Land as a unity and in this sense calls *Ceṅkaṇār*, the Lord of the *Tamiḻ* Land or the Land of the South. This interpretation is justified by the usage of the word *Teṉṉaṉ* in verse No. 8 of the *hymn* No. 38.

Ārūrar mentions one '*Catti*' and describes him as '*Kaḻal Catti*[16] and "*Variñcaiyarkōṉ*".[17] This will make him a heroic king but in the traditional story given in *Periyapurāṇam*, he is said to belong to the cultivator's community and he came to be known as *Catti* because he carried a weapon of that name. *Catti* is a proper name which has been assumed by several chieftains of the *Tamiḻ* land of that age. We know of a *Pallava Śakti*; and *Śaktinātha* is one of the hereditary titles assumed by the Lords of *Muṉaippāṭi-nāṭu*, *Milāṭu* or *Cēti-nāṭu*.[18] One wonders whether all the saints mentioned in that line[19] *Kalikkampaṉ*, *Kaliyaṉ* and *Catti* might not be chieftains. The *Kalabhras* are known as *Kaliyaracar*, and it may be suggested for consideration whether those names in which the term *Kali* appears may not be members of this family of *Kalabhras* or *Kaliyaracar*; *Kalikkampaṉ*, *Kaliyaṉ* and *Kalikkāmaṉ* (*Ēyarkōṉ*) are all names in which this *Kali* appears. *Kaliyaṉ* is known to be the name of *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār*. But *Kaliyaṉ* mentioned in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is according to *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, a *cakkiri*, an oilmonger, working at the oil mill. It may be that this *Kaliyaṉ* was also the chieftain or that the name *Kaliyaṉ* came to be so popular that even oil mongers came to assume it after their kings. In this connection, we come across an interesting phrase "*Viraiyāk kali*" where the word '*kali*' is used in the sense of '*āṇai*' or order[20] this sense must have grown up during the rule of these *Kali* tribes or *Kalabhras*.

Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār is said to be a *Kaḷappāḷar* according to *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*. *Kaḷappāḷar* are also considered as *Kalabhras*. *Accutakkaḷappāḷar* is known to literature; probably, he is

15. 7: 39: 11.
16. 7: 39: 7.
17. 7: 39: 7.
18. 120/1900.
19. 7: 39: 7.
20. *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*, V. 68; *Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār Purāṇam*, V. 4.

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the *Accyuta* of *Buddhadatta*. *Mūrkka Nāyaṉār* is described by *Nampiyāṇṭār* as *Tiruvērkāṭṭu Maṉṉaṉ*; we hear of one *Kali Mūrkka Iḷavaraiyaṉ*,[21] who is also called *Vāli Vaṭukaṉ*. Though it may be a far fetched suggestion, one is tempted to wonder whether this *Kali Mūrkkaṉ* was a descendant of *Mūrkka*, and *Kaḷappāḷar* are considered to be *Kalabhras*. *Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma* is said to be a member of the cultivators' community and *Kaḷappāḷar* are found to belong to this community in later times. But the title *Ēyarkōṉ* should be given some significance. *Ēyar* is the *Tamilian* form of *Hēhayas* as may be seen from *Peruṅkatai*.[22] *Hēhayas* are *yādavas*. In the *Pallava* age, the chieftains and kings trace their relatives to the *Purāṇic* families and this may be one of such cases. The *Vēḷir* are said to have come from '*Tuvarai*' and from this Prof. M. Raghava Aiyangar had argued that the *Vēḷir* belonged to the family of *yādavas*.

III

All these are mentioned only to show how difficult it is to make out the history of these saints. Even *Cēkkiḻār* gives precious little about some of these saints treating of them within five to ten verses. We can only conclude that *Cēkkiḻār* has given us the tradition as it reached him. From this it will be very difficult to conclude that the same traditions obtained in the age of *Nampi Ārūrar*. Prof. K. Nīlakaṇṭa Sāstry's remarks, in this connection, strengthens our conclusion: "Great as must be the authority of *Nambi* and his successors in matters of religion and theology in dealing (with Mr. Sesha Aiyangar) that the history involved in their interpretation of the *Tiruttoṇḍattogai* seems to be, much of it, wrong. The point is that continuity in religious tradition seems to be quite compatible with a break in secular historical tradition. For an illustration I may refer to the case of another saint in the list, *Seruttuṇai* who is spoken of as a king of *Tanjore* by *Sundaramūrti*; *Nambi* makes no mention of his having been a king at all, evidently because in his day nothing was known about such a ruler of Tanjore; and a little later, *Cēkkiḻār* in his *Periyapurāṇam* actually makes a *Vaisya* (*Vēḷāṇkuṭi mutalvar*) of this king of Tanjore".[23]

21. 348/1914.
22. *Vattava Kāṇṭam*, 8:44.
23. *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 67.

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IV

This line of argument puts us on our guard against assuming to other stories also as historical facts. Religious persecution, for instance, was never so severe in the *Tamiḻ* country as in other lands. But the *Tamilians* compensated this by writing imaginary stories about such persecutions One such story is the impaling of the 8,000 *Jains* by *Campantar*; but there is not a whisper about it in any of the inscriptions of the age, and the number 8,000 itself in these ages makes this an impossible story. *Cēkkiḻār* could not help mentioning this incident because by his time it had become an established tradition strengthened by the reference in *Nampiyāṇṭār's* verses. Whenever there is a story of cruelty we have to be therefore, on our guard in taking it at its face value. There is a story of *Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ* cutting away the hand of his own Royal consort after another saint *Ceruttuṇai* has cut away her nose. *Nampi Ārūrar* gives one whole line for this king but says not a word about this incident. When names of kings are mentioned, we must take it that it had been done so because they patronized the religious propagation. It must not however be thought that there could have been no cruel act especially in that age of political confusion and incessant wars, justifying the use of force for protecting *Śaivism*; for, *Ārūrar* himself mentions *Caṇḍēśvara* cutting off the feet of his father. It must be added that this is not an act of intolerance and act done by one who was lost in the thought of God. But the majority of the stories gives us a picture of the life of self-sacrifice and a life guided by the ideal, practised by even very ordinary men, under trying circumstances.

V

As in the case of other traditions, the stories of these saints also must have been developing from time to time. We may leave off these *Purāṇas* later than that of *Cēkkiḻār*. But from the inscriptions and the icons and paintings in the temples and from the works of *Paṭṭinattār* and others till the age of *Cēkkiḻar*, we could see this development. The *Rājarājēccuram* of *Tanjore* built by *Rājarāja I* forms of a landmark. We have therein the images representing the story of *Caṇḍēśa* consecrated,[24] in addition to the images of *Nampi Ārūrar*, *Paravai*, *Campantar* and *Appar*.[25]

24. *S.I I., Vol. II,* 29, 59 *and* 60.
25. *Ibid.*

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The images of the *Bhairava*, *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*, *Veṇkāṭṭu Naṅkai* and *Cīraḷadēva*—all relating to the story of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* were made and consecrated.[26] The paintings of the *Cōḻa* age brought to light by Sri S. K. Govindaswamy Pillai of *Aṇṇāmalai* University give us a few scenes from the life of *Ārūrar* and if further examinations are made underneath the later paintings, more *Cōḻa* pictures of the *Śaivite* saints may be revealed.

VI

We may now proceed to study these stories in the light of these references. *Ārūrar* sings of these saints in eleven verses and the *Śaivite* tradition has grouped its study of these saints under these eleven groups and we may follow this method, to find out how much of these stories of the saints can be proved today to have been in the mind of *Ārūrar* when he sang the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. This is not to minimize the greatness or historical value of *Periyapurānam* or *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti*. Unfortunately, in spite of their historical research of a very high order they gave us only poetry which does not and ought not to tell us the historical evidences they had gathered. To those who believe as ardent *Śaivites* nothing more is needed. This study is intended for placing before the world, an objective study of *Ārūrar's* poems—a world in which there are more *non-Śaivites* than *Śaivites*. It is, therefore, necessary to give the irreducible minimum that we are sure must have been in the mind of *Ārūrar*, an irreducible minimum which is enough to give us an ideal of *Ārūrar's* ideals of religion which appealed to him as such from the lives of these great saints.

26. *Ibid.*, 43, 44.

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PART I

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ŚAIVITE SAINTS THE TIRUTTOṆṬATTOKAI

CHAPTER I

TILLAI VĀḶ ANTAṆAR CARUKKAM

I

The *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the mention of *Tillai Vāḷ Antaṇar*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* praises them as those who do all the service to the Lord of *Citamparam* by right—"*Piraiyaṇinta tupparkku urimaittoḷil purivōr*". *Cēkkiḻār* praises them further, their *tapas* and *dānam*, their *yajña*, their *jñānam*, *māṉam* (honour), patience and conquest of the mind, probably basing on the references to those *Brahmins* in *Campantar's hymns*. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, this beginning of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, "*Tillai Vāḷ Antaṇartam Aṭiyārkkum Aṭiyēṉ*" was suggested to *Ārūrar* by Lord *Śiva* Himself. *Cēkkiḻār* also mentions that they were 3,000 in number. For this statement he must have relied upon not only the tradition of his day but the reference to them by *Ārūrar* himself—"*Muṭṭātamuccanti mūvāyiravarkku mūrtti eṉṉappaṭṭāṉ*"[1]—Their greatness consists in the continuous worship of *Naṭarāja* in the temple at *Citamparam* thrice a day'.

II

"*Tirunīlakaṇṭattuk kuyavaṉār*" is the second in the list of saints: *Tirunīlakaṇṭattuk kuyavaṉārkkaṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of the potter of *Tirunīlakaṇṭa*'—thus sings *Ārūrar*. *Nampiyāṇṭār* refers to this saint renouncing the physical pleasures of his wife and becoming young along with her by the Grace of God after he had become old. His work suggests that *Tirunīlakaṇṭar* was the name of this saint. But there is a difference between the phrase "*Tirunīlakaṇṭak kuyavaṉ*" used by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* and "*Tirunīlakaṇṭattuk kuyavaṉ*" used by *Ārūrar*. Basing on this difference, *Cēkkiḻār* accepted a tradition that this saint was so much impressed with

1. 7. 90: 7.

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the message of the name *Tirunīlakaṇṭa* that he was always uttering that sacred name. He tells us that once he went astray and his wife, therefore, swore on this sacred name so that he might not touch her. They, however, lived together but without any physical contact. *Śiva* came as a *Śivayōgi* with an earthen bowl and left it in the custody of the saint who was distributing such bowls free to *Śaivites*. *Śiva* made it disappear and demanded the old vessel without agreeing to take a substitute. He insisted upon the couple catching hold of each other's hands and bathing in the tank and swearing that the bowl was really lost. The saint had to explain the incident which led to the resolution of himself and his wife not to have any physical contact. Therefore, they held a stick and bathed to come out only rejuvenated. This skeleton in their cupboard had thus been removed. It was thorn as it were in the unconscious mind. The confession made them whole, removing the lurking feeling of crime and shame. *Ārūrar* speaks of this saint as a potter and the service he had undertaken according to *Cēkkiḻār* was the free distribution of earthen bowls to *Śaivites*. One may take it that this is implied in the description of this saint as a potter by *Ārūrar*. His reverence for the name of *Tirunīlakaṇṭam* as mentioned by *Cēkkiḻār* is suggested by the description of this saint as *Tirunīlakaṇṭattuk kuyavaṉār*. The message of this name had been discussed at length in our study of the swallowing of the poison by Lord *Śiva*.[2] *Ñāṉacampantar* has sung a *hymn* on *Tirunīlakaṇṭam* which suggests that he also cherished great love and reverence for this name.[3] One wonders whether the potter saint came after *Campantar* learning the sacredness of this name from this *hymn*.

III

Iyaṟpakai Nāyaṉār is the third saint. The description given by *Ārūrar* is that he never said 'no' or 'I have not'—"*Illaiyē eṉṉāta Iyaṟpakaikkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Iyaṟpakai* who never said no'. The story goes that he did what ordinary nature would rebel against, *i.e.* gave away his wife to a *Brahmin Śaivite* devotee and slaughtered his relatives when they attempted to prevent him from doing so. This is said to explain his name '*Iraṟpakai*' which is translated as '*Aihika ripu*' or '*Svabhāva ripu*'.

2. *Vol.*, II.
3. 1: 116.

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Such translations of the names of these saints as found in *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* works are not always correct. The word '*iyal*' is found in *Tēvāram*[4] in the sense of rivalry. Probably it is a variant form of the word '*ikal*' in which case the name '*Iyaṟpakai*' will mean, one who conquers his rivals. The tradition found in *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* works describes him as a *Dravidian* king, thus strengthening our suspicion that many of the persons mentioned in the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* were kings and chieftains, the great patrons of *Śaivism*.[5] There is also another tradition found in those books which will support *Cēkkiḻār's* version that he was a *Vaiśya*.[6] The place of his birth is given as *Pukār* or *Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam* by both *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* and *Cēkkiḻār*. One wonders whether the tradition about giving away his wife might not have arisen on the basis of a forced interpretation of *Ārūrar's* line, "*Illaiyē eṉṉāta Iyaṟpakai*", when '*illaiyē*' was interpreted twice, once as 'wife' and again as 'on'. What *Ārūrar* praises is the munificence of the saint knowing not the word 'no'.

IV

The fourth saint in the list is '*Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi Māṟar*'. "*Iḷaiyāṉṟaṉkuṭi Māṟaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Māṟaṉ* of *Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi*, is how *Ārūrar* sings. 'R' is pronounced as 'D' even now, for instance, in Ceylon where '*niṉṟa*' is pronounced as '*niṇḍa*' and this line of *Ārūrar* seems to have been read as '*Iḷaiyāṇḍa Kuḍimāṟaṉ*'; and this is the form with its variant '*Iḷānaṇḍa Kuṭimāṟa*' that is found in the *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions.[7] *Śaivite* ascetics were sometimes called '*Āṇḍār*' and this must have been in the mind of the people who misread *Ārūrar's* line like this. '*Iḷaiyāṉṟaṉkuṭi*' is simply the name of a village, named after '*Iḷaiyāṉ*' as *Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi*. The name *Iḷaiyāṉkuṭimāṟaṉ* is found '*Iḷaiyamāraṅguḍi Māṟar*' in the sculptures in the temple at *Dārāsuram*.[8] One wonders whether the village itself was called after this great saint. According to the story found in *Periyapurāṇam*, after he had lost all he had in his undertaking to offer food to *Śaivites*, *Śiva* appeared before him on a rainy night in the form of a *Śivabhakta* and *Māṟar* at the sug

4. 1: 108: 1; 3: 11: 1; 3: 106: 3.
5. *Mys. Arch. Report*, 1925.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
7. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, p. 6.
8. *A.R.E.*, 1919-20, *pl.* 6. *fig.* 50.

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gestion of his wife brought the corn he had sown in his field and used the bamboo rafters of his house as fire-wood for preparing the food. The word *Māraṉ* is usually the title of the *Pāṇḍyas*. *Cēkkiḻār* makes him a *Śūdra*. As officers under the king bear the names of their masters, our saint might have been an officer under the *Pāṇḍyas* if he himself was not a *Pāṇḍya*. In the sculpture at *Dārāsuram*, on the left side appears *Śiva* on a bull with *Pārvatī*, representing the final scene of the story. Next to that we find a person seated before a tripod on which is the food served with reverence by a lady, *i.e.*, the wife of *Māṟar*. The right side portion depicts a man, that is *Māṟar* bringing a load of corn which his wife is helping to unload on the ground. *Nampiyāṇṭār* mentions the bringing in of the corn sown and the using of rafters of the house as fuel. But he does not refer to the wife of *Māṟar* whereas in the story of *Cēkkiḻār*, and in the sculpture she plays an important part. The *Tillai in Tillaivāḻ Antaṇar* is applicable to *Tirunīlakaṇṭattuk kuyavaṉār* also because the latter also is said to belong to *Tillai*. If this were so, one may not be wrong in taking the expression '*Illaiyē eṉṉāta*' as a description of '*Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi Māraṉ*' as well.

V

The fifth saint is described by *Ārūrar* as "*Vellumā mika valla Meypporuḷ* — '*Meypporuḷ* who is very capable of conquering'. He is called '*Meypporuḷ Vēntaṉ*' and '*Cētiyar Perumāṉ*' by *Cēkkiḻār*. *Cēkkiḻār* seems to suggest that he earned the title of *Meypporuḷ* because he realized *Meypporuḷ* or truth. "*Meyttava vēṭamē Meypporuḷ*" is what *Cēkkiḻār* says in this *Nāyaṉār Purāṇam*[9]. The true *Śaivite* form is the greatest truth. It is because of this realization, the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* works translate his name as *Siddhirāja*. An enemy of the saint knowing the latter's devotion to the *Śaivite* form and his search for *Āgamas* came in the form of a *tapasvin* pretending to carry a bundle of *Āgamas*. He had a free entrance to the king's retiring room where he killed the saint whilst he (the latter) was prostrating at the feet of this *tapasvin*. One servant *Tattaṉ* seeing this, hurried to punish this murderer but the dying king prevented him saying that 'he is our man'. This is considered as real conquest through the path of love and *satyāgraha* as opposed to the conquest by sword and

9. No. 15.

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hatred and *Cēkkiḻār* emphasizes this by saying "*Meyttava vēṭamē meypporuḷeṉat toḻutu veṉṟār*". It is the victory of humility, love and self-sacrifice in the name of the sacred form of *Śaivism*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Ñampi* mentions all these incidents and an inscription of *Rājarāja I* states that an image was installed for this saint who is described therein as "*Tattā namarē kāṇēṉṟa Milāṭuṭaiyār*".[10] He is a king of *Cēti* country. *Milāṭu* is '*Malai Nāṭu*' whose capital was *Tirukkōvalūr*. The name of the enemy is given as *Muttanātaṉ* and some manuscripts of *Periyapurāṇam* read '*bu*' instead of '*mu*', *i.e.*, *Buddhanātaṉ* for *Muttanātaṉ*. It is possible on the basis of this reading that the *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* works describe him as a *Buddhist* feudatory of *Śedirāja-Siddharāja-Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār*.[11]

VI

The sixth saint is *Viṟaṉmiṇṭar*. *Miṇṭar* must be the proper name, coming from the word '*miṇṭu*' meaning strength. '*Viṟal*' means victory. *Ārūrar* sings, "*Viripoḻil cūḻ Kuṉṟaiyār Viṟaṉmiṇṭarkkaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Viṟaṉmiṇṭar* of *Kuṉṟai*, surrounded by gardens'. His place is *Kuṉṟai*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* states that it is *Ceṅkuṉṟam* whilst *Cēkkiḻār* is more definite in making it the *Ceṅkuṉṟūr* of the *Cēra* country. The description given by *Ārūrar* will suggest a victorious warrior. *Cēkkiḻār* will make him belong to the *Vēḷāṉ kulam*. He is said to have disapproved of *Ārūrar's* not worshipping the *Bhaktas* before worshipping *Śiva*, (We have to discuss more about this for fixing the occasion when *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* was sung) and he disapproved of even Lord *Śiva's* accepting *Ārūrār* as his devotee. The principle was gradually becoming accepted that the worship of *Bhaktas* was superior to the worship of *Śiva* himself. But *Ārūrar* does not seem to suggest anything more than a victorious warrior or king serving *Śaivites* and *Śaivism*. The saint is called in the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions '*Śaṅgu Nāyaṉār*' or *Vīraminḍa* or *Mereminḍa Nāyaṉār*. It is not clear whether the name *Saṅgu* has any reference to the '*śaṅga*' or *Bhaktas* or whether it is a corruption of the place named *Ceṅkuṉṟūr* where he is said to have been born. *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions will make it appear that he disliked *Ārūrar* because of his haughty indifference towards *Śaivities* and of his love for prostitutes.

10. *S.I.I., Vol. II, No.* 40.
11. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 6.

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VII

The next saint is described as "*Allimel mullaiyantār Amar.. nītik kaṭiyēṉ*" by *Ārūrar* — I am the servant of *Amarnīti* of the garland made of the petals of soft jasmine. This said to belong to the *Vaiśya* (*Vaṇikar*) community according to *Cēkkiḻār*. *Mullai* garland is said to belong to the shepherd community by *Naccinārkkiṉiyar* in his commentary on *Cintāmaṇi* and the shepherds are considered to be *Gōvaiśyas* in the later day tradition. *Nampiyāṇṭar* makes *Paḷaiyāṟai* as his birth place and *Nallūr*, his place of *Śaivite* activity. *Cēkkiḻār* in addition refers to a *mutt* constructed by *Amarniti* at *Tirunaḷḷūr*. This saint is said to have been giving food and clothing to the worshippers of *Śiva* and that one day *Śiva* coming in the garb of a *Brahmachāri* left a '*kaupīna*; or a loin cloth to be kept under safe custody and to be given back after his return from his bath. The loin cloth disappeared mysteriously and the *Brahmachāri* insisted upon on equal weight of cloth or articles. Everything *Amarnīti* had, could not equal the weight of the loin cloth and saint had ro weigh his wife, his child and himself to equalize the pans thus becoming the slaves of the *Brahmachāri*. *Nampiyāṇṭār* speaks of only the wife and the saint being weighed. A sculpture found at the *Paḷaiyāṟai* temple, a photo of which appears in Mr. C. K. Subrahmanya Mudaliyar's commentary of *Periyapurāṇam Vol.* I; opposite to p. 684 represents the story of weighing and wherein the wife is found carrying a son as stated in *Periyapurāṇām*. The name of the saint is found *Amarnīti* in the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* works[12] suggesting the *nīti* or justice of the *Dēvās*. It is not possible to read the verse of *Arūrar* so as to give this form. *Amarnīti* will mean the justice that has come to stay or that was wished for. The story of this merchant saint being entrusted with the loin cloth at *Nallūr* and become deluded by the *māyā* of the Lord to be saved in the end was known to *Appar* and must have been known to *Ārūrar*, though the weighing is not referred to:

"Nāṯkoṇṭa tāmaraip pūttaṭam cūḻntanal lūrakattē
Kīḻkoṇṭa kōvaṇam kāveṉṟu collik kiṟipaṭattāṉ
Vāṯkoṇṭa nōkki maṉaiyoṭum āṅkōr vāṇskaṉai
Āṯkoṇṭa vārttai uraikkum aṉṟōiv vakaliṭamē"[13]

The reference to the garland will show that he was not an ascetic.

12. *Mys. Arch: Rep.*, 1925 *p.* 7.
13. 4: 97: 7.

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CHAPTER II

ILAIMALINTA CARUKKAM

I

The next verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* starts with the description of *Eṟipattar*, "*Ilaimalinta vēl Nampi Eṟipattark kaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Eṟipattar*, the lord of the leaflike spear'. *Nampiyāṇṭār* gives a story that the saint slew the riders of the elephant of *Pukaḻaccōḻa* when he heard that it had snatched a flower basket from the hand of a *tapasvin*.[1] *Eṟipattar's* place of birth is given as *Karuvūr*. This is on the basis of *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* making this saint a contemporary of *Pukaḻccōḻa* who is said to have died at *Karuvūr* and according to *Ārūrar*, "*Poḻiṟkaruvūrt tuñciya Pukaḻccōḻarkkaṭiyēṉ*". In the verse describing *Pukaḻccōḻa's* greatness *Nampiyāṇṭār* states that the *Cōḻa* had handed over his sword to *Eṟipattar* thus earning the epithet *Pukaḻ*. The name of the *Saivite* whose flowers were snatched by the elephant is given as *Civakāmiyāṇṭār* by *Cēkkiḻār*, who explains the story in a connected form. *Cēkkiḻār* makes *Eṟipattar* kill not only the riders but also the elephant, the *Paṭṭavardhana*, But when the *Cōḻā* came on the scene, he felt that no *Śaivite* could have been in the wrong and that *Eṟipattar* must have saved a greater calamity by killing the men and the elephant. He thought that he himself ought to have been punished and therefore handed over the sword to *Eṟipattar* with a request that be himself might be killed by way punishment for all that had happened. The wild *Eṟipattar* was so moved by this act that he became a convert to the faith of self-sacrifice.

Cēkkiḻār has really made a wonderful story of mental and spiritual development out of the two remarks found in two different verses of *Nampiyāṇṭār*, thereby showing that the glory of *Eṟipattar* did not consist in his slaughter of the elephant and riders but in his final attempt at self-conquest inspired by the glorious example of *Pukaḻccōḻa*. But all this is not clear in the *hymn* of *Ārūrar*: whereas *Cēkkiḻār* will have *Eṟipattar* wield his battle-axe, *Ārūrar* speaks of only the spear. The description of *Ārūrar* amounts to nothing more than that of a *Virabhakta*.

1. *Tiruṭ. Tiruvan.*, 9, 50.

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We can in this connection take up for consideration the story of *Pukaḻccōḻa*. *Ārūrar* describes him merely as "*Poḻiṟ Karuvūrt tuñciya Pukaḻc cōḻarkkaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Pukaḻccōḻa* who died in the garden city of *Karuvūr*.' He describes him as the 41st saint in his list. Students of *Caṅkam* literature know that the kings were sometimes differentiated by reference to the place of their death. Such a practice seemed to have continued during the age of *Ārūrar* as well. That is why the poet speaks of *Pukaḻccōḻa* who died at *Karuvūr* of gardens. This will suggest that during the troubled times of the *Kalabhra interregnum*, the *Cōḻas* had to migrate to *Karuvūr* of the *Cōḻa-Kēraḷa Maṇḍala*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, as already pointed out, does not mention anything more than this *Cōḻa* handing over the sword to *Eṟipattar* as the true fame of this king (50). But *Cēkkiḻār* makes *Uṟaiyūr* his place of birth, the old *Cōḻa* capital, and makes him go to *Karuvūr* for receiving the tributes from his feudatories when the story of *Eṟipattar* takes place. He leads an expedition against *Atikaṉ*, who failed to pay tribute. The king saw amongst the heads of the defeated people brought before him one head of a *Śaivite* devotee with the usual braided hair. He considered that this was the greatest sin that the king could commit, *viz.*, killing a *Śaivite* devotee probably a *Śaivite* ascetic; and as a penance he burnt himself away in a fire specially prepared. "*Karuvūrt tuñciya*" ordinarily may not mean burning oneself away to death unless the reading was, "*Poḻiṟ karuvūrt tīt tuñciya*". If there was any such reading *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* would have given a different version. Perhaps *Cēkkiḻār* learnt some details of *Pukaḻccōḻa Nāyaṉār* from the traditions prevalent in the *Koṅku* country. In the *Dārāsuram* temple, there is a sculpture with the inscription, '*Pugaḻchchōḻaṉār*' which gives the story as described in *Periyapuraṇam*. On the right hand side, there are three men holding swords in their right hands; probably these were the soldiers or commanders who went to war against *Atikaṉ*. Next to them in the middle is the king on the seat. On either side are found two men holding their hands in *añjali* pose, probably the ministers of state informing their king. Next, to the left, is found a person, *viz.*, the king himself without the blazing fire. The left hand corner shows *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* coming on the sacred bull to bless the saint.[2] Whereas in these stories the king burns himself away to

2. *A.R.E.*. 1919-20, *Plate V*.

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reach *Kailās*, in the *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* works *Śiva* intervenes to save him from the fire.[3] It will be very difficult to prove that the development of the story which must have taken place only after the age of *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* could have been in the mind of *Ārūrar*.

The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* works give the name of *Eripattar* as *Iripattunāyaṉār*, *Iribhakta* and *Vīrabhakta*; the king is variously named as *Maṉuchōḷa*, *Anapāyanayachōḷa* and *Pogaḷchōḷa*.[4]

II

The ninth saint in the list is *Ēṉātināta Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar* sings, "*Ēṉāti nātaṉṟaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Ēṉātināta*', giving no further particulars. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* states he belongs to *Eyiṉi* which *Cēkkiḷār* identifies as *Eyiṉaṉūr*, a fortified old city in the *Cōḷa* country. *Nampiyāṇṭār* calls him '*Īḻakkula tīpaṉ*' — the light of the *Īḻa* community. *Īḻa* means *Ceylon*. One wonders if he has anything to do with Ceylon. But *Cēkkiḷār* makes him *Īḻakkulac cāṉṟār*, which term is interpreted as referring to the toddy drawers. He is made to teach the princes, the art of sword. *Aticūra*, his agnatic relation, became envious and challenged *Ēṉāti* for a duel. The saint accepted the challenge and he was about to win when seeing the ashes on the head of his enemy which the latter purposely disclosed at the proper juncture, *Ēṉātināta* allowed himself to be killed pretending to fight to the end, so that no blot might fall on *Aticūra* whose head was shining with the sacred ash. *Ēṉāti* was a title given to the heroic or victorious commanders from the time of the *Tamiḻ Caṅkam* by the three great Royal families of the *Tamiḻ* land. This *Ēṉātināta* must be one of such recipients of the title. Since *Ārūrar* does not mention anything further, one may not be wrong in assuming that he was one of *Ēṉāti* title holders of his time. *Mānavamma*, from the *Īḻa* country or *Ceylon*, we know from *Mahavamsa*, had been at the *Pallava* court and also was commanding an army to help *Narasiṁha* as against the ruler of *Vātāpi*. One wonders whether *Ārūrar* was referring to one such commander.

3. *Mys. Arch. Rep., p.* 9.
4. *Mys. Arch. Rep., p.* 7.

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III

The next saint, the tenth, is *Kaṇṇappar* and *Ārūrar* sings, "*Kalaimalinta cīr Nampi Kaṇṇapparkkaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Kaṇṇappar*, great for his knowledge'. *Ārūrar* has referred to *Kaṇṇappar* in other places as, "*Kaṇaikoḷ Kaṇṇappaṉ*",[5] one who wields the arrow; "*Iṭanta Kaṇṇappaṉ*",[6] where the story itself is expresed in the phrase that he scooped out his eye and fixed it on, probably in the eye of the Lord. In these two places, he says the Lord had blessed him with His love and therefore *Ārūrar* himself came to beg for God's Grace. In a third place,[7] he just mentions the name *Kaṇṇappaṉ* in enumerating a few *Śaivite* saints whose mistakes God considered as good acts and states that this policy of the Lord had brought him to take refuge in Him. The bad act that could be attributed to *Kaṇṇappar* could only be his hunting the animals and feeding the Lord with animal food. *Ñaṉacampantar* refers to *Kaṇṇappar* worshipping with his mouth itself as the water pot, and the eye which he had scooped out as the flower.[8] In the 11th *Tirumuṟai*, we have two songs called '*Tirukkaṇṇappa tēvar tirumaṟam*', one by *Nakkīrar* otherwise known as *Nakkīratēva Nāyaṉār*, and the other by *Kallāṭar*. The very name '*maṟam*' suggests to us the age of 96 *prabhandas* which came into vogue when *Paṉṉirupāṭṭiyal* was composed probably in the *post-caṅkam* age. *Nakkīrar* describes the cruel aspect of a hunter's life with his body full of wounds received during his hunting expeditions. *Kaṇṇappar* went to worship with the water filled up in his mouth, flowers filled in his tuft of hair, carrying the bow in his hand ready for use and being followed by a dog. He mentions the *Brahmin* doing the *pūjā* according to *Āgamas* and feeling sore about the daily desecration by *Kaṇṇappar*, *Śiva* came in a dream of the *Brahmin* to praise the hunter's worship as being full of love. The next day *Kaṇṇappar* saw one of the eyes of the Lord bleeding and he scooped one of his eyes first to be placed on the bleeding eye. Overpowered by his joy at the stopping of blood, he began to scoop the other eye as well, when he saw the other eye also of the Lord begin to bleed, whereupon, God prevented him from doing so by catching hold of his hand. *Kallāṭar*, in his '*maṟam*' des-

5. 7: 65: 2.
6. 7: 88: 6.
7. 7: 55: 4.
8. 3: 69: 4.

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cribes the various ornaments a hunter would wear. *Kaṇṇappar* performed the same kind of worship as described by *Nakkīrar*. Here, the name of the *Brahmin* is mentioned as *Kōcari*.[9] *Nakkīraṉar* will make *Kaṇṇappar* scoop out both his eyes for curing one of the Lord. *Kallāṭar* makes him first scoop out and place his eye on the right eye which alone was first bleeding and then scoop out the other eye, only when the hunter found the other eye also was bleeding. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* only speaks of *Kaṇṇappar* removing his eye to be placed on the Lord's eye when he found it bleeding.

The story of *Kaṇṇappar* had appealed to such great saints as *Māṇikkavācakar* and philosophers like *Śaṅkara*. *Cēkkiḻār* with these hints had made a beautiful story of *Kaṇṇappar's* mental development. He represents *Kaṇṇappar* as a beautiful person and makes him the very form of love which is usually born of true knowledge, thus interpreting in his story *Ārūrar's* reference to *Kaṇṇappar* as "*Kalaimalinta cīr Nampi*". The name of the *Brahmin* is given in *Periyapurāṇam* as *Śivakōcariyār* (135). *Kaṇṇappar's* worship is reduced to the short span of six days (166). He does not describe the dog in detail but he refers to the foot prints of the dog in the speech of God in the dream of *Śivakōcariyār* (138). He follows *Kallāṭar* in making both the eyes of the Lord, bleed. In this story, unfettered and unconventional love is contrasted with the love and worship according to *Āgamas*, and the story emphasizes that the former is better than or as good as the latter. The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions will make *Kaṇṇappar* not only '*Nētrārpaka*', what is merely a translation of the name *Kaṇṇappar*, but also a '*Mukkaṇṇa*', for, it is said there that *Śiva* had given him three eyes.[10]

IV

The 11th saint is *Kuṅkiliyakkalaya Nāyaṉār*, whom the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions describe as *Kaṅkulināyaṉār* or *Gugguliya*. According to these traditions, he was too poor to purchase and burn the '*kuṅkiliya*' (incense) before *Śiva* and that he had to sell even the sacred necklace of his wife. In addition to this, *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* mentions that he straightened up the *Śivaliṅga* which had fallen down at *Tiruppanandāḷ*.[11] He gives *Kaṭavūr* as the birth

9. *Kallāṭar-Maṟam*, 1.24.
10. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 7.
11. '*cāynta*' may mean either fallen or sloped-*Tiruṭ. Tiruvantāti-verse No.* 12.

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place of this saint following *Ārūrar* who says, "*Kaṭavūril Kalayaṉ-ṟaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of the servants of *Kalayaṉ* of *Kaṭavūr*'. In the story as given in *Periyapurāṇam*, this saint became rich after the sale of the sacred necklace (*tāli*) of his wife. *Śiva* told the saint's wife in a dream, of the riches. In *Cēkkiḻār's* story, the *Cōḻa* king of his times tried his best to straighten up the *liṅga* but failed in spite of the numerous elephants he used whilst the saint came there and straightened the *liṅga* with a rope attached to the *liṅga* and which passed round his neck also. *Campantar* and *Appar* according to *Periyapurāṇam* were his guests. The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions, as already mentioned, describe only the service of his burning the incense and perhaps this was the older tradition.

V

The 12th saint is *Māṉakkañcāṟar* and *Ārūrar* says of him as, "*Malai malinta tōḷ valḷal Māṉakkañcāṟar*"—*Māṉakkañcāṟar*, who was a munificent person and who had shoulders as strong as hillocks. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* calls his place of birth as '*Kañcai*', which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies as *Kañcārūr*, the modern *Āṉatāṇṭavapuram* (*Ānanda Tāṇḍavapuram*). This will suggest that the name of the saint was derived from his place of birth. *Kañcāraṉ* means the man of the city or village of *Kāñcāṟu*. *Māṉam* alone will remain as his proper name, if it is not a title emphasizing his sense of honour and we know people had been bearing the name of *Māṉa* as *Māṉavamma* and *Māṉi* the great *Maṅkaiyarkkaraci*, wife of *Neṭumāraṉ*. According to *Cēkkiḻār*, he belongs to the *Veḷḷāḷa* community. It is clear that *Cēkkiḻār* is making a clear distinction between the *Śūdra* community and the *Veḷḷāla* community. Most of those whom he refers as belonging to the *Veḷḷāla* community are found to be commanders under the ruling kings. Here also *Cēkkiḻār* says that *Māṉakkañcāṟar* was one such commanders. He had a daughter for whom marriage with *Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmar* was arranged. On the day of the marriage came in a *Māvirata* ascetic to suggest that the flowing braid of the bride would be good for his *yajñōpavīta* of hair (*pañcavaṭi*). The saint readily cut away the braid of hair which re-appeared as of old by the Grace of God. *Ēyarkōṉ* is said to be a contemporary of *Ārūrar* and it is unfortunate we do not have any detailed reference to *Māṉakkañcāṟar* in his *hymns*. The name itself seems to suggest that the saint had a high sense of honour as probably befitting the great warrior or commander he was. The *Kannada* and

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Sanskrit traditions describe him as a *Cōḻa king, Māṉakanjanadīsa.* Probably he was a chieftain of the part of the *Cōḻa* country full of love for *Śaivites.*

VI

The 13th saint is *Arivāṭṭāya Nāyaṉār. Ārūrar's* words are, "*Eñcāta vāḷ Tāyaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of the servants of the never decreasing *Vāḷ Tāyaṉ*'. One would ordinarily interpret the word '*vāḷ*' as sword and thus *Tāyaṉ* would appear a warrior chieftain, a patron of *Śaivism.* '*Vāḷ*' is however taken to mean the '*arivāḷ*' or the scythe, which, by its harvest, ever increases the wealth and happiness of a country as opposed to the sword which kills and reduces the number of living people. Or, '*eñcāta*' may be applied to *Tāyaṉ* himself when we will have to interpret the word *Tāyaṉ* as one who is like the mother unto all. It must have become a proper name. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* gives the native place of this saint as *Kaṇamaṅkalam,* which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with a village of that name in the *Cōḻa* country. According to *Periyapurāṇam,* the saint belongs to the *Vēḷāṇ* community. Whilst the saint was carrying the food for *Śiva,* it fell down and he not only swore that if the Lord did not partake of the food he would cut away his head but also proceeded to behead himself with his scythe. This is all that *Nampiyāṇṭār* has to say. *Cēkkiḻār* explains the full story in detail. The saint first undertook to feed the Lord with precious rice (*cennel*), red greens and tender mango. He sold away his land; he worked as a cooly later on for carrying out this undertaking. He had to live on leaves and then on water alone. It was because of this his wife and he fell down when they were carrying food and other articles of worship to the Lord. As usual with *Cēkkiḻār,* the wife of the saint is found to co-operate in the service of the Lord. Whilst he was trying to cut away his head, the saint heard the noise of *Śiva* eating of the mango and felt the Lord's hand preventing him from his suicide. The omnipresence of God, His receiving the worship at any place, and in the custom of offering of rice, herbs and mango are all brought out in this story. The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions give his name as '*Arivāḷ toṇḍa nāyaṉār*' or '*Saṅkuladāya*' which latter expression is simply a translation of '*arivāḷ*' (scythe) and a corruption of the name *Tāya.*

VII

The 14th saint is *Āṉāya Nāyaṉār. Ārūrar* sings, "*Alaimalinta puṉal maṅkai Āṉāyarkkaṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of the cow-

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herd of *Maṅkai*, great for its waters full of waves or ripples'. *Āṉāyaṉ* means a cow-heard and it is translated into *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* as *Gōnātha*. They also give another name, *Chokkanāyaṉār* which suggests that there must be a tradition that the saint's name was *Cokkaṉ*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* makes him a resident of *Puṉalmaṅkaḷam* of *Mēlmaḷanāṭu*, which *Cēkkiḻar* says is in *Nīrnāṭu* or *Cōḻa* country. *Nāmpiyāṇṭār* makes him worship *Śiva* playing on his flute. *Cēkkiḻār* makes this saint, whilst grazing the cow, play the '*Pañcākṣara*' *mantra* on his flute, and brings out the importance of music in *Śaivism*.

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CHAPTER III

MUMMAIYĀL ULAKĀṆṬA CARUKKAM

I

The third verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* starts with the phrase, "*Mummaiyāl ulakāṇṭa*" and the first saint described in this verse is *Mūrti Nāyaṉār*, the 15th saint in the list. *Ārūrar* sings: "*Mummaiyāl ulakāṇṭa Mūrttikkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Mūrti*, who ruled the world with the three'. This makes it clear that the saint must have been a king. Saying that he would prefer death to conversion to *Jainism*, this saint rubbed away his elbow for preparing sandal paste for God and ruled thereafter the world from *Maturai*. This is all that *Nampiyāṇṭār* says about this saint. *Cēkkiḻār* gives greater details which throw some light on the dark period of the *Kalabhra interregnum* mentioned in the *Vēlvikkuṭi* grant when the *Pāṇḍyas* ceased to rule at *Maturai*. *Mūrti*, a *Vaiśya*, belonging to the merchant community, used to offer sandal paste to the Lord. There was from the north an invasion of the city by the '*Vaṭuka Karunāṭaka* king' who was suffering from land hunger. The usurper was a *Jain* and persecuted the *Śaivites* so much that *Mūrti* found it impossible to get even a piece of sandal wood. He used his own elbow to rub on the sandal stone. The usurper died. The elephant sent out to pick up a king brought *Mūrti* on its head. '*Mummai*' or 'the three' with which *Mūrti* ruled the world are explained as the sacred ash, the *rudrākṣa*, and the matted hair. This shows a period of *Jain* and *Śaivite* opposition which was unknown in the days of *Cilappatikāram*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions call him *Mūrtināṭha* and *Ulaghāṇḍamūrti*; the latter name must have been taken from *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. According to these traditions, he was a *Śaivite Brahmin* who drove away an *Andhra Buddhist* usurper from Madura to *Karnāṭa* country. *Budddhism* instead of *Jainism* opposes *Śaivism* in these traditions.

II

The 16th saint is *Muruka Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar* simply states, "*Murukaṉukkum* (*Uruttira Pacupatikkum*) *aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Murukaṉ* (and *Uruttira Pacupati*).' *Ñāṉacampantar*, in his *hymn* on

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Pukalūr Varttamāṉēccuram refers to this *Murukaṉ*.[1] He adorns the Lord of this temple and people seeing it become full of joy. *Śiva* is the Lord of those sweet smelling flowers which *Muruka* has placed on his crown adorning the Lord thrice a day.[2] According to *Periyapurāṇam* he disappeared with *Ñāṉacampantar* to attain salvation at the marriage of the latter being his friend and contemporary. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* refers to this friendship and to his adorning the God with flowers in addition to his uttering the *Pañcākṣara*. He was a *Brahmin*. He must have been an *archaka* in the *Varttamāṉēccuram* temple at *Pukalūr*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions, in spite of the clear references in *Campantar's hymns* make him a *Śūdra Śaivite*.

III

The 17th saint is *Rudra Paśupati Nāyaṉār*. We had already referred to *Ārūrār's* reference to him along with *Muruka Nāyaṉār*, probably because both of them belong to this *Brahmin* community. The description itself suggests that his proper name was *Paśupati* and that he recited the *Śrī Rudram* of the *Yajur Vēda*, thereby showing that *Vēdic* worship had also become part of Śaivite worship. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* states that the saint was born at *Tiruttalaiyūr* which according to *Cēkkiḻār* is in the *Cōḻa* country. It is the recital of *Śrī Rudram* that is mentioned by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* and *Cēkkiḻār* as the greatness of this saint. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as one who pleased *Śiva* with his sweet chanting of the *Rudra hymn*.

IV

The 18th saint is *Tiruāḻaippōvar Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar* sings, "*Cemmaiyē Tirunāḻaippōvārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of him who will go straight tomorrow'. This is the saint who was saying every day that he would go to *Tillai* (*Citamparam*) the next day. *Ārūrar* refers to this saint in another place[3] also, where he mentions him along with other saints whose faults *Śiva* has accepted as noble actions and where he states that this merciful act of God has inspired him to take refuge in God. Perhaps this saint's going into the temple was forbidden in those days because

1. 2: 92: 3 & 5.
2. 2: 92: 5.
3. 7: 55: 4.

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he was an untouchable. *Nampiyāṇṭār* refers to this saint as a '*puṟattiruttoṇṭaṉ*'—'the *Śaivite* follower who was beyond the pale of the castes'. He also refers to his '*pulai*' (untouchability), that is, being a member of the untouchable community living on cow. By the Grace of God he became a '*muṉi*' (saint or sage). His native place was *Ātaṉūr*, which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with the village of that name in *Mēṟkānāṭu*, in *Nīrnāṭu*, *i.e.*, *Cōḻa* country, on the banks of *Koḷḷiṭam* (*Coleroom*). *Cēkkiḻar* makes him give hides for the drum and strings for '*viṇā*' (*harp*) to the temples. At *Tiruppuṉkūr*, the Lord ordered *Nandi* to move aside so that this saint could have a direct view of the *liṅga*. The Lord intervened on his behalf to fulfil his desire of having a vision of the *Tillai* dance. The Lord appeared in a dream to *Tillai Mūvāyiravar* and they prepared a sacrificial fire into which the saint entered to come out as a purified '*muṉi*' to enter the hall of *Tillai* dance only to disappear into the '*ākāśa*'. If this story is true, *Ārūrar* will not be justified in saying, "*Nāḷaippōvāṉum...kuṟṟam ceyyiṉum kuṇameṉak karutum koḷkai kaṇṭu*" because he would not have committed any fault if he had entered the temple as a purified *muṉi*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* who states that the saint had become a *muṉi* does not mention anything about the entrance into the fire. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions call him '*Tirunāḷ pōpar*', '*Tirunāḷ vōvar*', which are all corruptions of the name *Tirunāḷaippōvār* and they also translate the name as '*Śvōgantri*'. These traditions do not state anything beyond that this saint though a *chaṇḍāḷa*, pleased *Śiva* with his devotion. They give his proper name as *Nanda* which is also found mentioned in *Periyapurāṇam*.[3a] In the *Vaiṣṇavite* tradition *Kulacēkarāḻvār* who is said to have been always saying that he will be going and seeing *Ranganātha* (I will be going and seeing *Ranganātha* tomorrow). This idea of '*Tirunāḷaippōtal*' seems to have been popular in the world of *Bhaktas*. The sculptures on the southern wall of *Dārāsuram* represents the story of *Tirunāḷaippōvār* as preserved in *Periyapurāṇam*. On the right hand corner stands a person with a beard and a moustache and with the cloth tied round his waist reaching to his knees and his hands held in *añjali* pose. There is something like a pillar on his right hand side. This is probably *Nandaṉār* before he entered the sacrificial fire. To the right of this pillar we find the fire with its flames inside which appears *Nandaṉār* with the hands held in the

3a. *Tirunāḷai.*, 11.

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añjali pose and with the beard, but in addition with a matted hair tied up in the form of a cone-like crown. The look in his face is serene as opposed to the look of humility visible on the figure which we had identified as *Ñandaṉār* before purification. On the right side of the fire stand two men new and on the left one man, all standing with hands held in *añjali* pose probably representing the *Tillaimūvayiravar*.[4]

V

The 19th saint is *Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭar*. *Ārūrar's* words are "*Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭartam aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of the servants of him who serves knowing the mind of the Lord or the mind of the *Bhaktas*'. The word '*Tiru*' is used by *Ārūrar* with reference to '*Tirunīlakaṇṭar*, *Tirunāḷaippōvār*, *Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭar*, *Tirunāvukkaracar*, *Tirumūlar*, *Tirunīlakaṇṭattup pāṇar*, probably in praise of the idea conveyed by the word following it in all these names. *Cēkkiḻār* explains this word *Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭar* as refering to this saint because he served the *Śaivite Bhaktas*, intuitively knowing their mind (v. 112). This must be one of the ideals of the *Śaivites* of that age. When we come to the story of this saint we find it represents a very restricted sphere of this kind of activity. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* stats that this saint swore that if the rain did not stop so as to enable the clothes to be washed and dried, he would die dashing his head against a stone. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* makes him a resident of *Kacci* and a member of the *Ēkalaiyar* community or a washermen. According to *Cēkkiḻār* this saint undertook to wash the soiled garments of *Śaivites*, free. An old *Śaivite*, no other than God *Śiva* Himself came with a dirty rag which the saint offered to wash and return before sunset. A heavy downpour of rain prevented this promise being fulfilled, when the saint dashed his head against the stone on which he washed the clothes. The stories of *Nandaṉār*, *Āṉāyar* and *Tirukkuṟippuṭṭoṇṭar* show that *Śaivism* was capturing the mind of the lowliest of the low and the *Śaivism promised Śiva's* Grace to all, irrespective of caste or service. The name of this saint is wrongly translated as *Vichārabhakta*, and wrongly written as *Tirukurutoṇḍanāyaṉār* in the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* works which state that the saint attempted to cut his own throat as against the *Tamiḻ* tradition that he dashed against

4. *A.R.E.*, 1919-20, *Pl.* 6, *fig.* 49.

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the stone. The *Dārasuram* temple has a sculpture representing this story. On the right side, we have probably a *Śaivite Bhakta* with a walking stick in the act of giving something probably a cloth. He is clothed from the hip to the heels. In front of him stands *Tirukkuṟippuṭtoṇṭar* carrying the cloth on his left shoulder. He is almost naked but for his loin cloth thus showing his inferior status. On the left hand, we find him standing and washing the cloth on a stone. On his right and above his head we find the heavy rains. On the right side of this representation of rain we find the saint dashing against the stone and we see a hand probably that of *Śiva* preventing this act.[5]

VI

The 20th is *Caṇḍēśvara Nāyaṉār*: the name is also found in the forms *Caṇḍēśa* and *Taṇṭīca*. *Ārūrar* refers to him as *Caṇṭi* and some editions contain the form *Taṇṭi* also. *Caṇḍēśvara* plays an important part in the *Āgamic* worship where at the end of daily worship all the '*nirmālyas*' are offered to *Caṇḍēśvara*. The cult of *Caṇḍēśvara* with many forms and sometimes with his *Śakti* is found well developed in the *Āgamas* (*Kāmikāgama*). The receipt of the *nirmālya* is considered to be the peculiar characteristic feature of *Caṇḍēśapadam*. *Ñāṉacampantar* describes the story of the saint.[6]

> "*Vanta maṇalāl iliṅkam maṇṇiyiṉkaṉ pālāṭṭum*
> *Cintai ceyvōṉ taṉ karumam tērntu citaippāṉ varum at*
> *Tantaitaṉaic cāṭutalum caṇṭīcaṉ eṉṟaruḷik*
> *Kontaṇavum malar koṭuttāṉ kōḷiliyem perumāṉē*".

He made *liṅga* of sand and poured milk over it. His mind was concentrated on it. Realizing this wasteful act, his father came to prevent it. The saint dashed against him. The Lord made him *Caṇṭīca* and gave him the bunch of flowers".

Māṇikkavācakar explains: "*Pātakamē cōṟu paṟṟiyavā tōṇōkkam*"[7] 'the sin itself had become the veritable nourishing food of enjoyment' — another illustration of the doctrine of Grace. The saint was so much concentrated that he had no other thought and removed the obstacle to his worship in the twinkling of an eye.

5. *A.R.E.*, 1919-20, *Pl.* 6, *fig.* 48.
6. 1: 62: 4.
7. *Tiruvācakam-Tiruttōṇokkam*, 7.

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"I have come to separate, not to unite, to separate the father from the son", says Christ. It is this that has happened in the story of *Caṇḍēśvara*. *Ārūrar*, as already referred to, speaks to the Lord enjoying the faults of the saints like *Caṇḍi*, *Tirunāḷaippōvār*, *etc.*[8] To still further minimize the outward cruelty, *Cēkkiḻār* mentions that *Caṇḍēśvara* threw out only a stick lying nearby so as to become a battle-axe. *Ārūrar*, in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, describes *Caṇḍēśvara* in one half of a verse, an amount of space which he does not give to any other saint:

"Meymmaiyē tirumēṉi valipaṭā nirka
Vekuṇṭeḻunta tātaitāḷ maḻuviṇāl eṟinta
Ammaiyāṉ aṭiccaṇṭip perumāṉuk kaṭiyēṉ
Ārūraṉ Ārūril ammāṉuk kāḷē".[9]

"He was worshipping the sacred form, truly and sincerely whilst his father came upon him full of anger. *Caṇṭi*, the servant God, threw the axe at the leg of his father". *Ammaiyaṉ*' may mean the wonderful person or the beautiful person or the Lord of the other world, *i.e.*, the *Caṇḍēśvarapada*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* makes him a native of *Cēyñalūr* and a member of the highest community. According to him both the legs were cut off whilst *Caṇḍēśa* continued pouring the milk over the Lord and adorning him with flowers. *Cēkkiḻār* identifies this *Cēyñlaūr* as the village on the southern bank of '*Maṇṇi*', a river in the *Cōḻa* country and tells us that this place was called *Cēyñalūr*, after '*Cēy*' *Subrahmaṇya*. It is one of the five cities where the *Cōḻas* used to be crowned.[10] It is a city of *Brahmins*, *Caṇḍēśvara* came of *Kaśyapa Gōtra* and a son of *Eccatatta* or *Yajñadatta*, the father and *Pavitra*, his mother. Even when he was young he could not bear the cow-herd beating a cow. He dismissed the cow-herd and took his place, taking the cows every day to the grazing ground. The loving hand of this saint increased the yield of milk. This spontaneous overflow of milk, even whilst the cows were grazing in the forest, the saint utilized for performing *liṅga* worship. The news was spread that he was wasting the milk and the father unable to bear the calumny on the good name of his family came to verify the report and found his son pouring the milk on a

8. 7: 55: 3 & 4.
9. 7: 39: 3.
10. *Caṇṭ.*, 8.

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liṅga of sand. The saint's mind was all engrossed in the worship and he could not feel the beatings administered by his father. The enraged father dashed his leg against the pot of milk reserved for worship. This was an unpardonable sin and the saint could not excuse him though he was the father. He took up a stick lying nearby and threw it out as an axe to cut the legs which was the punishment he deserved. As though nothing had happened the saint was doing his *pūjā*. God was so moved by the detached mind of the saint that he undertook to be the father thereafter and offered him the *Caṇḍēśapada* crowning him with the laurel of '*koṉṟai*', removed from His own crown. The father also became purified by the touch of the stick which the saint had held in his hand. The *Dārāsuram* Temple represents this story in one of its sculptures, inscribed under as '*Cēyñalūr Piḷḷaiyār*' on its wall. On the right side, there is a man with the face in an angry mood throwing up his hands and dashing against something with his upraised leg. There are two cows showing that it is the grazing ground. In the middle of the picture we find a *Brahmin* boy with sacred thread holding up the axe in his right hand and catching hold of an old person with his hand. The leg of the old man is found cut. At the left hand corner of the picture *Śiva* and *Pārvati* are seated whilst *Śiva* adorns *Caṇḍēśvara* beneath him with His *koṉṟai* laurel.[11]

In the *Cēyñalūr hymn*, *Campantar* refers to *Caṇṭīcar* in his interrogation: "O, Lord of *Cēyñalūr*! Why did you give the leadership with a garland to him who had cut away the leg of his father?"[12] Probably from this it was assumed that *Caṇṭīcar* belonged to *Cēyñalūr*. *Appar* gives more particulars about the kind of worship the saint had performed. The worship was performed under an '*ātti*' tree. In many places, *Appar* speaks of the saint milking the cow straightaway and bathing the Lord with the milk.[13] *Campantar* seems to suggest that *Caṇṭīcar* gathered the milk in a vessel,[14] which the father upset allowing the milk to be spilt.[15] But in another place, *Campantar* seems to suggest that the father's leg almost dashed against the crown of the *liṅga* —

11. *A.R.E.*, 1919-20, *Pl. VI, fig.* 47.
12. 1: 48: 7.
13. *Ap.*, 49: 3; 73: 5; 116: 4.
14. 3: 66: 3.
15. 3: 115: 5.

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"*Muṭi cērnta kālai*".[16] *Appar* also seems to make the same suggestion when he says, "*Taparattaik kaṇṭu avaṉ tātai pāyvāṉ*"[17] — 'Seeing the *liṅga* his father rushed up'. *Appar* states that *Caṇṭīca* worshipped not only with milk but also with ghee[18] and performed various kinds of worship and garlanded the Lord with *koṉṟai* flowers and that this, the father could not brook.[19] *Campantar* refers to *Caṇṭi* singing the *Vēdic hymns*.[20] The poems of these saints seem to suggest two different ideas. One is that *Caṇṭīca* was so much concentrated that he simply removed the obstruction without any further thought,[21] *i.e.*, "*Pātam koṇṭu avaṉ kuṟippiṉālē*"; "*Cintai ceyvōṉ*".[22] The other is that the leg was cut away as a punishment — "*Piḷaitta taṉ tātai tāḷai*"![23] "*Tiruvaṭikkaṭ piḷaippa*".[24] The leg was cut away with a *maḻu*.[25]

The *liṅga* was made by heaping up sands: "*Kūppiṉāṉ tāparattai*";[26] "*Maṇalāl kūppi*";[27] "*Maṅalaikkūppi*";[28] "*Maṇalāl liṅkam paṇṇi*";[29] "*Veṇmaṇalē Śivamāka*";[30] "*Maṇal iliṅkam*".[31] It was *jñāna pūjā*; "*Bōdattāl vaḻipaṭṭāṉ*"[32] "*Koṇṭavaṉ kurippiṉāle*".[33] *Bhakti* also is emphasized.[34] *Caṇṭīśvara was* given food — '*Kuḻaittatōr amutamīntār*";[35] "*Pōṉakamum*".[36] He was also given the garland of *koṉṟai*: "*Koṉṟaimālait tāṉam*".[37] This is the laurel taken from the crown of the Lord — "*Taṉ mutimēl alarmālai*".[38]

16. 3: 54: 7.
17. 7: 48; 4.
18. 4: 65: 6.
19. 4: 65: 6.
20. 2: 43: 5.
21. *Ap.*, 4: 48: 4.
22. *Camp.*, 1: 62: 4.
23. *Ap.*, 4: 49: 3.
24. *Ap.*, 288: 9.
25. *Ap.*, 49: 3; 65: 6; *Camp.*, 3: 115: 5.
26. *Ap.*, 48: 4.
27. *Ap.*, 49: 3.
28. *Ap.*, 73: 5.
29. *Camp.*, 1: 62: 4.
30. *Camp.*, 2: 43: 5.
31. *Camp.*, 3: 66: 3.
32. *Camp.*, 2: 43: 5.
33. *Ap.*, 48: 4.
34. *Ap.*, 73: 5.
35. *Ap.*, 49: 3.
36. *Camp.*, 1: 106: 6:
37. *Ap.*, 65: 6.
38. *Ap.*, 231: 10.

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Campantar also mentions this gift of food and garland — "*Mālai-yum pōṉakamum*".[39] The garland was conferred as a symbol of rulership and the pre-eminent position *Caṇṭīśvara* was made to occupy — "*Mālai cūṭṭit talaimai vakuttu*";[40] "*Nīḷulakelām āḷak koṭuttu*".[41] This pre-eminent position or office is known by the name of *Caṇḍēśapada* and the saint was therefore called '*Caṇḍēśa*' — "*Caṇṭīcaṉ eṉṉac ciṟanta pēraḷittāṉ*",[42] "*Caṇṭīcaṉeṉṟaruḷi*",[43] This story is considered to have happened in olden days. For emphasizing the *Ārūr* temple as an ancient one, Appar raises the rhetorical interrogation, "Was the temple built when *Caṇṭi* was conferred with the garlands?"[44]

39. *Camp.*, 1: 106: 5.
40. *Camp.*, 1: 48: 7.
41. *Ap.*, 115: 4.
42. *Ap.*, 73: 5.
43. *Camp.*, 1: 62: 4.
44. *Ap.*, 247: 10.

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CHAPTER IV

I

TIRU NIṈRA CARUKKAM

The fourth verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the phrase "*Tiruniṉra cemmaiyē*" and the first saint described in this verse is *Tirunāvukkaracar*, the 21st saint in the list. "*Tiru niṉra cemmaiyē cemmaiyāk koṇṭa Tirunāvukkaraiyaṉṟaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"[1] are the words of *Nampi Ārūrar*. This line is based on *Tirunāvukkaracar's* own words: "*Śivaṉeṉum ōcaiyalla taṟaiyō ulakil tiru niṉra cemmaiyuḷatē.*"[2] *Ārūrar* says: "I am the servant of the servants of *Tirunāvukkaracar*, who had taken it as his justice, that justice where exists *Tiru*". '*Tiru* ordinarily means wealth; whilst worldly wealth is evanescent and ephemeral, the spiritual wealth is eternal and permanent. *Campantar* calls this, "*Ceṉṟaṭaiyāta tiru*".[3] *Tirunāvukkaracar* is said to have refused to follow the commands of the ruling monarch relying more upon God and His Grace.[4] *Tiru* also is taken in the sense of *Kaivalyam* or *Salvation* in *Ārūrar's Tēvāram*,[5] and in the inscription of the Eastern Archipelago. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* makes *Tirunāvukkaracar* a native of *Āmūr* which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies as '*Āmūr*' in *Tirumuṉaippāṭināṭu*. *Periyapurāṇam* further describes him as the member of the *Kuṟukkai Vēḷāḷar*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* refers to God placing his feet on the head of *Tirunāvukkaracar* and the latter eating the poisoned food and his acts of opening the gates of *Tirumaṟaikkāṭu* temple and to his floating on a stone. *Nampiyāṇṭar* refers to his sister,[6] but *Cēkkiḻār* explains in detail the story of his sister *Tilakavati* bringing him up and finally converting him to *Śaivism*. He also mentions about the persecution by the Pallava king, *Guṇabhara*, and narrates how he refused to obey the order of the *Pallava* and how he escaped the elephant and the lime-kiln. *Nampiyāṇṭar* speaks of the colic pain[7] which was cured after *Tirunavuk-*

1. 7: 39: 4.
2. *Ap.*, 4: 8: 1.
3. *Camp.*, 1: 97: 1.
4. *Ap., H.*, 312.
5. 7: 69: 1.
6. *Ekātacamālai*, 1.
7. *Ekā.*, 1.

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karacar became a *Śaivite*. He also speaks of this saint being saved at *Tiruvatikai*,[8] and the story of *Ūrvacī* and others failing to tempt *Tirunāvukkaracar*.[9] The '*uḻavārappaṭai*' (the hoe) is also referred to in the same verse. He also refers to *Tirunāvukkaracar* becoming converted to the right path at the instance of his sister who had conquered her passions.[10] *Cēkkiḻār* describes further *Appar's pilgrimage* to *Kailās* and his return to see the vision of *Kailās* as directed by the God at *Tiruvaiyāṟu*, basing this conclusion on the *Aiyāṟu hymn*. He also refers to the meeting of *Appar* and *Campantar*, of *Appar* and *Appūti*, basing on the references to the *hymns* of *Appar*. He describes how *Appar* got '*paṭikkācu*' (coins) at *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai*, basing on *Ārūrar's hymns*. He describes the special vision at *Vāymūr* and his *satyāgraha* at *Paḻaiyāṟai* for restoring the *Śaiva* temple, basing on tradition he must have heard. God feeding *Appar* on his way to *Tiruppaiñ̃ñīli*, *Appar* throwing away the gems into the tank without falling into temptation and his final salvation on the *Cataiyam* day on one *Cittirai* month are all narrated according to the tradition of *Cēkkiḻār's* days. The story of *Appar* bringing to life the son of *Appūti* is not referred to by *Appar* himself though he mentions the name of *Appūti*.

Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi mentions that *Appar* has sung 700 *patikams*.[11] In another place[12] he mentions that he has sung '*ēḻ eḻunūṟu*' which is probably based on what *Ārūrar* has sung in his 65th *hymn* verse 2—"*Iṇaikoḷ eḻ eḻūnūṟu irumpaṉuval iṉṟavaṉ Tirunāviṉukkaraiyaṉ*".

Paṭṭiṉattār refers to the three *Tēvāram* saints as "*Vittakap pāṭal muttiṟattaṭiyār*".[13] He suggests[14] that *Tirunāvukkaracar* had crossed the waters with the help of a rock as a float and he asks the Lord, 'Is three anyone else who has done so?' Sometimes, it is asked whether *Paṭṭiṉattār* would have sung like this if the story of *Appar's* floating on a rock had not been popular in his days but what *Paṭṭiṉattār* is referring to is the crossing of the sea of *Saṁsāra* with the help of the dangerous boat of his own

8. *Ēkā.*, 7.
9. *Ēkā.*, 2.
10. *Ēkā.*, 1.
11. *Ēkā.*, 3.
12. *v.*, 7.
13. *Tiruviṭai. Mum.*, 28: 30.
14. *Ibid.*, 4: 29.

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dangerous body. Though everybody is engaged in this adventure his own danger is more than what others face; the tradition about *Tirunāvukkaracar* has been growing and in the *Tiruppukalūr Purāṇam*, we read that the Lord appeared in the form of a lion and swallowed him so as to give him salvation. This is based on *Tirunavukkaracar* addressing the Lord, "*Caṅkai oṉṟiṉṟiyē tēvar vēṇtac camuttirattiṉ nañcuṇṭu cāvā mūvāc ciṅkamē uṉṉaṭikkē pōtukkiṉṟēn Tiruppukaḻūr mēviya tēvatēvē.*"[15] This is a fair sample of way in which traditions grow.

The story of the Lord supplying a gold (coin) every day to each one of the two great saints *Campantar* and *Appar* from the temple treasury of *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai*, when the saints stayed during a great famine is referred to by *Ārūrar* in *hymn* 46: 5, 7 and in the 88th *hymn*, verse 8. *Ārūrar* also speaks of the life of *Appar* showing him the way of God's Grace looking upon the faults of his servants as good qualities. Perhaps the fault of *Āppar* was his going astray from the path of *Śaivism* before he became reconverted as a *Śaivite*, *Ārūrar* is laying the emphasis on the beautiful *Tamiḻ* verses sung by the saint in which he feels the Lord Himself reveals.[16]

The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of *Tirunāvukkaracar* as *Appar, Vāgīśa* or *Dharmasēna*. According to them, he was a *Brahmin* who wrote a number of learned works on *Jainism*. It is said that he got rid of colic pain through *Śaivite* charms and the use of ashes. He is said to have composed a number of songs both in *Sanskrit* and *Tamiḻ* in praise of *Śiva* and to have accompanied *Campantar Madura* to reconvert King *Kubjapāṇḍya*.[17]

II

The 22nd saint is *Kulaccirai Nāyaṉār*. *Nampi Ārūrar* sings, "*Perunampi Kuḷaciṟaitaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"[18] — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Kulaccirai*, the *Perunampi*'. *Kulaccirai* was the prime Minister of *Kūṉ Pāṇṭyiaṉ*, who along with the *Pāṇḍya* Queen invited *Campantar* to *Madura*. *Campantar* praises him and the *Pāṇḍya* Queen, alternately in the Tiruvālavāy *hymn*.[19] *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi makes* him a native of

15. *Ap.*, 312: 2.
16. 7: 67: 5.
17. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925.
18. 7: 39: 4.
19. 3: 120: 1-11.

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Maṇamēṟkuṭi which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with a place of that name in the *Pāṇḍya* country and also makes him responsible for the impaling of the *Jains* following the version of *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*.[20] It is not clear on what basis *Nampiyāṇṭār* speaks of this kind of persecution. Though impaling persons for offences is found in sculptures of the age, it is very doubtful whether this was ever used by way of religious persecution. What must have been in the mind *Ārūrar* should be the reference to this great patron of *Śaivism* in the *hymns* of *Campaṇṭar*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Kulabaraināyaṉār* or *Kulapaksha*.[21]

III

The 23rd saint is *Perumiḻalikkuṟumpa Nāyaṉār*, and the words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Perumiḻalaik kuṟumparkkum* (*Pēyārkkum*) *aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Peṟumiḻalaikkuṟumpar*.' The name itself shows that he was a native of *Perumiḻalai*, which, *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with the name of that place in *Miḻalai Nāṭu*, as distinguished from *Veṇṇi Nāṭṭu Miḻalai*, referred to by *Ārūrar* in his *Nāṭṭuttokai hymn*.[22] There is an image of this saint in the temple in his village near *Kumpakōṇam*. *Nampiyāṇṭār* states that when this saint knew *Ārūrar* would reach *Kailās* on the next day, he, with the Grace of *Śiva*, left his body, to worship *Ārūrar* at *Kailās*. *Cēkkiḻār* further describes how this saint was worshipping all through his life *Ārūrar* alone, thereby becoming a great *yōgi*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Mithiladvija*. The name *Miḻalai* has been *Sanskritized* into *Mithilā*.[23] He was a *Śaivite Brahmin* who is said to have departed to *Kailās* just a minute before *Sundara* did.[24]

IV

The 24th saint is *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār*. *Ārūrar* speaks of her as '*Pēy*'. *Appar* seems to be referring to this saint when he sings of the Lord, "*Pēyttoḻilāṭṭiyaip peṟṟuṭaiyīr*".[25] *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār* speaks of herself, "*Pēyāya naṟkaṇattil oṉṟāya nām*".[26]

20. *Tirut. Tiruvan.*, 26.
21. *Mys. A. R.*, 1925.
22. 7: 12: 5.
23. *Mys. A.*R., 1925.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ap.*, 96: 4.
26. *Aṟputa.*, 86.

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She speaks of herself as residing in the burning ghat, "*Kāṭumalinta kaṉalvāy eyiṟṟuk Kāraikkāl Pēy*",[27] but all this is mystic language, for it is clear from *Aṟputattiruvantāti* (16) that she had the experience of the Absolute.

In this connection, what *Nārada Bhakti sūtra* (63) describes of the *Bhakta* who has attained self-realization as '*Matta*' is significant. The *Bhakta* is often spoken as a honey-bee and *Ātman* is spoken of as honey. The Sufis compare the realization to wine whilst the Christians use the wine; the *Vēdas* speak of '*Sōma rasa*' and the *Śāktas* utilize intoxicating liquor in their rituals as a symbol of Divine experience. The *Bhaktas* become transformed under this new experience and their ways seem as inexplicable as that of mad men; for they have no will of their own; they are moved by the inner force. "Birds become his little sisters, a wolf a brother" (St. Frahcis of Assisi). "If men were drunk with the love of God; they ought to dance like mad men in the streets" — sings *Nammālvār*. To Plato this is 'Saving madness'. To the Christian mystics this is a draught of that wine of Absolute Life which runs in the arteries of the world. Emerson points out that a tending to insanity is always attended by the opening of the religious sense in man as if he was blasted with excessive light.

Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār is the author of *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭu Mūtta Tiruppatikam*, *Tiruvālaṅkāṭṭut-tiruppatikam*, *Tiruviraṭṭai maṇimālai* and *Aṟputattiruvantāti*. In the work last mentioned, who speaks of her love for *Śiva* ever since she began to speak (v. 1). In the last verse (101), she calls herself a *Kāraikkāl Pēy*.

We know from references in *Tiruvācakam* and *Nālāyirappirapantam*, the prevalence of the name among saints like *Kāraikkāl Pēy* and *Pēyāḻvār*, "*Cakam pēyeṉru tammaiccirippa*',;[28] "*Pēyaṉē everkkum yāṉumē*" — *Kulaśēkhara āḻvar*. It is said some saints had been misunderstood as mad people while the saints themselves were glad they were so abused. *Nampiyāṇṭār* refers only to her going to *Kailās* walking on her head, making *Pārvatī* laugh when *Śiva* endearingly called her, 'Mother'. The story of her getting a mango from God is not referred to by him. *Cēkkiḻār* makes her the daughter of a *Vaiśya* chief *Taṉatattaṉ* and the wife of *Paramatattaṉ*, who left her to marry another woman in the

27. *Tirup.*, 3: 11.
28. *Tiruva., Pōṟṟit., l.* 68.

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Pāṇḍya country and to name his child after the name of his first wife. According to *Cēkkiḻār*, *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār's* name was *Puṉitavati* and she after the desertion by her husband threw out her flesh to assume the form of a '*pēy*'. After composing *Aṟputattiruvantāti*, *Iraṭṭaimaṇimālai*, she went to *Kailās* walking on her head and prayed to the Lord that she might be always under the dancing feet there after praising them in her *Tamiḻ* verses, *viz.*, *Mūtta Tiruppatikam* and *Tiruppatikam*. *Cēkkiḻār* lays much emphasis on the name of '*Ammai*' because *Śiva* himself addressed her as such. It is rather surprising that *Ārūrar* does not refer to her as *Ammai*. He has chosen to refer to her as *Pēy* because she was calling herself *Pēy* in her work. *Ārūrar*, therefore, may be taken to lay emphasis on her works which reveal her mystic vision of the Lord and her sublime philosophy. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of her as *Kārikālammeyār* or *Pūtavati* and know only of her making many out of two mango fruits which her husband gave her.

V

The 25th saint is *Appūtiyaṭikaḷ Ārūrar* sings, "*Orunampi Appūti aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*". *Appar* praises *Śiva's* feet as the flower on the crown of *Appūti*, "*Añcippōyk kalimeliya aḻalōmpum Appūti Kuñcippūvāy niṉṟa cēvaṭiyāy*".[29] He also speaks here of *Appūti* worshipping the fire of sacrifice, "*Aḻalōmpum Appūti*",[30] thus making it clear that *Appūti* was a *Brahmin*. This reference to *Āppūti* in *Appar's hymn* must have been in the mind of *Ārūrar*. *Nampiyāṇṭār* makes him a native of *Tiṅkaḷūr* which *Cēkkiḻār* points out is next to *Tiruppaḻaṉam* in singing of which[31] *Appar* refers to *Āppūti*. According to *Nampiyāṇṭār*, *Appūti* was a great devotee of *Tirunāvukkaracar*, naming even his charitable water-shed, after this great saint. Nothing more is known from *Nampiyāṇṭār's* works. *Cēkkiḻār*, however, describes how *Tirunāvukkaracar* was suprised to know that *Appūti* had named his children, his charities, his cattle, weights and measures after *Tirunāvukkaracar*. He was invited by *Appūti* to dine at his house. One of his sons whilst cutting a plantain leaf for *Appar* was bitten by a serpent and died. Hiding the corpse in a corner, *Appūti* and his wife prepared to feed the saint but the latter asked for the son when

29. *Ap.*, 12: 10.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Tiruppaḻaṉam-H.*, 12.

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the truth had to be told. The saint sang the *hymn*, "*Oṉṟukolām*"[32] and brought the dead boy to life. That particular *hymn* unfortunately does not contain any specific reference which might suggest this miracle, though by the time of *Cēkkiḻār* this must have become a popular tradition. As *Nampiyāṇṭār* does not mention this miracle *Ārūrar* also could not have known this. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions calling *Appūti Nāyaṉār* as *Appadināyaṉār* or *Tadbhakti*, mention that he, in his admiration of *Vāgīśa*, called his sons, cows and even inanimate objects of his household after the name of *Vāgīśa*. It has to be noted that here no mention is made of the miracle. In the name *Appūti*, '*A*' is only a demonstrative prefix of the noun '*Pūti*' (of that great renown) and the inscriptions give a number of people who had this name *Pūti*. The wife of *Kannaradēva* was *Pūti Mātēvaṭikaḷ*.[33]

VI

The 26th saint is *Tirunīlanakka Nāyaṉār* and *Ārūrar's* words are, "*Olipuṉal cūḻ Cāttamaṅkai Nīlanakkark kaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant, of *Nīlanakkar* of *Cāttamaṅkai* surrounded by the resounding waters'. In the *Cāttamaṅkai hymn*, *Campantar* refers to this saint as *Nakkaṉ*[34] and *Nīlanakkaṉ*.[35] He speaks of *Cāttamaṅkai* as the place which the *Śaivites* speak of as the city of *Nīlanakkaṉ* full of mental control — "*Niṟaiyinār Nīlanakkaṉ neṭumānakar eṉṟu toṇṭar aṟaiyumūr Cāttamaṅkai*".[35a] In another verse,[36] he speaks of *Nakkaṉ* worshipping at the temple (*parava*). *Cēkkiḻār* gives a detailed version of the story of this saint. Whilst he was one day concentrating his mind on God, a spider fell on the *liṅga* and his wife blew it out with her mouth. *Nīlanakkar* thought that she had committed a sacrilege as though spitting on the *liṅga* and told his wife that he could not any longer live with her. That night in the dream of *Nīlanakkar*, *Śiva* appeared and showed that the whole form of the Lord was full of the boils as the result of the infection by the spider except in the portion blown on by the lady. The next morning *Nakkar* brought back his wife of his house. *Campantar* came to *Cāttamaṅkai* to worship the Lord

32. *Ap., H.*, 18.
33. 356/1903.
34. 3: 58: 2.
35. 3: 58: 11.
35.a 3: 58: 11.
36. 3: 58: 2.

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along with the *Pāṇar* and his wife. When *Nīlanakkar* invited him to his, *Campantar* requested him to give a place to rest for the *Pāṇa* couple and *Nīlanakkar* placed them in the room of the sacrificial fire. In the end, he disappeared with *Campantar* on the occasion of the latter's marriage. *Nampiyāṇṭār* mentions only the spider incident but not that of the *Pāṇa*. But the *Pāṇa* episode emphasizes the fact that the *Śaivites* did not swear by the caste regulations or believe in untouchability. The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions give us the *Sanskrit* form of the name, *viz.*, *Nīlanagna*, and state that he was persuaded not to abandon his wife for what he considered her of removing with her tongue the fibre of a spider from a *liṅga*-image of *Śiva*.

VII

The 27th saint is (*Nanti*) *Naminanti*, and *Ārūrar's* words are "*Arunampi Naminanti aṭiyārkkum atiyēṉ*". The description '*Arūnampi*' shows that he is an important saint. *Tirunāvukkaracar* himself calls him *Nampinanti*, whom he describes:

"*Ārāin taṭittoṇṭar āṇippoṟārūr akattaṭakkip*
Pārūr paṛippattam paṅkuṉi uttiram pārpatuttāṉ
Nampiuanti
Nīrāl tiruvilak kiṭṭamai nīḷnā ṭaṛiyumaṉṛē".[37]

This description is praised by *Cēkkiḻār* himself, The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions summarize the main event of his life as consisting in lighting the lamp with water for oil in response to the mocking reply, 'light the lamp with water before your *Śiva*', given by the *Jainas* when he begged of them for some oil for light. His name is found in them as *Nēminandi*.

But *Appar* always speaks of him as *Nanti*.[38] The same version of the story is given by *Nampiyāṇṭār* who makes the saint a native of *Ēmappērūr*, which according to *Cēkkiḻār* is in the *Cōḻa* country. The miracle, however, even according to *Nampiyāṇṭār* takes place only at *Tiruvārūr*. *Cēkkiḻār* makes him a contemporary of *Taṇṭi*.[39] He gives further details about the story of *Naminanti*, probably based on the verse of *Appar* mentioning *Paṅkuṉi Uttiram*. *Naminanti* went along with the crowd in the procession of the Lord of *Tiruvārūr*. On his return when his wife requested him to offer

37. *Ap.*, 103: 2.
38. *Ap.*, 103: 2, 4 & 6.
39. *Nami., Pur.*, 18.

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the worship at the sacrificial fire before having his supper, he said that he had to bathe and cleanse himself because he had touched all and sundry, coming in the crowd. He ordered his wife to bring water for the bath, In the meanwhile he fell asleep overcome by fatigue. In the dream that arose the Lord showed him that all the people of *Ārūr* were *Śivagaṇas*. He woke up and repented for having considered himself impure. Though this episode is not mentioned anywhere else in the previous literature, this brings out once again that *Śaivism* did not care for rules of untouchability. The *Dārāsuram* sculptures are found to represent the story of his lighting the lamp with water. In the right half of the sculpture we find *Naminanti* drawing water in a pot from a pond. In the other half we see a temple with a *vimāna* in front of which we find a pillar-like lamp-stand with a series of lights placed one above the other which *Naminanti* is in the act of lighting after pouring probably the water carried from the pond.[40]

The name *Nanti* (*Nandi*) has become of immense significance after *Tirumantiram*, even as the other word *Nāta* (*Nātha*). They seem to imply a special line of *yōgic* saints or *siddhas* and the description of *Naminanti* by *Campantar* becomes, therefore, full of meaning: "*Avitaṉil añcoṭukki aṅkaṇaṉ eṉṟu ātarikkum nāviyal cīr Naminantiyaṭikaḷ*"."[41] The five senses were controlled spiritually and the real spirit or the soul of souls was loved and revered as *Śiva* Himself. That was the great saint *Naminanti* (*Naminandi*) whose tongue also moved with glory.

40. *A.R.E.*, 1919-20, *Pl.*, VI, *fig.* 46.
41. *Camp.*,1: 62: 6.

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CHAPTER V

VAMPARĀ VARI VAṆṬU CARUKKAM

I

The beginning of the fifth verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is "*Vamparā vari vaṇṭu*" which has become the name of the fifth *carukkam*, in *Cēkkiḻār's Periyapurāṇam*, where the lives of the saints mentioned in that verse are described. The first saint in this verse is the 28th saint in the list, *Tiru Ñāṉacampanta cuvāmikaḷ*. The words of *Ārūrar* are:

"*Vampaṟā varivaṇṭu maṇanāṟa malarum*
matumalarnaṟ koṉṟaiyāṉ aṭiyalāṟ pēṇā
Empirāṉ Campantaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ".[1]

"I am the servant of the servants of my Lord *Campantar* who does not love anything except the feet of the Lord of the beautiful *koṉṟai* flowers full of honey blossoming and bestowing fragrance and the banded bees never leaving these fresh flowers". The phrase '*Empirāṉ Campantar*' as contrasted with '*Nampirāṉ Tirumūlaṉ*',[2] seems to suggest that *Ārūrar* thinks of *Campantar* as the leader of his school of thought, believing in singing *hymns* in praise of God. "*Nallicai Ñāṉacampantaṉum Nāviṉukkaracarum pāṭiya naṟṟamiḻ mālai colliyavē colli ēttukappaṉ*"[3] seems to suggest this conclusion. "*Nāḷum iṉṉicaiyāl tamiḻ parappum Ñāṉacampantaṉukku ulakavarmuṉ tāḷam īntu avaṉ pāṭalukku iraṅkum taṉmaiyāḷaṉ*".[4] *Ārūrar* here speaks of *Ñāṉacampantar* popularizing *Tamiḻ* through his music. God according to *Ārūrar* was so pleased that in the presence of the people of the world, He gave him the cymbals. In another place also he refers to God recognizing the great service of these two saints *Campantar* and *Appar* offering coins to them: "*Tirumiḻalai iruntum nīr tamiḻōṭicai kēṭkum iccaiyāl kācu nittam nalkiṉīr*".[5] *Ārūrar* speaks of *Ñāṉacampantar* being blessed with '*ñāṉam*' by the Lord at *Kāḻi*.[6]

1. 7: 39: 5.
2. 7: 39: 5.
3. 7: 67: 5.
4. 7: 62: 8.
5. 7: 88: 8.
6. 7: 97: 9.

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Ārūrar speaks of *Campantar* as *Kaḻumalavūrar* and speaks of him as receiving a thousand gold from the Lord: "*Kaḻumala ūrarkku ampoṉ āyiram koṭuppar pōlum*".[7] He describes *Ñāṉacampantar* as the Lord of words full of music or a great composer of music — "*Paṇmalinta moḻiyavar*".[8] He speaks of himself worshipping the Lord along with this great composer and going with him following the Lord — "*Paṇmalinta moḻiyavarum yāṉum ellām paṇintiraṭñcit tammuṭaiya piṉpiṉ cella*".[9] There is a tradition that the gates of *Tirumaṟaikkāṭu* closed by the *Vēdas* were opened by *Appar* and again closed by *Ñāṉacampantar*. *Appar* in this *hymn* on *Tiruvāymūr*[10] refers to this incident and states that the person who closed the door was of greater firmness than himself who had sung for opening the gates and that this person was also standing there before the Lord worshipping Him:

'*Tiṟakkap pāṭiya eṉṉiṉum centamiḻ*
Uṟaikkap (*uṟaippup*?) *paṭi aṭaippittā runniṉṟār*
Maṟaikka vallarō tammait tiruvāymūrp
Piṟaikkoḷ ceñcaṭai yārivar pittarē."[11]

Ñāṉacampantar himself refers to some of the events of his life: He states that the Lord had created an illusion and made him who could never forget the fact of the Lord, to be born on this earth — "*Tiruntaṭi maṟakkumāṟilāta eṉṉai maiyal ceytu immaṇṇiṉmēl piṟakkumāṟu kāṭṭiṉāy*".[12] He further states that he continues in the old state — "*Toṉmaittaṉmaiyuḷ Ñāṉacampantaṉ*".[13] He calls himself as one full of wisdom which is the lustre of the Lord — "*Taṉṉoḷi mikkuyarnta tamiḻ Ñāṉacampantaṉ*".[14] He describes himself as one who has fulfilled the wish of the Lord — "*Kāḻiyarkōṉ karuttārvitta Ñāṉacampantaṉ*"[15] and as one who spreads the goodness of the Lord — "*Paracutaru pāṇiyai nalantikaḻcey tōṇipura nātaṉ*".[16] He assures us that he become com-

7. *Ap.*, 56: 1.
8. *Ap.*, 272: 1.
9. *Ap.*, 272: 1.
10. *H*, 164.
11. *Ap.*, 164: 8.
12. 2: 98: 5.
13. 1: 101: 11.
14. 1: 108: 11.
15. 2: 16: 11.
16. 3: 83: 11.

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pletely submerged in the Lord that he has no qualities of his own — "*Taṉṉiyal pillāc Caṇpaiyarkōṉ*".[17] He states that the Lord of *Kāḷi* was his own *guru* — "*Vittakarākiya veṅkuruvē*"[18] who had purchased for a price certified by a sale deed.[19] The Lord, he sings, has removed his old *karmas* — "*Viṉaikaḷ paṟaiya*";[20] his blot and deceit — "*Kaḷḷamārntu kaḷiyaṗpaḷi tīrtta*",[21] — his poverty and misery — "*Nalkuraveṉṉai nīkkum āviyar antaṇar allal tīrkkum appaṉār*";[22] his fetters — "*Pāca valviṉai tīrtta paṇpiṉaṉ*";[23] his old age — "*Narai tirai keṭutakavatu aruḷiṉaṉ*";[24] and his birth—"*Piṟappeṉṉai arukkavallār*".[25] He has himself stated that he has realized God — '*Uṇar*'[26] and knows the method — "*Perumāṉ akalam aṟiyalākāp paravum muṟaiyē payilum*".[27] Seeing the miseries of the world, his mind loved the name of the Lord — "*Vētaṉai nōy naliyak kaṇṭu kaṇṭē uṉṟaṉ nāmam kātalikkiṉṟatu uḷḷam*".[28] It is curious that in this verse *Campantar* speaks of his past inability to live separated from his wife, children and relatives. He has known probably the *yōgic* way which *Bhīṣma* has known of leaving this body whenever he liked — "*Piṇippaṭum uṭampu viṭṭu iṟakkumāṟu kāṭṭiṉāy*".[29] Apart from this path of *jñāṉa* and *Yōga*, he practised performing various services — "*Em paṇiyāyavaṉ*"; "*Icaintavā ceya viruppaṉē*";[30] "*Pālaṉāya toṇṭu*".[31]

He states he sang to save the world from the *malas* or blots — "*Iḻuku malam aḻiyum vakai kaḻuvumuṟai*".[32] He followed the *Vēdic* path and his *Tamiḻ* verses according to him are full of the *Vēdic* truths — "*Maṟaimali Tamiḻ*".[33] The Lord, he sings, saved him when the heretics were speaking scandals of *Śaivism* — "*Ama-*

17. 1: 97: 1.
18. 3: 113: 4.
19. 1: 116: 3; 2: 23: 2, 8; 3: 6: 3.
20. 2: 93: 4.
21. 1: 2: 7.
22. 1: 8: 4.
23. 2: 25: 3.
24. 1: 123: 6.
25. 1: 8: 5.
26. 1: 1: 11; 1: 11: 11; 2: 7: 11; 2: 18: 11; 2: 72: 11; 2: 87: 11; 2: 53: 11.
27. 2: 80: 11.
28. 1: 50: 3.
29. 2: 98: 5.
30. 3: 116: 11.
31. 3: 52: 5.
32. 3: 67: 12.
33. 1: 24: 11.

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ṇar kuṇṭar cākkīyar tolaiyātaṅ kalar tūṟṟat tōṟṟaṅkāṭṭiyāṭkoṇṭīr."[34] He states he conducted a debate with the *Jains* and won a victory over them — "*Amaṇar...añca vātil aruḷ ceyya*",[35] after knowing the will of the Lord and for spreading *Śiva's* greatness all through the world — "*Vātil veṉṟaḷikkat tiruvuḷḷamē...nāḷum niṉ pukaḻē mikavēṇṭum*".[36] He states in one verse that because the *hymn* refers to the Mother Goddess, it will not be burnt when thrown into the fire — "*Eriyiṉil iṭilivai paḻutilai meymmaiyē*";[37] "*Koṟṟavaṉ etiriṭai eriyiṉiliṭa ivai kūṟiya col teri orupatu.*"[38] These are references to the song going through the ordeal of fire. He refers to the songs going through the ordeal of water and the palmyra leaf on which the song was written running against the current and reaching the shore at *Ēṭakam* — "*Paru matil Maturai maṉ avai etirē patikama teḻutilai yavai etirē varunati yiṭai micai varukaraṉē vacaiyoṭu malar keṭa varukaraṉē*";[39] "*Teṟṟeṉṟu teyvam teḻiyār karaik kōlai teṇṇīrp paṟiṉṟip pāṅku etirviṉ ūravum paṇpu nōkkil perroṉ ṟuyartta perumāṉ perumāṇum aṉṟē*";[40] "*Vaikai nīr ēṭu ceṉṟu aṇaitarum ēṭakam*".[41] The tradition tells us that the *hymn* that performed this feat is that which begins with "*Vāḻka antaṇar*"[42] and *Campantar* speaks of this in the last verse of that *hymn* — "*Pallārkaḷum matikkap pācuram coṉṉa pāttu.*"[43] When the heretics set fire to his *mutt*, be prayed to the Lord to give him a fearless heart — "*Taṉcameṉṟuṉ caraṇ pukutēṉaiyum añcaleṉṟaruḷ Ālavāy aṇṇalē*"[44] and directed the fire to reach the *Pāṇḍya* so that he might suffer from the fever in a manner acceptable to the world — "*Amaṇar koḷuvum cuṭar...Pāṇṭiyāṟkākavē*";[45] "*Ālavāyāṭi aruḷiṉāl veppam teṉṉavaṉ mēluṟa mēṭiṉikku oppa Ñāṉacampantaṉ urai pattu*".[46] *Pāṇḍya* was cured later on, thanks to the *hymn* on the sacred ashes — "*Ālavāyāṉ tirunīṟṟaip pōṟṟi...Ñāṉacampantaṉ tēṟṟit Teṉṉaṉ uṭaluṟṟa tīppiṇiyāyiṉa tīrac cāṟṟiya pāṭalkaḷ*

34. 2: 55: 10.
35. 3: 116: 10.
36. 3: 108: 1.
37. 3: 87: 1.
38. 3: 87: 11.
39. 3: 113: 12.
40. 3: 54: 11..
41. 3: 32: 11.
42: 3: 54: 1.
43. 3; 54: 12.
44. 3: 51: 6
45. 3: 51: 8.
46. 3: 51: 11.

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pattu",[47] and the *Pāṇḍya* Queen was prevented from becoming a widow on account of the Grace of the Lord, the Grace so near to the followers — "*Mikka Teṉṉavaṉ tēvikku aṇiyaiye mella nalkiya toṇṭarkku aṇiyaiyē*".[48]

Apart from these debates with the *Jains*, *Campantar* seems to have suffered at the hands of both the Jains and the *Buddhists* and he speaks of the Lord helping him in these trying situations — "*Kaliyiṉ vallamaṇum karuñ cākkiyappēykaḷum ṅaliyum nāḷ-keṭuṭ tāṇṭa eṉ nātaṉār*".[49] The tradition speaks of a debate with a *Buddhist* whose head was miraculously cut off and the line "*Viḷaṅku oḷi tikaḻtaru veṅkuru mēviṉaṉ*"[50] is pointed out as referring to this event. This speaks of the Lord sending a brilliant and resounding thunder but there is no clear and specific reference to the debate in this verse. The incident about the closing down of the gates of *Tirumaṟaikkāṭu* is referred to by *Campantar* himself: "*Itu maṉkiṟai vaittaruḷ ceyka eṉakku uṉ katavam tirukkāppuk koḷḷum karuttālē*".[51]

We had referred the verse of *Appar* referring to *Ñanacampantar* also worshipping with him. Some experience seems to have occurred to both these saints at that place and *Campantar* speaks of a dream, a deceitful form of the Lord, of His frightening him and some passing misery — "*Veruva vantiṭar ceyta vikirtaṉār*";[52] "*Kaṉavil tuyar ceytu*";[53] "*Vañcaṉai vaṭiviṉōṭu*".[54] *Ārūrar* had referred to *Campantar* getting coins[55] and *Campantar's hymn* "*Vāci tīravē kācu nalkuvīr*" refers to *Campantar's* prayers.[56]

The tradition speaks of *Ñāṉacampantar* drinking the milk of the Mother Goddess and *Campantar's hymn*, "*Pōtaiyār poṟkiṇṇat taṭicil pollāteṉat tātaiyār muṉivuṟat tāṉeṉai āṇṭavaṉ*"[57] is interpreted as referring to this incident, that one day his father took this child along with him, to bathe, that when the father was in-

47. 2: 66: 11.
48. 3: 115: 6.
49. 2: 9: 10.
50. 1: 127: 4.
51. 2: 37: 1.
52. 2: 111: 4.
53. 2: 11: 9.
54. 2: 111: 5.
55. 7; 88: 8.
56. 1: 91: 1.
57. 3: 24: 2.

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side the water the child became alarmed and that the child began to weep so that the Lord ordered the Mother Goddess to offer it milk in a golden vessel which was looking like a lotus bud. The only difficulty here is the word '*aṭicil*' which usually refers to cooked food which has to be taken in the most general sense of anything serving as food, so that it may refer to milk.

At *Tirunaṉipaḷḷi*, his father held him up on his shoulders when he composed the *Tirunaṉipaḷḷi hymn* — "*Iṭupaṟai oṉṟa attar piyal mēliruntu iṉṉicaiyāḷ uraitta paṉuval*"[58] and we are told that the *hymn* was sung for converting the desert of place into a seashore, full of shade. *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār*[59] and *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*[60] refer to this miracle but there is nothing specific in that *hymn*. At *Tirumarukal*, *Campantar* sings in his *hymn* of the age-old *akapporuḷ*; it is a complaint about the Lord that He has made a love-sick maiden falling is love with Him to pine away because of His neglect.[61] But this *hymn* is interpreted to refer to the saint's special pleading on behalf of a maiden who eloped with her lover imediately after the marriage when the latter died there of snake bite. The story gives that this *hymn* brought her lover back to life. But one fails to see any specific reference to this story in this *hymn*;[62] all that is mentioned as evidence to the story in tradition is the expression '*alaṅkal ivaḷ*' (in v. 8) interpreted as 'the damsel with the marriage-garland' (*alaṅkal* may mean any garland in general).

At *Tiruvōttūr* was performed the miracle of converting a male *palmyra* tree into a female one yielding *palmyra* fruits. The line "*Kurumpai āṉ paṉaiyiṉ kulai ōttūr*"[63] is often referred as proving this miracle. But the verse refers to this as though it were a freak of nature in that place rather than as a miracle.

On his pilgrimage to the northern *Tamiḻ* country, it is said he forgot to worship at *Tiruvālaṅkāṭu* but the Lord reminded him in time and we are told this is referred to in that *hymn* in the very beginning of the *hymn* itself:

"*Tuñcavaruvārum toḻuvippārum vaḻuvippōy*
Neñcampukunteṉṉai niṉaivippārum muṉainaṭpāy

58. 2: 84: 11.
59. *VV.*, 12, 70.
60. *Āḻ. Piḻ. Antāti*, 17.
61. *Camp.*, 2: 18.
62. 2: 18.
63. 1: 54: 11.

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Vañcappaṭuttorutti vāṇāḷkoḷḷum vakaikēṭṭu
Añcumpaḷaiyaṉūr Ālaṅkāṭṭem aṭikaḷē".[64]

It is in this *hymn* that he refers once again to *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*:

"*Vaṇaṅkuñciṟuttoṇṭar vaikalēttum vāḻttuṅkēṭṭu*
Aṇaṅkumpaḷaiyaṉūr Ālaṅkāṭṭem aṭikalē".[65]

Taken along with this reference, one wonders whether the statement in the last verse of this *hymn*, "*Vēntaṉ aruḷālē viritta pāṭṭal*"[66] may not be a reference to the king of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*, *i.e.*, *Narasiṁhavarma Pallava* or some other king of that part of the country. When discussing the life of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* we had referred to *Campantar's* references to this chief in his *hymn* on *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi*, a *hymn* which *Campantar* states he has sung at the request of this chief "*Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ avaṉ vēṇṭa*".[67]

We had also referred to *Campantar's* reference to *Nīlanakkar*,[68] *Murukaṉ*,[69] *Maṅkaiyarkkaraciyār*,[70] *Kulacciṟaiyār*,[71] *Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāṟar*.[72]

At *Mylapore*, *Campantar* sings a *hymn* where in every one of its verses he refers to one monthly festival. He himself says that he has composed it as a "*Pūmpāvaip pāṭṭu*".[73] Every verse ends with the refrain, "*Kāṇātē pōtiyō pūmpāvāy*" — 'O, thou beautiful girl! Will you go away without seeing the festival?' According to tradition this has been sung to bring to life the bone of the daughter of one *Civanēcac ceṭṭiyār*, an admirer and worshipper of *Ñāṉacampantar*.

At *Tirunallūrp perumaṇam*, *Ñāṉacampantar's* marriage is said to have been performed when he disappeared with all those assembled there, to attain salvation. There is nothing in that *hymn* except the line, "*Perumaṇam pukkiruntīr emaippōkkaruḷirē*"[74]—

64. 1: 45: 1.
65. 1: 45: 7.
66. 1: 45: 12.
67. 3: 63: 11.
68. 3: 58: 11.
69. 2: 92: 3.
70. 3: 120.
71. 3: 120.
72. 2: 66: 11.
73. 2: 47: 11.
74. 3: 125: 8.

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'O, Lord of *Perumaṇam*! You bless me with a way of escape', a prayer which occurs elsewhere also.[75]

Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi in the *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti* has two verses in praise of *Campantar*.[76] He refers to the three great ideals achieved by *Campantar* during his life time: (1) the joy of the world; (2) curbing the power of the *Jains* and (3) the restoration of *Śaivism* to its past glory. This victory, it is said, was due to *Campantar* getting the blessings of the Mother Goddess even whilst he was an infant. That is the substance of the first verse (33). In the second verse *Nampiyāṇṭār* describes *Campantar* as one who had received (*Nampiyāṇṭār's Āḷuṭaiyapiḷḷaiyār Tiru Antāti*) and who in his own verses had referred to *Ceṅkaṭcōḷaṉ*, *Murukaṉ* and *Nīlanakkaṉ*.

But *Nampiyāṇṭār* has composed in addition not only the *Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār Tiruvantāti* (of 101 verses) but also *Tiruccaṇpai viruttam* consisting of 11 verses, *Tirumummaṇikkōvai* of 30 verses, *Tiruvulāmālai* consisting of 143 *kaṇṇis*, *Tirukkalampakam* of 49 verses and *Tiruttokai* consisting of 65 lines, all on *Āḷuṭaiya Piḷḷaiyār* or *Campantar*. In these various works of his, he refers to the many incidents of the life of *Campantar* that appealed to him most.

He speaks of him as the Lord of *Pukali* or *Cīkāḻi* whose twelve names he enumerates: 1. *Piṟamāpuram*, 2. *Veṅkuru*, 3. *Caṇpai*, 4. *Tōṇi*, 5. *Pukali*, 6. *Koccai*, 7. *Ciramārpuram*, 8. *Puṟavam*, 9. *Tarāy*, 10. *Kāḻi*, 11. *Vēṇupuram* and 12. *Kaḻumalam* (*Āḷuṭaiya-piḷḷaiyār Tiruvantāti*).[77]

Campantar is said to have belonged to the *Kauṇḍinya Gōtra* (*Kavuṇiyar tīpaṉ*).[78] It is rather curious that the kings of the Eastern *Archipelago* claim to belong to this same *Gōtra* and their kingdom was called *Campa*, reminding us of the name *Caṇpai* or *Cīkālī* and also of *Campāpati* which is the other name for *Kāvirippūmpaṭṭiṉam*.

Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi thinks of *Campantar* as an '*avatār*' — incarnation.[79] "*Pārmukam uyyap paṟitalaiyōr māluṟṟaḻunta avata-*

75: 3: 45: 1.
76. 33-34.
77. *V.*, 100.
78. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Tir. Antāti*, 3; *Mumma.*, 25; *Tiruk.*, 14, 34,
79. *Caṇpai. Vir.*, 1; *Mumma.*, 4; *Ulāmālai*, *Kaṇṇi*, 63; *Tiruk.*, 1.

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rittōṉ";[80] "*Kaṭakari atu paṭa uritta ... kaṭavuḷtaṉ tiruvaruḷataṉāṟ-piṟantatu;*"[81] "*Avataritta vaḷḷal*";[82] "*Caṉpai eṉṉum oṉ patiyuḷ utit-taṉaiyē*".[83] *Campantar* is said to have sung 16,000 *patikams*.[84]

Even whilst *Campantar* was a child he was fed by Mother Goddess at the instance of *Śiva* because *Campantar* was hungry and was crying. He showed his father, the Lord, who blessed him, described the various marks of the Lord pointing out at the same time the Lord with his finger — "*Vētattalaivaṉai melviralāl tōṭṭiyalkātan ivaṉ eṉṟu tātaikkuc cūḻ vicumpiṟ kāṭṭiya Kaṉṟu*";[85] "*Tantai kāṇa aṉṟu nalamēṟiya pukaḻccampantaṉ kāṭṭiya nātaṉ*";[86] "*Em Civaṉ ivaṉeṉṟu annāḷ kutalait tiruvāymoḻikaḷ aruḷicceyta*";[87] "*Tōṭaṇi kātiṉaṉ eṉṟum tollamaṇark keṇṇāṉṟum tēṭariya parāpara-ṉaic ceḻumaṟaiyiṉ akaṉ poruḷai antic cemmēṉiyaṉai aṭaiyāḷam pala colli untaikkuk kāṇa araṉ uvaṉām eṉṟuraittaṉaiyē*";[88] "*Ūḻi mutalvaṉ uvaṉeṉṟu kāṭṭavallāṉ*".[89] The Mother Goddess gave him *ñānāmirtam* in a golden bowl. *Nampiyāṇṭār* speaks of the food given as something concentrated—"*Pukali...pōṉakam aruntiṭa*";[90] "*Eḷivantavā eḷiṟ pūvarai ñāṇmaṇittār taḷaṅkat tuḷivanta kaṇpicain tēṅkalum eṅkaḷ araṉ tuṇaiyām kiḷivanta colli poṟkiṇṇattiṉ ñāṉa amirtaḷitta aḷivanta pūṅkuñci iṉcoṟciṟukkaṉtaṉ āraruḷē*";[91] "*Kuñci kūṭāp paruvattu ... maṅkai taṉ aruḷ peṟṟavaṉ*";[92] "*Vaḷarntatu ... pūṅkuḷal mātiṭu pōṉakam uṇṭē*";[93] "*Amutuṇ cevvāy*";[94] *Ampoṉcey vaṭṭilil kōtil amirtam nukar kuñcaram*";[95] "*Malaiyaraiyaṉ maṭap-pāvai naṟkaṇṇi aḷaviṟanta ñāṉattai amirtākkip pōṟkiṇṇattaruḷ purinta pōṉakam muṉ nukarntaṉaiyē*";[96] "*Paṇṭamutu ceytatumai*

80. *Ceṇpai. Vir.*, 1.
81. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Mum.*, 4.
82. *Tiruvul. Mālai, Kaṇṇi*, 63.
83. *Tiruk.*, 1.
84. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Tiruvantāti*, 15; *Tiru Ulāmālai, Kaṇṇi* 62; *Tiruttokai, line* 42.
85. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Tiruvantāti*, 13.
86. *Ibid.*, 16.
87. *Ibid* , 43.
88. *Tiruk.*, 1: 3.
89. *Tiruttokai, line* 10.
90. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Tiruvantāti*, 40.
91. *Ibid.*, 73.
92. *Cen. Vir.*, 2.
93. *Mum. Kōvai.*, 4.
94. *Ibid.*, 19.
95. *Ulāmālai, Kaṇṇi*, 67.
96. *Tirukkalampakam*, 1,

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naṅkaiyaruḷ mēvu Śivajñāṉam";[97] "*Jñāṉam tiraḷaiyilē uṇṭaṉai*";[98] "*Mutirāta ceppotta koṅkait tirunutali appaṉ aruḷālē ūṭṭutalum appoḻutē ñāṉat tiraḷāki muṉṉiṉṟa cemmal*".[99]

He seems to be very much taken up by the story of *Campantar* impaling the heretics and reveals in the description of the death of these people, of their blood flowing like water and the kites flying to feed on their corpses — "*Mayilukutta kaṇṭiṉam cūḻnta vaḷai pirampōr kaḻuvā uṭalam viṇṭiṉam cūḻak kaḻuviṉa ākkiya vittakaṉē*";[100] "*Vali keḻu kuṇṭarkku vaikaikkaraiyaṉṟu vāṉ koṭutta kalikeḻu tiṇtōḷ kavuṇiyar tīpaṉ*";[101] "*Toḻunīra vaikaik kuḻuvāy etirṉta uṟikkaip paṟitalaik kuṇṭar taṅkaḷ kaḻuvā uṭalam kaḻuviṉa ākkiya kaṟpakam*";[102] "*Āmaṇ kaṇam kaḻu ēṟṟi*";[103] "*Uṭalam porutak kaḻuniraiyākkuvaṉ*";[104] "*Pukaliyar kōṉaṉṉa nāṭkātiyiṭṭēṟṟum kaḻuttiṟam*";[105] "*Nītiketṭār kulaiyak kaḻuvin kuḻukkaṇṭavaṉ*";[106] "*Vātiṉil vallamaṇaip paṇṇaik kaḻuviṉ nutivaittem panta viṉai aṟukkum*"; "*Āṟumaṇṭap paṇṭu ceñcol naṭātti amaṇ muḻutum pāṟumaṇṭak kaṇṭa caiva cikāmaṇi*";[108] "*Kaṇṭatu uṟiyoṭu pīli orukaiyil koḷḷum paṟi talaic camaṇaip pal kaḻumicaiyē*";[109] "*Vaikaiyil amaṇarai vātu ceytaṟutta Caiva Cikāmaṇi Campantaṉ*";[110] "*Vallamaṇar ollaik kaḻuvil ulakka*";[111] "*Teṉṉaṉṟaṉ kūṭal kulanakaril vātil amaṇar vāḷitolaiyak kātalāḷ puṅkeḻuvu cempuṉalāṟu ōṭap porutavarai vaṅkaḻuvil taitta maṟaiyōṉ*";[112] "*Aṉṟamaṇar kūṭṭattai ācaḻittup poṉṟa uraikeḻuvu centamiḻppā oṉṟiṉal veṉṟi nirai kaḻumēl uyttāṉ*";[113] "*Amaṇaraik kaḻu nutikku aṇaivuṟuttavaṉum nī*";[114] "*Aṟivāki iṉpam cey tamiḻ vātil veṉṟanta amaṇāṉa vaṉkuṇṭar kaḻuvēṟa muṉ kaṇṭa ceṟi māṭa vaṇcaṇpai*

97. *Ibid*, 9.
98. *Mum. Kōvai*, 12.
99. *Tiruttokai, lines* 5-8.
100. *Aḻ, Piḻ. Tiruvantāti*, 6.
101. *Ibid.*, 12.
102. *Ibid.*, 28.
103. *Ibid.*, 39.
104. *Ibid.*, 51.
105. *Ibid.*, 66.
106. *Ibid.*, 81.
107. *Ibid.*, 98.
108. *Caṇ. Viruttam*, 9.
109. *Mum. Kōvai*, 4.
110. *Ibid.*, 13.
111. *Ulāmālai, Kaṇṇi*, 59.
112. *Ibid.*, 73-74.
113. *Ibid.*, 134-35.
114. *Kalampakam*, 1.

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nakarāḷi";[115] "*Kaṇṭatu arukantar kulamoṉṟi muḻutum kaḻuvil ēṟa*";[116] "*Arukarai murukkiya tamiḻ payiṟṟiya nāvaṉ*";[117] "*Vaṉpakaiyām akkuṇṭarai veṉṟōy*";[118] "*Pāli amaṇaik ·kaḻuvēṟṟiṇāṉ*";[119] He has got a special fascination of the names "*Arukācaṉi*";[120] "*Kuṇṭācaṉi*";[121] "*Amararkkuk kālaṉ*";[122] '*Arukācaṉi*' means the thunder to the *Arhas*, He also refers to the *Buddhist* monk whose head rolled on the ground — "*Nērvanta puttaṉ talaiyaip puvimēl puraḷvitta vittakap pāṭal vilampiṉāṉ*".[123]

He gives more details about the debate with the *Jains* — "*Arukar kuḻām veṉṟa koccaiyarkōṉ*";[124] "*Arukar taṅkaḷ teṉṉāṭṭu araṇ aṭṭa ciṅkam*";[125] "*Vaikai māṇṭaṉar eṉpar ... paracamaya kōḷarikkun nikarāt tamiḻ nāṭṭuḷḷa kuṇṭarkaḷē*";[126] "*Coṟceṟi nīḷkavi ceytaṉṟu vaikaiyil tollamaṇar paṟceṟiyā vaṇṇam kātta Campantaṉ*";[127] "*Arukantar muṉkalaṅka naṭṭa muṭai keḻumu māl iṉṉam puṉ kalaṅkal vaikaippuṉal*";[128] "*Amaṇmalaintāṉ*".[129] In the *Tiruttokai* he refers to *Pāṇṭimātēvi* and *Kulacciṟai* praising *Campantar* whilst the heretics set fire probably to *Campantar's* own *mutt*, when he ordered the fire to catch hold of the *Pāṇḍya* — "*Pattic civameṉṟu pāṇṭimā tēviyoṭum koṟṟak katirvēl Kulacciṟaiyum koṇṭāṭum aṟṟaip poḻutattu amaṇariṭu ventīyaip paṟṟic cuṭuka pōyp pāṇṭiyaṉai eṉṉa vallāṉ*";[130] "*Kāntum kaṉalil kuḻiṟ paṭuttuk kaṭal kūṭaliṉvāy vēntiṉ tuyar tavirttāṉ*".[131] The *Pāṇḍya* was cured of his misery[132] probably with the sacred ash. *Nampiyāṇṭār* refers to the verses of *Campantar* undergoing the ordeal of water and fire. He specifically mentions that the *hymn* beginning with '*Pōkamār*' went through the ordeal of fire. The *cadjan* leaf containing *Campantar's hymn* went

115. *Ibid.*, 8
116. *Ibid.*, 9.
117. *Ibid.*, 18.
118. *Ibid.*, 20.
119. *Tiruttokai, Kaṇṇi*, 5.
120. *Al. Pil. Antāti*; 9, 10, 19, 65, 76, 88; *Tirukkalampakam*, 7, 21,
121. *Caṇ. Vir.*, 7.
122. *Mum.*, 6.
123. *Tiruttokai, ll.* 38-40.
124. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 36.
125. *Ibid.*, 43.
126. *Ibid.*, 54.
127. *Mum.*, 21.
128. *Ibid.*, 26.
129. *Ibid.*, 29.
130. *T. tokai, ll.* 48-52.
131. *Aḷ. Piḷ. Tiruvantāti*, 71.
132. *Ibid.*, 71.

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against the current of the stream of *Vaikai* — "*Nilaviya Vaiuaiyā*ṟṟu *ēṭiṭṭu vāṉīr etirōṭṭum ceykaiyāl mikka ceyalṇṭaiyāṉ*";[133] "*Maṅkaiyiṭattaraṇaik kavi nīr etir ōṭa matittaruḷ cey taṅku pukaḻc catur māmaṟai nāvaḷar caiva cikāmaṇi*".[134]

Nampiyāṇṭār mentions *Campantar* receiving gold coin as prize along with *Tirunāvukkaracar* at *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai*, an important meeting according to him of the two saints which saved the world — "*Pāṭiya centamiḻāl paḻaṅkācu paricil perṟa nīṭiya cīrt tiru ñāṉacampantaṉ niṟai pukaḻāṉ nēṭiya pūntiru nāvuk karacōṭu eḻil miḻalaik kūṭiya kūṭṭattiṉāl uḷatāyttik kuvalayamē*";[135] "*Tēcam muḻutum maḻai maṟantu ūṉ keṭac centaḷaṟkai īcaṉ tiruvaruḷāl eḻil vīḻimiḻalaiyiṉvāyk kāciṉ maḻaipoḻintāṉ*";[136] "*Tuṅkap puricai toku miḻalai aṅkataṉil nittaṉ ceḻuṅkācu koṇṭu nikaḻ nelvāyil muttiṉ civikai mutalkoṇṭu*";[137] "*Vayal aṇi teṉ vīḻimiḻalaiyiṉilavu kāciṉ mali maḻai poḻiyum māṉa kuṇa maturaṉ*";[138] "*Vīḻimiḻalaip paṭikkācu koṇṭa pirāṉ*".[139].

He also refers to *Campantar* as the friend of *Nīlanakkar*, *Muruka Nāyaṉār* and *Ciruttoṇṭar* — "*Eḻil Nīlanakkaṟkum iṉpap pūntaṉ pukalūr Murukaṟkum tōḻaṉ*";[140] "*Nilavu Murukaṟkum Nīlanakkaṟkum tolaivil pukaḻc ciṟuttoṇṭaṟkum kulaviya tōḻamaiyāyt tollaip piṟapparutta cuntaraṉ*".[141] In one place *Nampiyāṇṭār* states that if we praise *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* we can easily attain an intimate relationship with *Campantar* — "*Virumpum putalvaṉai meyyarintu ākkiya iṉṉamirtam arumpum puṉal caṭaiyāy uṇṭaruḷ eṉṟaṭi paṇinta irumpiṉ cuṭark kaḷiṟṟāṉ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉai ēttutirēl curumpiṉ malart tamiḻākaraṉ pātat toṭarvu eḻitē*".[142] He also refers to *Campantar* making mention of *Murukanāyṉār's* worship in the *hymn* of *Varttamāṉīccuram* — "*Varttamāṉicar kaḻal vaṇaṅki vāḻ Muruka pattiyai īcaṉ patikattē kāṭṭiṉāṉ*".[143] Along with this fact he mentions that *Campantar* was very friendly with *Nīlanakkaṉ* — "*Attaṉ Tirunīlanakkaṟkum aṉputaiyāṉ*".[144]

133. *Tiruttokai, ll.* 33-35.
134. *Tirukkalampakam*, 15.
135. *Aḻ. Piḻ. Tiruvantāt*,, 80.
136. *Ibid.*, 41.
137. *Ulāmālai, Kaṇṇi*, 78-79
138. *Tirukkalampakam*, 24.
139. *Tiruttokai, li*, 11.
140. *Āḻ. Pil. Tiruvantāti*, 71.
141. *Tiru Ulāmālai, Kaṇṇi*, 71-72.
142. *Al. Pil. Tiruvantāti*, 72.
143. *Tiruttokai, ll.*, 52-53.
145. *Ibid., l.*, 54.

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Nampiyāṇṭār sings of *Campantar's* greatness and love which were so endearing to the Lord that he blessed him with the cymbal (*tāḷam*) at *Kōlakkā*;[145] with a palanquin of pearls at *Nelvāyil Arattuṟai*;[146] with a purse of a thousand gold coins at *Āvaṭutuṟai* to enable his father to perform sacrifice.[147]

He refers to the discomfiture of the proud *Pāṇa* probably *Nīlakaṇṭayāḻppāṇar* and the smashing of the *yāḻ* by him because of his impossibility to play the *hymn* called "*yāḻmūri*' in his '*yāḻ*'.[148]

At *Tirumarukal*, he states that when the husband fell down dead, bitten by a poisonous serpent, *Campantar* took pity on his wife and saved him.[149] In *Tiruttokai*, *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* refers to another incident where *Campantar* saved this time a woman who died of snake poison. Probably this refers to what the later day generation referred to as the "*Aṅkam pumpāvai*" incident of *Mylapore* though *Nampiyāṇṭār* nowhere mentions that the bones alone were transformed into a maiden — "*Veyya viṭam mēvi iṟanta ayilvērkaṇ maṭamakaḷai vāveṉṟaḷaippittim maṇṇulakil vāḻvitta cīrniṉṟa cemmaic ceyaluṭaiyāṉ*".[150]

Another miracle of *Campantar* is curing the daughter of a *Maḷava* chief who was suffering from *Muyalakaṉ* or epileptic fits. Tradition has it that this miracle was performed by the *hymn* sung at *Tiruppāccilāccirāmam*. This is one of the *Akapporuḷ hymns*, a complaint by the mother of the love-sick maiden who had fallen in love with the Lord.[151]

The miracle of changing a desert into a fertile sea-base at *Naṉipaḷḷi* is also referred to by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*.[152] There is a line in *Tiruttokai*, *l.* 17 — which is often taken to refer to this miracle but that line simply states that *Ñāṉacampantar* was capable of singing *Pālai* and *Neytal*—"*Pālaiyum neytalum pāṭa-*

145. *Āḷ. Piḷ Tiruvantāti*, 40, 82; *Mummaṇikkōvai*, 4; *Ulāmālai*, 82; *Tiruttokai*, *l.*, 22.
146. *Āḷ Piḷ. Antāti*, 40, 83; *Mum.*, 4, 28; *Ulāmālai*, 79; *Tiruttokai*, *l.*, 24.
147. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 40, 84; *Mum.*, 4. *Ulā.*, 80; *Tiruttokai*, *ll.*, 18-19.
148. *Āḷ. Pil*, *Tir.*, 39, 91; *Mum.*, 1; *Ulā.*, 77; *Tiruk.*, 26; *Tiru.*, *l.* 13.
149. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 28, 49; *Caṇpai Virut.*, 3; *Mum.*, 4; *Ulāmālai Kaṇṇi*, 137-138; *Tiruk.*, 41; *Tiruttokai*, *l.* 21.
150. *Tiruttokai*, *ll.*, 35-38.
151. *Camp.*, 1: 44.
152. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 17; *Caṇ. Vir.*, 4; *Tiruvulamālai*, *Kaṇṇi*, 75.

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vallāṉ, *i.e.* capable of singing the '*Pālai*' and '*Neytal*' tracts even whilst he was young.

The other miracle of metamorphosing a male *palmyra* into a female *palmyra* at *Tiruvōttūr* is mentioned in several places.[153]

At *Tirukkoḷḷampūtūr*, *Campantar* crossed the *Kāviri* river against the current with the help of a boat. This is looked upon as a great miracle of *Campantar* and this is referred to in various places.[154]

The story of *Campantar's* closing the doors of *Tirumaṟaikkāṭu* is another miracle mentioned in various places.[155]

The marriage of *Campantar* performed at *Nallūrp perumaṇam* when everyone attained Salvation is another miraculous act.[156]

Ulāmālai[157] mentions that *Campantar* cured his relatives and *aṭiyārs* from the shivering fever with which they suffered at *Koṅku*.

In some temples like *Uttarakōcamaṅkai*, we find the image of *Campantar* with one leg held up in a dancing posture and playing upon the cymbal (*tāḷam*) whilst singing. *Nampiyāṇṭār* almost describes this form—"*Ciṟuparaṟ karanta viḷikuraṟ kiṇkiṇi cevipullic cilkural iyaṟṟi amutuṇ cevvāy aruvi tūṅkat tāḷam piriyāt taṭakkai acaittuc ciṟu kūttiyaṟṟic civaṉ arulperṟa naṟṟamiḻ virakaṉ*".[158]

The story of Śiva offering the milk of *Pārvatī* and the enraged father demanding the child to point out the person who had given the milk has taken the present form even during the time of *Paṭṭiṉattār*:

"*Tātaiyoṭu vēnta vētiyac ciruvaṉ*
Taḷarnaṭaip paruvattu vaḷarpaci varutta
Aṉṉayō cṉṟaḷaippa muṉṉiṉṟu
Ñāṉa pōṉakattu aruḷaṭṭik kuḷaitta
Āṉāt tiraḷai avaṉvayiṉ aruḷa

153. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 39; *Mum.*, 4; *Ulāmālai*, 81; *Tirut., l.*, 28.
154. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 39; *Mum.*, 4; *Tiruvulāmālai, Kaṇṇi*, 77; *Tiruk.*, 41; *Tirut., ll.* 30-31.
155. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti.*, 39, 91; *Caṇpaiviruttam*, 7; *Mum.*, 4; *Ulā. Kaṇṇi*, 77 *Tirut., ll.*, 26-27.
156. *Āḷ. Piḷ. Antāti*, 60; *Caṇpai Virut.*, 10; *Tirut., ll.*, 61-65.
157. *Kaṇṇi*, 78.
158. *Mum.*, 19.

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Antaṇaṉ muṉintu tantār yāreṉa
Avaṉaik kāṭṭuvaṉ appā vāṉār
Tōṭuṭaiya ceviyaṉ eṉṟum
Pīṭuṭaiya pemmāṉ eṉṟum
Kaiyiṟ cuṭṭik kāṭṭa
Aiyanī veḷippaṭ ṭaruliṉai āṅkē".[159]

"The *Brahmin* boy went with his father whilst he was not capable of walking aright. The growing hunger began to inflict him and he cried, 'O, Mother! You stood before him. The food of wisdom mixed with your Grace, you offered as the infinite morsel. The *Brahmin* (father) was angry and asked of the child to show who gave the food. The child said, 'Father, I shall show Him. He is "*Tōṭuṭaiya ceviyaṉ*; *pīṭuṭaiya pemmāṉ*' — thus singing he pointed You out, with his finger and lo, You became manifest then and there".[160]

Śrī Śankarāchārya, in his *Soundaryalahari*, describes the heaving bosom of the Mother and refers to its milk making the *Tamiḻ* child sing the glorious and mellifluous verses. Commentators like *Laksmīdhara* fail to understand the reference; but anyone who knows the story of *Campantar* will readily identify the *Tamiḻ* child as *Tirujñāṉasambandar*. The *Tamiḻ* translation of this work by *Vīrai Kavirāja Paṇṭitar* and its commentary by *Śaiva Ellappa Nāvalar* makes this point quite clear. Therefore, this story must have become popular by the time of *Śrī Śankarāchārya*.

Cēkkiḻār describes the story of *Ñāṉacampantar* almost as a great epic in 1257 verses. The name of the father of *Ñāṉacampantar* is *Civapāta Irutayar* (15), a fact not known to us from *Campantar's hymns*. The father was feeling miserable (18) at the spread of heresy and was anxious to bring forth a child (19) who would restore the past glory. Like *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, *Cēkkiḻār* speaks of *Campantar's* birth as an *avatār* (26). The child grew up and attained three years of age (54). The father took the child with him to the temple tank to bathe, because the child persisted in coming with him (56). When he was inside the water uttering *aghamarṣaṇa mantra* (60), the child not seeing the father began to cry '*Ammē*, *Appā* — *Mamma*, *Pappa*!'. *Śiva* came with the Mother Goddess and requested the Mother to feed the

159. *Tirukkaḻu. Mum. Kōvai, ll.*, 23-33.
160. *Ibid.*

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child with her milk — '*pāl aṭicil*' (69) in a gold bowl, a description clearly following *Campantar's* verse, "*Pōtaiyāṟ poṟkiṇṇat taṭicil*,"[161] and when she did so the child became full with divine knowledge and *Śivajñānasambandha* (69), *i.e.*, one who is linked to divine experience — realizing that the Lord is the creator of everything and the Lord of his servants (71).

The father coming out of the tank found the child with marks of milk and was afraid that it had taken the food given by someone other than a *Brahmin*. He was, therefore, angry for the breach of the caste rules and demanded the child to show the person who had given the food (72). All this is clearly brought out by the poem of *Campantar*.[162]

Probably, it is this breach of the caste rules *Ārūrar* refers to, when he speaks of *Campantar* having committed a fault, which fault God accepted as his greatness: "*Naṟṟamiḻ valla Ñāṉacampantar ... kuṟṟañceyyiṉum kuṇameṉak karutuṅ koḷkai kaṇṭu niṉ kurai kaḻal aṭaintēṉ*".[163] That divine wisdom dawned upon *Campantar*, thanks to the blessing of the Lord of *Cīkāḻi*, is also referred to by *Ārūrar*.[164] From these references, the story of the drinking of *Pārvatī's* milk had grown and the *hymn Tōṭuṭaiya ceviyaṉ*' is said to have been sung in reply to the father and pointing to *Śiva* as the person who had given him milk. That *hymn* is an '*akapporul*' song being the speech of a love-sick maiden confessing that *Śiva* as *Bhikṣāṭana* is the person who had robbed her heart making her emaciated as to lose her bangles: "*Ērparanta iṉaveḷ vaḷai cōra eṉ uḷḷam kavar kaḷvaṉ*";[165] "*Iṟaikalanta iṉa veḷ vaḷai cōra eṉ uḷḷam kavar kaḷvaṉ*".[166]

The father of *Campantar*, *Cēkkiḻār* continues, took the child on his shoulders (94) and when *Campantar* sang the *hymn* beginning with "*Maṭaiyil vāḷai*"[167] at *Tirukkōlakkā*, two cymbals of gold, on each of which was inscribed the *pañcākṣara*, came into the hands of the child (103). When people learnt of this invitations

161. 3: 24: 2.
162. 3: 24: 2.
163. 7: 55: 4.
164. 7: 97: 9.
165. 1: 1: 3.
166. 1: 1: 6.
167. 1: 23.

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from various places poured in. *Campantar* started on a pilgri mage to temples and visited *Tirunaṉipaḷḷi* (116) where his mother was born. *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar* came to *Cīkāḻi* along with his wife and undertook, of his own accord, to follow *Campantar* wherever he went so as to play the *hymns* on his *yāḻ* (131). After worshipping at various places around *Cīkāḻi* and *Citamparam*, *Campantar* reached *Nelvāyil Arattuṟai* and rested that night at *Māṟaṉpāṭi*. *Śiva* appeared in the dream of the people of *Nelvāyil Arattuṟai* and directed them to present *Campantar* with an umbrella, a pearl palanquin and '*ciṉṉam*' or horns, kept within the temple (197). *Śiva* appeared also in the dream of *Campantar* to request him to accept His gift (206). *Hymn* 90 of the second *Tirumuṟai* was then sung when he accepted the gift according to *Periya-purāṇam*.

The '*upanayanam*' ceremony of *Campantar* was duly performed according to the *Vēdic* rites, but he emphasized on that occasion about the greatness of *Pañcākṣara* (266), the *mantra* of the *Śaivites*, by singing *hymn* 21 of the third *Tirumuṟai* beginning "*Tuñcalum tuñcalilāta pōḻtum*". Hearing of the fame of *Campantar*, *Tirunāvukkaraccar* came down to *Cikkāli* and lived with him for some days (273) before he left on his pilgrimage to the temples (274). *Campantar*, when he went round the temples, once came to *Tiruppāccilāccirāmam* where the chief *Kollimalavaṉ* brought his daughter suffering from epileptic fits or *Muyalakaṉ* to the presence of *Campantar* (217) who sang the *hymn* beginning with "*Tunivalar tiṅkal*"[168] and cured her of the disease. He reached *Ceṅkuṉṟūr* (324) where probably people were accustomed to suffer from a kind of hill malaria. His followers had an attack of his fever. He sang the *hymn* beginning with "*Avvinaikkiv-vinai*",[169] when all his followers as well as others became whole (336). Whilst he was nearing *Tiruppaṭṭīccuram* (391), it was so hot that a *Śivagaṇa* held up a canopy of pearls over his head (392), a conopy which came down to be caught by the follow-ers of *Campantar* (394). *Hymn* 73 of the third *Tirumuṟai* was then sung. In the last verse, the words, "*Pantamuyar vīṭum nala Paṭṭiccuram*" occur; perhaps there was another reading "*Pantra uyar*" from which this story of the pearl canopy might have arisen.

168. 1: 44: 1.
169. 1: 116.

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Whilst *Campantar* was at *Tiruvāvaṭuturai*, his father was desirous of performing a sacrifice for which he wanted money (422). *Hymn* 4 of the 3rd *Tirumuṟai* where he rhetorically asks of the Lord, "Is there nothing to be given?" is said to have been sung on this occasion, when it is said a *Śivabhūta* placed a purse of 1000 coins on the pedestal (426). *Campantar* went to the place of *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar's* mother, *Viz.*, *Tarumapuram* (444) and *Pāṇar's* relatives were so proud as to claim all the popularity of *Campantar's hymns* for the musical talents of *Pāṇar* (445). *Pāṇar* felt so miserable that he begged of *Campantar* to sing a *hymn which* cannot be played on the *yāḻ*. *Pāṇar* was about to break his musical instrument when he could not play the '*Yāḻmūri*' *hymn* on his *yāḻ*[170] but *Campantar* begged of him to resist that attempt (450-52). On his pilgrimage to various temples, *Campantar* came to *Marukal* where he heard the lament of a maiden who had eloped with her beloved who was unfortunately bitten by a snake. Moved by this tragic situation, *Campantar* sang the *hymn*, "*Caṭaiyāy eṉumāl*"[171] to bring back the dead man to life (482-83). At the instance of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*, he worshipped at *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi*. He met *Tirunāvuakaracar* at *Tiruppukalūr* (492-93) and went to *Tiruvārūr* to worship on the *Tiruvātirai* day (496). At *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* he had a vision of the Lord of *Cīkāḻi* (555). Whilst these two saints were staying at *Tiruvīḻimiḻalai* a severe famine raged in the country. The saints got a coin each from the Lord of the temple to feed their followers. At first a coin on which a commission had to be paid, was given to *Campantar* and therefore *Campantar* sang[172] begging the Lord to give coins on which no commission need be paid (570). Both the saints then reached *Tirumaraikkāṭu* (575) where *Appar* sang a *hymn* for opening the gates of the temple (582) whilst *Campantar* sang one to close them (587).

Whilst staying there, people from *Maturai* came to inform them of the persecution of the *Śaivites* by heretics. *Appar* offered to go, lest the heretics should do any harm to *Campantar*. He also pointed out that it was not an auspicious occasion whereupon, *Campantar* sang the '*Kōḷaṟu Patikam*'[173] (616). Therein, he stated that everything was auspicious to the followers of God.

170. 1: 136.
171. 2: 18.
172. 1: 92.
173. 2: 85.

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Kulacciṟaiyār, the minister and *Maṅkaiyarkkaraci*, the queen welcomed him to *Maturai* (660) when he sang a *hymn*.[174] On the night of his arrival, the heretics by their black magic, set fire to the *mutt* (700), where *Campantar* and his followers were staying. Knowing this, *Campantar* sang the *hymn* 3: 51, ordering the fire to catch hold of the *Pāṇḍya* in the form of fever (705). The pain was so unbearable that the *Pāṇḍya* consulted his minister and the queen who explained to him that all this was due to his friends trying to set fire to the *mutt* (719). The king sent for *Campantar* (723) who, however, went to the temple for knowing the will of the Lord as to his entering on a debate with the heretics by singing the *hymns* 3: 47 and 3: 108. After knowing the will of the Lord, he went to the palace and when the *Pāṇḍya* asked of him his birth place (753), he replied by singing the *hymn* 2: 70. The heretics, were all in anger and even the queen became nervous when *Campantar* re-assured her by singing the *hymn* 3: 39. The heretics undertook to cure the left side of the king and *Campantar*, the right side of the king. *Campantar* sang the *hymn* on the sacred ash[175] and cured the fever on both the sides, when the heretics felt helpless (766). The heretics preferred the magical contest of fire and water from which the *cadjan* leaves containing the truths of their respective religions should escape. *Campantar* took out the *hymn* of *Tirunaḷḷāṟu*[176] from his collected works and threw it into the fire (783) and sang the *hymn*, "*Taḷariḷa vaṉamulai*".[177] Whilst the *cadjan* leaf of the heretics was burnt to ashes, the leaf of *Campantar* remained fresh (789). Then followed the ordeal by water. The *hymn* "*Vāḻka antaṇar*"[178] was written on a *cadjan* leaf and thrown into the waters of *Vaikai*. Whilst the *cadjan* leaf of the Jains rushed away with the current, *Campantar's* leaf travelled against the current and reached '*Tiruvēṭakam*' (850) where *Campantar* sang.[179] *Campantar* refers to the *cadjan* leaf reaching, *Ēṭakam*, "*Ēṭu ceṉṟaṇaitarum Ēṭakam*" in the last verse of his *hymn*. How a temple was built there and how the place itself came to be called *Ēṭakam* even whilst *Campantar* was singing the *hymn* when the *cadjan* leaf travelling against the current are not made clear.

174. 3: 120.
175. 2: 66.
176. 1: 49.
177. 3: 87.
178. 3: 54.
179. 3: 32.

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The heretics — the *'ātatāyins* — were impaled as a punishment for their crime of setting fire to the living quarters of *Campantar* and his followers (855). It is not clear how this tradition grew, for prior to the song of *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, we do not hear anything about this story. One modern writer has printed a verse of *Campantar* with the reading, "*Ciraṅkaḷaic cinta vātu ceyyat tiruvuḷḷamē*" — 'Is it your wish that the heads of the heretics should roll down?' instead of the old reading, "*Tiraṅkaḷaic cinta vatu ceyyattiru vuḷḷamē*" — 'Is it your wish that I should debate with the heretics bringing their capacities to nothing?" Perhaps some such reading or misundersting was responsible for the growth of this tradition.

After this, *Campantar* went to the temples in the *Cōḻa* country and once when he had to cross the river *Kāviri* in a boat without a boatman, he sang the *hymn* "*Koṭṭamē kamaḻum*"[180] (898). The word "*Cella untuka*" occurs in every one of the verses and the sixth verse speaks of "*Ōṭamvantaṇaiyum Koḷḷampūtūr*". '*Ōṭamuvantaṇaiyum*' is the description of that place as much as '*Āṟuvantaṇaiyum*' and other phrases which occur in other verses. It is, however, on this description that the tradition had grown.

When he reached *Pōtimaṅkai* (904), the seat of the *Buddhists*, one *Buddhanandi* (906) opposed him and one of his followers went to write his verses on the *cadjan* leaf sang the verse "*Puttar Camaṇ kaḻukgaiyar*"[181] wher it is stated that the *Pañcākṣara* was the weapon against the enemies of *Śaivities*. We are told that the *Buddhist* died of a lightning shock (909).

Campantar came to meet *Appar* at *Tiruppūnturutti* (929) where unknown to others, *Appar* carried the palanquin of *Campantar* along with others (934). *Campantar* was shocked to learn this and got down from the palanquin to embrace the elder saint (936). After taking leave of *Appar*, *Campantar* went to the temples of *Toṇṭaināṭu* (945). At *Tiruvōttūr*, he found all the *palmyras* planted becoming male ones (978). He sang the *hymn* '*Pūttērntāyaṇa*'.[182] In the last verse he speaks of "*Kurumpai āṇ paṇai īṇ kulai Ōttūr*". Probobly it is a beautiful description of the freak of nature around which a tradition had grown. At *Tirumayilāp-*

180. 3: 6: 1:
181. 2: 22: 10.
182. 1: 54.

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pūr, one *Civanēcacceṭṭiyār* had a daughter by name *Pūmpāvai* (1044) whom he wanted to give away to *Ñāṉacampantar*, But she unfortunately died of snake bite. Her poor father preserved her bones in a pot which he placed before *Campantar* on his visit to *Mylapore*. *Campantar* sang the '*Pūmpāvaippatikam*'[183] and out of the bones rose a beautiful damsel back to life (1090). Having brought her to life he explained that he was in a sense her father and therefore he could not marry her (1114). *Campantar* returned home and his parents in spite of his refusal, insisted on his marrying the daughter of *Nampāṇṭār Nampi* (1161) at *Tirunallūrpperumaṇam*. *Tirunīla nakka Nāyaṉār* acted as the priest (1239). Whilst coming round the fire along with his wife, he sang the *hymn*[184] beginning with '*Nallūrpperumaṇam*' and all the assembly disappeared as it were into the light. He sang the *Pañcākṣara hymn* beginning with '*Kātalālāki*'[185] ordering all to enter into the light to attain salvation including *Tirunīlanakkar*, *Tirunīlakaṇṭayāḻppāṇar*, *Murukaṉ*, *Nampaṇṭār* and *Civapāta Irutayar*, on that *Vaikāci mūlam* day.

The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions are summarized as follows: "*Tirujñāna Sambandhi-piḷḷe nāyaṉār* was a Brahman *Śaivite* famous for his *Tamiḻ* songs in praise of *Śiva*. He is considered an *Avatār* of *Śiva*. He cured *Kubjapāṇḍya*, King of *Madura*, of his fever which *Jinasēna* and other *Jaina* devotees of his time could not cure with all their *Jaina* spells and charms, and thus persuaded him to embrace *Śaivism* again. He paid a visit to *Gajāraṇya* and worshipped the *Liṅga* which was set up there by *Raktākshachōḻa*, son of *Subhadēva*, *King of Chōḻas*. *Vāgīśa*, *Nīla nagna*, *Skandanāthā*, *Kulapaksha*, *Haradatta* and others were his contemporaries. At his request, '*Tirumaṅghayāḻvār*, one of the celebrated *Vaiṣṇava* saints, anterior to *Rāmānujachārya*, paid a visit to a *Vaiṣṇava* temple in *Madura*. *Vādībhasiṁha*, a celebrated *Jaina* scholar, is said to have disputed with *Sambandhar* on the merits of *Śaivism*".[186] We have already pointed out that in this tradition various great men who had lived in different periods are brought together as is often done in the stories of other great men like *Śaṅkara*. *Vādībhasimha*, who is the author of *Gadya*

183. 2: 47.
184. 3: 125.
185. 3: 49.
186. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, p. 8.

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Cintāmaṇi, is considered to have lived during the region of *Rājarāja II* of the 12th century.

One of the *Dārāsuram* sculptures gives a representation of the story of *Āḷuṭaiyapiḷḷaiyār* (*Campantar*). We have on the right, an elderly person with a beard and a sacred thread and with a tuft of hair knotted to the left. He is placing his left hand on the hip and holding a stick in the right hand as it were in the act of beating. A child stands in front with a vessel in its left hand. On the left appear *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* on the sacred bull. This depicts the story of *Campantar* pointing to the Lord after having drunk the milk.[187]

We have thus seen the story of *Ñāṉacampantar* developing from time to time; but the references in *Ārūrar's hymns* are crystal clear about the life of *Campantar* as *Ārūrar's* had known it. We had given references to *Campantar's* verses where the great saint describes his own experience and his own message which must have moved *Ārūrar* to such a great extent as to speak of himself as simply following in the footsteps of *Campantar*. The references in *Ārūrar's hymns* seem to suggest that *Campantar* was the leader of an important school of thought and worship which *Ārūrar* followed.

The 83rd *sūtra* of *Narada Bhakti Sūtra* is important from this point of view: "Thus the teachers of *Bhakti* unanimously declare without being in the least afraid of public criticism — the great teachers *Kuamāra*, *Vyāsa*, *Sukha*, *Śāndilya*, *Gārga*, *Viṣṇu*, *Kaundinya*, *Śēsha*, *Uddhava*, *Ariṇi*, *Bali*, *Hanumān*, *Vishisam* and others". The work, '*Nārada Bhakti Sūtra*' is assigned to the 12th century and the teacher *Śēsha* mentioned therein is sometimes interpreted as referring to *Rāmānujācharya*. In that case, it is for consideration whether *Kaundinya* may not refer to *Jñānasambandha* who calls himself '*Kavuṇiyaṉ*' (*Kaundinya*) in many of his verses. If this interpretation is correct, *Campantar* must be the head of a school of *Śaivite Bhaktas* believing in singing *hymns* in praise of God.

II

The 29th saint is *Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are "*Ēyarkōṉ Kalıkkāmaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the

187. *Annual Report of Epigraphy* 1919-20, *Pl.* fig. 45.

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servant of the servants of *Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār*'. '*Ēyar*' is the *Tamiḻ* form of the word '*Haihaya*'. Therefore, *Ēyarkōṉ* will mean the *Haihaya* chief. The *Haihaya* chiefs are mentioned in inscriptions as *Haihaya kōṉas*.[188] The *Haihayas* are mentioned in inscriptions as having been defeated by the *Chāḷukyas*.[189] The rulers of *Tirukkōvalūr* were *Malayamaṉs* from where the great patron *Malayamaṉ* of the *Caṅkam* age ruled and they called themselves *Malayamaṉs* after that great patron of *Tamiḻ*.

In the age of the later *Cōḻas*, we find them calling themselves *Cētirāyas* and *Kōvalarāyas*. Of the former title, Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry writes, "It is evident of the new tradition that was growing by which these chieftains sought to establish a connection with the *Haihayas* of *Cēdi* at a time when all ruling chieftains were busy finding a *purāṇic* pedigree for themselves".[190] But the tradition is at least as old as the age of *Ārūrar*, where we find this name *Ēyarkōṉ*. *Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār* is called *Malāṭarkōmāṉ* and *Cētivēntar* (*Periyapurāṇam*) but unfortunately, the native place of *Ēyarkōṉ* is not given by *Ārūrar* or *Nampiyāṇṭār*. Are we to assume that from the term *Ēyarkōṉ*, his native place can be nothing else than *Tirukkōvalūr*. *Ārūrar* mentions *Ēyarkōṉ* in the *hymn* he sang on *Tiruppuṉkūr*[191] and *Cēkkiḻār* makes *Tirupperumaṅkalam* near *Tiruppuṉkūr* on the north bank of the *Kāviri*, the native place of this saint. *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar* will appear to be another chief of this family. The other part of the name *Kālikkāmar* is also a problem for historians. We had suggested that the term *Kali* might refer to the *Kaliyaracar* or *Kalabhras*. *Kalikkāmaṉ* may either mean a member of this royal family who had the proper name *Kāmaṉ*. As this saint is called *Ēyarkōṉ*, he cannot be said to belong to the *Kali* family as well. *Kalikkāmaṉ*, therefore, had to be taken to mean a partisan of the *Kali* family as opposed to the name *Kalippakai*, the enemy of the *Kalis*, a name borne by that chieftain who was betrothed to the sister of *Tirunāvukkaracar*, who as a chieftain probably of *Siṁhaviṣṇu*, conquered the *Kalabhras*. As Prof. Nilakanta Sastry points out, some of the names and titles imply close dynastic connection among these different families of feudatory rulers, so that a member of a particular family is found

188. 513/1892; 520/1893.
189. 248/1896, 491/1893, 186/1893, 234/1893, etc.
190. *Cōḻas* by K. A. N. Sastry.
191. 7: 55: 3.

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to assume the title of another family or families. One *Malayāmāṉ* as the Professor points out calls himself a *Vāṅakularāyaṉ* and another *Malayamāṉ* calls himself a *Pallavarāyaṉ*. In this light, a member of the *Kali* family may assume the title of *Haihaya*. It is interesting to note that there is a city named after *Kalikkāma*, the famous *Kalikkāmūr* sung by *Campantar*.[192] In the 8th verse of this *hymn*, *Campantar* refers to a king with the serpent crown ruling the world from *Kalikkāmūr*: *Ūr aravam talai nīḷ muṭiyāṉ oli nīr ulakāṇṭu kār aravak kaṭal cūḻa vāḻum patiyām Kalikkāmūr*''.[193] This *Kalikkamūr* is a city on the sea coast founded by a *Kalikkāmaṉ*, anterior to this *Ēyarkōṉ*, as it is sung by *Campantar* who must have lived at least a generation before *Ārūrar*.

Ārūrar refers to this *Ēyarkōṉ* in another place, the *Tiruppuṉkūr hymn*, already referred to: ''*Ēta naṉṉilam* (*Ētamil nilam*?) *īraru vēli Ēyarkōṉ uɪra irumpiṇi tavirttu*''[194]—'You have removed the great ailment from which suffered that *Ēyarkōṉ* of 12 *vēlis* of land of no fault'. The reference to the 12 *vēlis* has been referred to in the previous verse of this *hymn*.[195] 'The whole world forgot the rains. There is no water in the fields. We will give you a big plot of land. Save us'. This was said. 'The white clouds of lustre spread all round. There was a great flood. This danger was also averted. God received again 12 *vēlis* of land. Seeing this act of Grace, I have taken refuge in your feet, O, Lord of *Tiruppuṉkūr*'. This is the idea conveyed in this verse. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* explains this story as an incident in the life of *Ēyarkōṉ*.[196] He speaks of the Lord getting one set of 12 *vēlis* perhaps for saving the lands from the floods. The '*pilai*' or fault, mentioned in this verse by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* and '*piṇi*' or ailment mentioned by *Nampi Ārūrar* probably refer only to the floods.

The word '*piṇi*' is given its full force in this story of *Ēyarkōṉ* as narrated by *Nampiyāṇṭār* and *Cēkkiḻār*. It is the chronic colic pain from which *Ēyarkōṉ* is said to have suffered. *Ēyarkōṉ* was opposed to *Ārūrar*, because the latter made the Lord his errand-boy, carrying messages to *Paravai*. In order God to bring about a

192. 3: 105.
193. *Ibid.*, 8.
194. 7: 55: 3.
195. 7: 55: 2.
196. *Kōyil Tiruppaṇṇiyār viruttam*, 54.

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reconciliation between these saints, God informed *Kalikkāmar* that *Ārūrar* would cure him of his colic pain. The heroic *Kalikkāmar* preferred to die rather than meet his enemy, and ran a scimitar into his stomach—This is all the story that is found in *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*.[197] But *Cēkkiḻār* continues: *Ārūrar* as directed by God came to *Kalikkāmar's* place only to learn of his death and he was so much overcome with grief that he attempted to cut away his own head. God brought *Ēyarkōṉ* to life and this saint went to prevent *Ārūrar* committing suicide. Thus these two great saints became very good friends.

The *Dārāsuram* sculpture represents this version of the story. Plate 6, figure 44 gives a copy of the sculpture with the name inscribed as *Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāmāṇṭār*. On the right half we find *Ēyarkōṉ* lying down on a cot with the death inflicting scimitar. On the left half are found two persons, one, *Ārūrar* trying to run his sword into his body and the other, *Ēyarkōṉ*, catching hold of *Ārūrar's* hands and preventing him from committing suicide. The *Sanskrit* and *Kaṇṇada* traditions refer to this saint as *Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār*, the commander of the army of the *Cōḻa* king and the son-in-law of *Māṉakanjaṉadīso* — two facts mentioned by *Cēkkiḻār* also. This saint is said to have taken a vow not to see the face of *Sundara* (*Ārūrar*) at all costs for the reason that the latter was in the company of prostitutes.

III

The 30th saint is *Tirumūla Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Nampirāṉ Tirumūlaṉaṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"—"I am the servant of the servants of our patron and Lord *Tirumūlaṉ*".[198] Whilst *Ārūrar* describes *Campantar* as *Empirāṉ*, the patron and Lord of his line of school, he describes *Tirumūlar* as *Nampirāṉ*, 'the Lord of us all'. The great work of this saint, the quintessence of *Āgamas* and *Yōga* — *Tirumantiram* — is available. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* states that *Tirumūlar* entered the body of a cowherd of *Cāttaṉūr* and praised *Śiva* according to the *Vēdas*.[199] *Cēkkiḻār* gives a more detailed story. One of the *Vēdic* and *Yōgic* disciples of *Nandi* of *Kailās* after achieving *siddhis* started on a southern tour to meet his friend *Agastya* at *Potiyam* mountain. Worshipping on the way at *Tirukkētāram*,

197. *Tirut. Tiruvantāti*, 35.
198. 7: 39: 5.
199. *Tirut. Tiruvantāti*, 36.

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Nēpalam, *Avimuktam*, *Śrī Parvatam*, *Kāḷahasti*, *Ālaṅkāṭu*, *Ēkāmparam* (*Kāñci*), *Tiruvatikai* and *Tillai*, he reached *Āvaṭuturai*. Suddenly an idea struck him. He met a herd of cows in a sorry plight almost in tears standing round the dead body of a cow-herd, *Mūlaṉ* by name, of *Cāttaṉūr* village. The *yōgi* taking pity on the cows, left his body in a safe place and entered the corpse. The cows were happy at what they thought as the return of their cow-herd. When he returned to the house of *Mūlaṉ*, he refused to cohabit with the wife and when she complained to the people of the village, they advised her not to think of her husband any more as he had become a *yōgi*. When he searched for his old body it had disappeared. He realized that this was God's will and that God had meant that he should sing *Tamiḻ*. He went to *Tiruvāvāṭuturai* to remain in a *yōgic* contemplation under a *Bōdhi* tree giving expression to his spiritual experiences at the rate of one verse a year for 3,000 years whereafter he returned to *Kailās*. His work is called *Tirumantiramālai* or the *Tamiḻ Mūvāyiram*. This *Tirumantiram* was added on as the 10th *Tirumurai*.

This *Tirumantiram*, divided into nine *tantras*, is said to summarize *Āgamas*, *Tantra* being another name for the *Āgama*. The first *Tantra* brings out the fact that *Śaivism* is an ethical religion. The second *Tantra* explains certain *purāṇic* stories bringing out their mystic significance and describes the five-fold function of *Śiva* and the three classes of *jīvas*. The third *Tantra* gives us the *yōgaśāstra* based on the author's own experience. The fourth is the *Mantra śāstra* explaining '*Ajapa*' *mantra* and other *cakras*. The fifth describes the different forms of *Śaivism*, *Śuddha Śaivam*. *Aśuddha Śaivam*, *Mārga Śaivam*, and *Kadum Śuddha Śaivam*. *Aśuddha Śaivam* consists in following certain practices; *Śuddha Śaivam* consists in the realization of the true knowledge; *Mārga Śaivam* is the *Śaivam* of realization; *Kadum Śuddha Śaivam* does not care for external characteristics but goes straight to *Śiva* perhaps like many of the saints of *Periyapurāṇam*. It also explains four *sādhanas* and the *Sat*, *Sakha*, *Satputra* and *Dāsa Mārgas*. The sixth describes *Śiva* as *Guru* and the necessity for His Grace. The seventh describes the esoteric *sādhanas* through the six *ādhāras* (*cakras*), *liṅgas* and *yōgamudras*. The eight refers to the *avasthas* and explains the dawn of divine knowledge and brings out the glory of *Siddhānta* in relation to the other schools of thought. The ninth *Tantra* is an exposition of *samādhi*, or the

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final realization, the attainment of *Ākāsa* and the significance of divine dance.

Tirumūlar mentions his nine *Āgamas* as *Kāraṇam, Kāmikam, Vīram, Cintam, Vātuḷam, Vyāmaḷam, Kālōttaram, Supram* and *Makuṭam. Tivākaram* and *Piṅkalantai*, the *Tamiḻ* Lexicons, give the names of some more *Āgamas*. It will be seen that more and more *Āgamas* were becoming popular in the *Tamiḻ* country and from the story of *Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār*, we learn that *Śaivities* were anxious to discover more and more *Āgamas*. Dr. V. V. Ramana Sastri of *Vēdāraṇyam* sees in the *Tirumantiram*, the *Pratyabhijñā Darsana* of *Kāshmir*, perhaps because of the story of *Tirumūlar* coming from *Kailās*, though he admits *Tirumūlar* must be anterior to *Sōmanātha* and *Abhinavagupta*, the great expounders or *Pratyabhijñā* in *Kāshmir*.[200] As *Tirumūlar* speaks of the six *darsanas* (v. 1530 *etc.*), he must be posterior to the authors (the *ṛṣis*) of these, and also to *Liṅgapurāṇam* (*vv.* 347-352) and *Vīravātuḷa*, held in great reverence by the *Vīramāhēśvaras*, whose cardinal tenets of *Ṣaḍ Sthala Vivēcaṉa*, are explained in the seventh *Tantra*. *Tirumūlar* was the first to write these truths in *Tamiḻ*: "*Mūlaṉurai ceyta mūvāyiram Tamiḻ*" (*V.* 99); "*Eṉṉai naṉṟāka iṟaivaṉ paṭaittaṉaṉ taṉṉai naṉṟākat tamiḻ ceyyumāṟē*" *V.* 81); "*Mālāṅkaṉē iṅku yāṉ vanta kāraṇam Nīlaṅka mēṉiyāḷ nēriḻaiyāḷoṭu mūlaṅkamāka molinta tirukkūttiṉ cīlāṅka veṭattaic ceppa vantēṉē*" (77); "*Nanti iṉaiyaṭi nāṉṭalai mēṟkoṇṭu puṇṭiyiṉ uḷḷē pukappēytu pōṟṟiceytu anti matipuṉai araṉaṭi nāṭoṟum cintai ceytu ākamam ceppaluṟṟēṉē*" (73). *Tirumūlar* refers to the *paṭṉi* cult (532) and, therefore, must have come after the *Kaṇṇaki* cult had become popular. In describing the temples, he speaks of brick and not of stone (1719, 1720) and, therefore, he must have lived before *Mahēndravarmaṉ I.* Verse 1721 refers to crystal *liṅga* and *Bāṇa liṅga* but these are natural ones as distinct from the chiselled ones. Preservation of temples is according to *Tirumūlar* the duty of the king (515-519). Therefore, he must have lived in an age when kings like *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* had started building temples and endowing them. He also refers to the great sin of speaking ill of *Jñānis* and *aṭiyārs* (537-538) probably after '*Usāna Saṁhita*' and such other books were written to condemn the *Pāśupatas* and heretics, unfit for commensality, perhaps somewhere

200. His introduction to Mr. V. Visvanātha Piḷḷai's edition of *Tirumantiram*, Ripon Press, Madras, 1912.

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about the 4th century A.D. In another place *Tirumūlar* speaks of five *Tamiḻ Maṇḍalas* (1646), probably referring to *Cōḻa Pāṇḍya, Cēra, Toṇḍa* and *Koṅkumaṇḍalas*. Dr. V. V. Ramana Sastry mentioned above fixes the age of *Tirumūlar* as the Sixth century. To prove that *Tirumantiram* is very old, Mr. V. S. Chengalvarāya Piḷḷai has pointed out that *Tirukkuṟaḷ, Nālaṭi* and *Tēvāram* of *Appar, Campantar*, and *Cuntarar*, and *Tiruvācakam* contain echoes from *Tirumantiram*,[201] though we do not find any specific reference to *Tirumūlar* in these works except in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions will make him a *Vaiṣṇavite* of Northern India entering into the corpse of a cow-herd when he wandered through South India. His *Vaiṣṇavite* wife was surprised at his incessant utterance of the word *Śiva* and thought that he had become insane. Having turned out a *Śaivite* he is said to have attained the abode of *Śiva* at the close of his life.

IV

The 31st saint is *Taṇṭiyaṭikaḷ* and the words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Nāṭṭamiku Taṇṭikkum* (*Mūrkkarkkum*) *aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Taṇṭi* of growing eyes (and *Mūrkkaṉ*)'. "Having no eyes he began digging a tank for *Śiva* with the help of a rope to show him the way and the limit; the *Jains* laughed at him and lost their eyes whilst *Taṇṭi* got his eyesight. He is the hero of *Ārūr*" — Thus sings *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* in his *Tiruttoṇṭar Tiruvantāti* — *V.* 37. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Daṇḍiyaḍighaṇāyaṇār* or *Daṇḍibhakta* and refer to his digging a well and receiving his eyesight but not to the mocking *Jains* losing their eyes. *Cēkkiḻār's* story is more graphic. The temple tank of *Tiruvārūr* became shorter on its western side because of *Jain mutts*, there. Blind *Taṇṭi* resolved to widen the tank on that side. *Taṇṭi* planted sticks or pegs and a guiding rope across them to mark the straight line of the bund up to which he had to dig. The *Jains* protested saying that innumerable insects would die in the futile attempt of his. Unable to bear the insult, he threw out a challenge that they would lose their eyes, while he would be blessed with eyesight. They accepted the challenge and swore they would vacate the city if he ever received the eye sight and in an angry mood they removed the pegs, the rope and the shovel. God brought the king to interfere and act as a judge. When the

201. *P.* 45 of Tiruppanantāḷ edition of *Tirumantiram*

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saint received his eyesight his enemies had to vacate the city. It had already been noted that *Taṇṭi* was a contemporary of *Naminanti*. All these stories give us a picture of the *Jaina-Śaiva* conflict of that age. *Taṇṭi* was so called probably because as a blind man he walked with a stick. *Taṇṭi* is a popular name in *South India* for we know that great *Sanskrit* writer *Dandin* belonged to the *Pallava* Court.

V

The 32nd saint is *Mūrkka Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar*, as already mentioned does not give any particulars about the saint except his name. *Nampiyāṇṭār* makes him the king of *Tiruvērkāṭu*, who gambled at *Kuṭantai* or *Kumpakōṇam* and gave away all the proceeds to *Śaivites*. *Cēkkiḻār* makes him a member of the *Vēḷāṇ* community and we know that the members of the *Vēḷāṇ* community became important as chiefs. According to *Cēkkiḻār* this saint lost all his wealth in feeding *Śaivites* and, therefore, had to proceed to the *Ampalam* in *Kumpakōṇam* for gambling. Because he used his sword freely against those who opposed him perhaps by playing false, he earned the name of *Mūrkka*. *Cēkkiḻār* adds that he did not take a pie of this gambling money for himself. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions know nothing except his gambling and feeding the *Śaivites*. Apart from showing the extent to which the *Śaivites* of *Ārūrar's* age could go to forgive a *Bhakta* and praise him, this story gives a picture of a confused state of the *Tamiḻ* country from *Tiruvērkāṭu* in the north to *Kumpakōṇam* in the south.

VI

The 33rd saint is *Cōmācimāṟa Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar's* words, are, "*Amparāṉ Cōmāci Māṟaṉukkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Cōmāci māṟaṉ* of *Ampar*'. *Cōmāci* is another form of *Sōmayāji*, one who has performed the *Sōmayajña* or *Sōma* sacrifice. Therefore, he must be a *Brahmin*. His proper name, therefore, must be *Māṟaṉ* and this shows that *Vēdic Brahmins* bore *Tamiḻ* names like *Māṟaṉ* and they became great *Śaivite* saints. It may be that *Cōmāci Maṟaṉ* had some connection with the *Pāṇḍyas* who were called *Māṟars*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* describes him as a *Brahmin* who would not open his mouth but for *Pañcākṣara* and who was a great friend of *Ārūrar*...*Cēkkiḻār* speaks of his going to *Tiruvārūr* to become a companion of *Nampiyārūrar*. The tradition, however,

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went on developing and the later *sthalapurāṇam* gives further details about this saint for emphasizing the *Śaivite* rejection of caste rules — details of which are also referred to in the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions: "*Sōmāsimāṟanāyaṉār* or *Sōmayāji* was a *Brahmin Śaivite* whose sacrificial hall was deserted by all the *Brahmin* priests in a body when in the middle of his sacrifice he fed a *Chaṇḍāḷa Śaivite* and his wife in the sacrificial hall. When, however, *Śiva* appeared in person before the sacrificer, the priests returned and finished the sacrifice, as if nothing happened to pollute it".[202]

202. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, p. 9.

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CHAPTER VI

VĀRKOṆṬA VAṆAMULAIYĀL CARUKKAM

I

The sixth verse begins with the phrase '*Vārkoṇṭa vaṉamulaiyāḷ*', the name of the *Carukkam* in *Periyapurāṇam* describing the lives of the saints of that verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. The first saint mentioned in that verse — the 34th saint in the list — is *Cākkiya Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar's* words are, "*Vārkoṇṭa vaṉamulaiyāḷ Umaipaṅkaṉ kaḻalē maṟavātu kallerinta Cākkiyarkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the *Cākkiya* who without forgetting threw stones at the feet of the Lord who shares His body with *Umā* of beautiful sash-bound bosom'. The reference to the Mother Goddess probably had suggested that *Kāñcī* was the place of *Cākkiyar's* worship. *Cākkiyar* means a *Buddhist*[1] but his native place is given as *Caṅkamaṅkai* by *Nampiyāṇṭar Nampi* and *Cēkkiḻār* who makes him further a *Veḷḷāḷa*. He came to *Kāñci*, the centre of South Indian *Buddhist* learning from where went *Diṅ Nāga* and *Dhammapāla* and where according to *Maṇimēkalai*, her *Guru*, *Aṟavaṇavaṭikaḷ* resided. He was first captivated by the path of love and *Dharma*. The *Buddhists* emphasize four cardinal truths: (1) *Dukkha* or misery, consisting in the cycle of births; (2) *Dukkhōtpatti*, the cause of the misery, namely, attachments; (3) *Dukkha nivāraṇa*, the removal of that misery, and (4) *Dukkhanivāraṇa mārga*, the way of escape which consists in the non-attachment. *Cēkkiḻār* points out that *Cākkiyar* returned to *Śaivism* realizing the four great categories of *Śaivism*: (1) the actor (*i.e.*, the soul); (2) his acts or the *karma*; (3) the result of the act, and (4) the Lord who gives the results to the actor. When this realization arises, the path of love and *Dharma* became the path of *Śaivism* and he, therefore, turned into the worshipper of *Liṅga*, the symbol of the Absolute. Since everything was *Śiva*, he did not give up his *Buddhist* dress. One day the sight of the *Liṅga* moved him so much that even without realizing what he was doing, he threw, out of love, a stone at it. Next day, at the same place and hour, he

1. 7: 15: 9.

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remembered what he did on the previous day and concluded that he must have been so moved by the Grace of God. He followed this practice as a religious ceremony of his own. One day, he forgot to follow this practice only to remember when he was about to eat. He ran and threw the stone at the *Liṅga* and God appeared before him at the Heavens. The story might mean that because of the great *Buddhistic* influence over *Kāñci*, our saint was afraid of changing his dress, but the *Śaivite* world had not understood the story that way. Real *Śaivism* was interpreted from this story not to lay the emphasis on the outward show but on the inward love. It is his greatness of never forgetting the Lord that *Appar* emphasizes in referring to this saint, "*Kalliiṉāl erintu kañci tāmuṇum Cākkiyaṉār nelliṉār cōṟuṇāmē nīḷ vicumpu āḷavaittār*":[2] 'That *Cākkiyar* who took his *Buddhist* gruel after throwing the stone, the Lord made him rule the high Heavens without his eating the cooked rice of paddy'. "*Puttaṉ maravātōṭi eri calli putu malarkaḷ ākkiṉāṉkāṇ*":[3] (He is true to those who stand firm in the path of true *Tapas*, and he is false to those who act with an iron heart). 'He made the small piece of stone which the *Buddhist* ran to throw without forgetting Him, the Lord had converted them into fresh flowers'. It is this greatness that *Ārūrar* must be having in his mind. The *Dārāsuram* sculptures represent this saint as a *Buddhist* with one cloth coming from the waist up to the heels, another going over the left shoulder across the chest from the waist upwards. He is seen in the act of throwing a stone at the *Śivaliṅga* in front of him.[4] The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* versions speak of him as *Sākki* or *Sākya Nāyaṉār* describing him as a *Brahmin* who embraced *Śaivism* in preference to *Buddhism* in which he believed for a long time and who made use of stones in worship when unable to procure flowers and incense to worship.

II

The 35th saint is *Ciṟappuli Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Cīrkoṇṭa pukaḻ vaḷḷal Ciṟappulikkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Ciṟappuli* foremost among the munificent patrons of fame'. The name *Ciṟappuli* is taken as *Śirapuli* by the *Sanskrit*

2. *Ap.*, 49: 6.
3. *Ap.*, 266: 8.
4. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl.*, 5, fig. 43.

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and *Kannada* versions and, therefore, translated as *Nirōdha-Sārdūla*, which, therefore, makes him a warrior who entertained all the *Śaivite* saints that went to his house, but what *Ārūrar* emphasizes is his munificence. Therefore, *Nampiyāṇṭār* makes him a *Brahmin* leader of *Ākkūr* which, as *Cēkkiḻār* reminds us was praised by *Campantar* for the munificence of its residents.[5] *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* considers the greatness of the saint to consist in honouring (*Ciṟappu*) the *Śaivites*, thereby suggesting that *Ciṟappuli* was so called because of the '*Ciṟappu*' or honour he paid to the *Śaivites*, '*ciṟa*' being the root of '*ciṟappu*' and '*ciṟappatu*'. The *Dārāsuram* sculptures represent this story with a picture of three persons one of whom is *Ciṟappuli*, the *Brahmin*, with a sacred thread while the other two are the recipients of gifts from him. The inscription underneath runs as *Siṟappuliāṇḍar*.[6]

III

The 36th saint is *Ciṟuttoṇṭa Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi mēya Ciruttoṇṭark kaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar of Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi*.' This *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuti* is in the *Cōḻa* country. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* speaks of this saint cutting away the body of his only child and feeding the Lord.

Cēkkiḻār gives the story of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* in 88 verses. The saint is said to belong to the "*Māmāttira*' community. *Manusmṛti*[7] speaks of the *Mahāmātras* as great officers of state or chief ministers. Therefore, this saint must have been born in a family of hereditary state officials. According to *Cēkkiḻār* his name was *Parañcōti* and he was an expert in *Sanskrit*, the Science of medicine and in the art of war. All this knowledge, however, made him realize that the feet of the Lord are our final refuge. He led an expedition on behalf of his king against *Vātāpi* (*Bādāmi*) in the north region and razed it to the ground. When he returned victorious, the king learned that he was a great *Bhakta* and begged of him to continue his service to *Śaivism*. So, he returned to his own place, *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi* and worshipped at *Gaṇapatīccura*. His wife was *Tiruveṇkāṭṭu Naṅkai* and both of them made it a point to feed the *Śaivites* before they dined every day. Though he was the greatest man of his time, he was so humble before the *Śaivites*

5. *Camp.*, 2: 42.
6. *M. A. R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV, fig.* 29.
7. 9: 259.

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that the people began to praise him as *Cirruttoṇṭar*. (The word '*Ciru*' means small). He was feeling himself very small in the presence of *Śaivites*. He was blessed with a child who was called *Cīrāḷa Tēva* and he was sent to school in time.

Śiva came in the form of a *Bhairava* ascetic. His tuft of hair was allowed to flow down freely. Flowers of '*tumpai*' adorned his crown. He had a circular mark of the sacred ash in his fore-head. A circular ear-ring made of the conch shell was dangling in his ears inside each of which was placed the '*cevvarattai*' flower. A neck-lace of crystal beads adorned his neck. He was wearing a black coat or a robe. He was wearing armlets, wristlets, anklets and waistband and garlands — all made of '*rudrākṣa*'. He was wearing the jingling anklet (*cilampu*) in his feet. He was carrying right hand was making the '*damarukha*' resound. When he came to the house of *Ciruttoṇṭar*, the latter was away from his house in search of *Śaivites* to be fed that day. His servant maid *Cantaṇa naṅkai* informed the *Bhairava* of this who, however, said that he could not say in a place where only women were staying. The wife of *Ciruttoṇṭar* also begged him to stay but the *Bhairava* stated that he came from the north and he would be staying under the '*ātti*' tree at *Gaṇapatīccuram*.

Ciruttoṇṭār, finding no *Śaivites*, returned home with a heavy heart but on hearing of the new-comer, went to the '*ātti*' tree to beg of the *Bhairava* to dine with him. The *Bhairava* told *Ciruttoṇṭar* that he used to eat once in six months only, and that, the only child of five years of age of a family. *Ciruttoṇṭar* said that it was nothing impossible. Their own child was brought from the school and he was cooked. Whilst cooking, they had thrown out the head of the child, which the *Bhairava* demanded at the time when the food was served. Fortunately, the servant maid was ready with the cooked head and it was also served. The *Bhairava* called upon *Ciruttoṇṭar* to bring in, his child to dine with him and ordered them to call the child. The father and mother of the child implicity obeyed the order and the child came as though coming from the school but by that time the *Bhairava* had disappeared. The Lord appeared with the Mother Goddess and the divine child *Muruka* on the sacred bull high up in the heavens and all the four, the father, the mother, the child and the servant woman were taken to the abode of *Śiva*.

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One of the sculptures of *Dārāsuram*[8] represents this. The lower right hand portion represents the holding of the child to be cut and to be cooked. The lower left portion represents the *Bhairava* seated before the food served in front of him and his ordering the child to be called. The upper right half represents the mother calling the child and the rushing in of the child. The upper left half represents *Pārvatī* and *Paramēśvara* on the sacred bull. There is no *Muruka* or child God with *Paramēśvara*.

The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Siṟuttoṇḍanāyaṉār* or *Dabhrabhakta*. He is made therein a general of a *Chōḷa* kind destroying the fort of *Vātāpi*, capturing its king (*Puḷakēsi* II) alive to be surrendered to the *Chōḷa* king together with an immense quantity of treasure. His son is called *Siriyāḷa* or *Srīlāla*, evidently a corruption of the name *Cīrāḷa*. As in *Periyapurāṇam*, the general is said to have slain and offered his son's flesh to a *Śaivite* guest whilst *Śiva*, pleased at this restored the son to life again.

The story of the horrible dinner is referred to by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*.[9] *Paṭṭiṉattaṭikaḷ* mentions this in his *Kōyil Nāṉmaṇimālai*;[10] "*Niṉmutal valipaṭat taṉmakaṉ taṭinta toṇṭar maṉaiyil uṇṭal pōṟṟi*". Therefore, this story must have been popular even before the times of *Nampiyāṇṭār* and of *Paṭṭiṉattār*. Details of the preparation of this food according to Dr. Rajamanikkam have been taken by *Cēkkiḻār* from *Tillai Ulā*.[11] This work is not completely available. Late Mr. Ulakanātapiḷḷai having printed[12] the portions which he had secured we have in two places, the story of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* referred to. 158th *kaṇṇi* runs as follows:

"*Muṭittoṇṭaṉ*
Koṇṭirunta pālakaṉai kūcāmal kūṟākkak
Kaṇṭirunta ceṅkamalak kaṇmūṉṟum"

'The three red lotus-like eyes which without any shudder were looking at the crest jewel of a *Bhakta* cutting to pieces his own child'. The next reference occurs in the description of the '*maṅkai*' who falls in love with the Lord. The mother despairs of the

8. *M.A.R., Pl.* 5, *fig.* 42.
9. *Tirut. Tiruvantāti*, 43.
10. *V.* 40. *lines* 29-30.
11. *Periyapurāṇa Ārāicci-Tamiḻ*, page 190.
12. In *Tamiḻppoḻil*, *Vols.*, 12 and 13.

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cruel hearted *Śiva* ever returning the love of her child. *Kaṇṇis* from 197 to 202 run as follows:

"*Mātavam ceytiruntu vāḻvār akattirpōy*
Pātakam ceyta pavaḷamum — Kātalittup
Perrōr piṭittariyum piḷḷaikār pūccataṅkaic
Cirrōcai kēḷāt tirucceviyum — Perrōr
Cirucantu meṉkuraṅku ceytārkaḷ eṉrum
Karikaṇṭu kūcāta kaṇṇum — Piravitaṉil
Parrilōrk kellām paṭaikkum talai iraiccip
Perrilōm eṉṉum perumpaciyum — Carriraṅka
Vaṉṉeñca mumuṭaiyāṉ valviṉaiyēṉ perreṭutta
Aṉṉam paṭuva tarivarō — Muṉṉam
Arinta makavai aḷaippittār — Mīṇṭum
Purintu nakaiceytu pōṉār".[13]

'He is the Lord, of those ruddy feet which once upon a time walked along '*Ceṅkōṭu*' with the bemoaning anklets resounding all round of the coral (lips) which performed the great sin (*i.e.*, asking for the flesh of the child) in the house of the people of self-sacrifice, of the beautiful ears, which turned deaf to the wee little twinkling of the bells adorning the tiny feet of the child which was cut to pieces by his own parents full of love, of the eyes which never shuddered to look at the dish of the soft thigh and tiny joints cooked by the parents, of the great hunger, regretting that the head had not been secured as food, of the hard heart never relenting even for a moment. Will He know the sufferings of my child, He who made them call the very child which they had cut into pieces, He who again laughed and went His way'?

Even in this *Ulā*, there is no reference to the servant-maid *Cantaṉa naṅkai* and her preparing or cooking the head and having it ready for the *Bhairava*. Therefore, it can't be said that all the details found in *Cēkkiḻār* are traceable to this *Ulā*; nor, it is correct to say that this *Ulā* is anterior to *Kulōttuṅka II*. Dr. Rajamanikkam is certainly wrong in assuming that there is no reference to this king who, he thinks, was a contemporary of *Cēkkiḻār*. The 65th *kaṇṇi*[14] refers to the *Cōḻa* who gave *Viṣṇu* the blue sea for sleeping therein and we know that it was *Kulōttuṅka II* who threw the image of *Govnidarāja* of *Citamparam* into the blue

13. *Kaṇṇis*, 197-202.
14. *Vol.*, 12.

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sea. These considerations conclusively prove that this *Ulā* belongs to the age of *Kulōttuṅka II. Caṇḍēśvara* is believed in the *Śaivite* tradition and *Āgamas* to perform the festival of *Śiva*. The actual person performing the festival usually stand by the side of *Caṇḍēśvara* as his agent and servant. The same idea, is brought out in the 65th and 66th *kaṇṇis*, "*Taṇṭuḷāy mālai tikiri marakatamēkam tuyila nīlak kaṭalaḷitta nēriyaṉum mēloru nāḷ, tantai iru tāḷ tuṇitta kait tirumuṉiyum vantu caraṇa malar pōṟṟa*".

Though *Paṭṭiṉattār* and *Nampiyāṇṭār* knew about the tradition of this horrible dinner, the verses of *Ārūrar* and *Campantar* are silent about this incident. *Campantar* was a contemporary of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* and we have his *hymn* on *Gaṇapatīccuram* built by *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* at *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi*. The very phrase which *Ārūrar* has in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, "*Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi mēya Ciruttoṇṭar*" is bodily taken out from the opening verses of *Campantar's hymn*, "*Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi mēya Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ paṇi ceyya*".[15] The *Gaṇapatīccuram* temple is called *Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ Gaṇapatīccuram*, leaving no doubt in our mind that the temple was built by *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*. *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* is said to serve the Lord in the temple. He is a '*śiṣṭa*'[16] — 'an eminent and distinguished man — educated and disciplined and a model unto others'. He is "*Cīrc Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*"[17] — '*Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ* of great fame'. He is "*Cīrulāñ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*"[18] and "*Cīrāḷaṉ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*"[19] which phrases again emphasize his great fame. The tradition tells us that the name of the child was *Cīrāḷaṉ*. Are we to take *Cīrāḷaṉ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ* as meaning *Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*, the son of *Cīrāḷaṉ* in which case the child may be assumed to have borne the name of his grandfather? Or, the word *Cīrāḷaṉ* may be interpreted as referring to the Lord of the temple, for we know the Lord there, was called *Cīrāḷadēva*. *Campantar* calls him "*Ciṟappulavaṉ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*" '*Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ* the pre-eminent scholar'. '*Ciṟa*' should be the contracted form of '*ciṟappu*' or rather the root '*ciṟa* itself must have been separately used in the age of *Tēvāram* — *Ciṟappuli Nāyaṉār Ciṟāppāṭu*. It is this which must have suggested to *Cēkkiḻār* all these references he makes to *Ciṟut-*

15. 3: 63: 1.
16. *Ciṭṭan*, 3: 63: 3.
17. 3: 63: 3.
18. 3: 63: 5.
19. 3: 63: 8.
20. 3: 63: 9.

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toṇṭar's learning. He is again shining with the burnt up ashes on his chest — "*Venta nīṟu aṇi mārpaṉ*".[21]

We get a glimpse of *Ciṟuttoṇṭar's* warrior's life and of his battles in *Campantar's hymns*: "*Kaṉṉavil tōḷ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*"[22] — 'His shoulders were as strong as the rock or mountain;' "*Ceruvaṭi tōḷ Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*"[23] — 'The shoulders that were chosen as the best in the battle field'. His princely life when he was a commander is also referred to by the reference, "*Tēṉamar tārc Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ*"[24] — '*Ciṟuttoṇṭaṉ* of the garlands bubbling with honey'. In another *hymn* on *Gaṇapatīccuram*, he speaks of the Lord residing in the temple of *Gaṇapatīccuram* to bless *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* who enjoys the sacred ashes: "*Poṭi nukarum Ciṟuttoṇṭar*".[25] In that *hymn*, *Campantar* describes the festival of *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi*. One wonders whether the description of the Lord in the third verse that is responsible for the description of the *Bhairava* coming to test *Cīṟuttoṇṭar* though there is nothing to justify this tradition:

"*Varantaiyāṉ cōpurattāṉ mantirattāṉ tantirattāṉ*
Kirantaiyāṉ kōvaṇattāṉ kiṇkiṇiyāṉ kaiyaṭōr
Cirantaiyāṉ Ceṅkāṭṭaṅ kuṭiyāṉ ceṉ caṭaiccērum
Karantaiyāṉ veṇṇīṟṟāṉ Kaṇapatīc carattāṉē".[26]

Appar does not mention *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* specifically. But when he speaks of "*Uriya pala toḻil ceyyum aṭiyār taṅkaṭku ulakamelām muḻutaḻikkum ulappilāṉai*"[27] — 'The Lord who gives the whole world to his followers who do his varied services'; one may not be wrong in interpreting this as an implied reference to the victor of *Vātāpi*. Thanks to the *Tamilian* contact with the *Cāḷukyas*, the *Gaṇapati* worship had come to stay. Appar thus refers to this worship: "*Palapala kāmattarākip pataitteḻu vārmaṉat tuḷḷē Kalamalak kiṭṭut tiriyum Gaṇapati eṉṉum kaḷiṟum*".[27a] If there was anything as extraordinary as the story mentioned in the tradition was known to *Campantar*, he would certainly have mentioned it in his *Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi hymn*.[28]

21. 3: 63: 11.
22. 3: 63: 2.
23. 3: 63: 7.
24. 3: 63: 4.
25. 1: 61: 10.
26. 1: 61: 3.
27. *Ap.*, 298: 9.
27a. *Ap.*, 2: 5.
28. 3: 63.

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A word may be said about the phrase *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*, which reminds us the phrase of *Nammāḻvār*, "*Ciṟumāmaṇicar*".[29] It may refer to those *Bhaktas* who in spite of all their learning and greatness come to perform all kinds of humble services. This phrase must have been very popular in the age of *Campantar*. He refers in four places to those humble souls of his times worshipping at *Ālaṅkāṭu*, *Kaḻukkuṉṟam*, *Karukāvūr* and *Kuṟṟālam*: "*Vaṇaṅkum ciṟuttoṇṭar vaikal ēttum vāḻttu*"[30] — 'They bow down and praise the Lord every day'; "*Ēttum ciṟuttoṇṭar uḷḷamellām uḷki niṉṟaṅke uṭāṉ āṭum kaḷḷam vallāṉ*"[31] — 'They think of Him and He becomes one with them almost stealing into their heart'; "*Paḻakavalla Ciṟuttoṇṭar*"[32] — 'They can move freely with any one'; *Ciṟuttoṇṭīr*".[33] In this last place (*Kuṟṟālam*), he addresses the worshippers as *Ciṟuttoṇṭīr*' whom he calls in other verses of that *hymn* as '*namaraṅkāḷ*', '*aṭiyīrkāḷ*', '*periyīrkāḷ*', '*toḻuvīrkāḷ*', '*paṇivīrkāḷ*'. Therefore, we may take it that our saint was great for his humility in serving the Lord and his followers.

The age of *Ciṟuttoṇṭār* has been fixed with the help of the references in *Periyapurāṇam* to the conquest of *Vātāpi*. *Puḷakēsin II* was the natural enemy of the *Pallavas*: the *Aihole* inscription enumerating the exploits of the *Chāḷukyā* king speaks of the *Pallava* king vanishing behind the walls of *Kāñci*. The *Kāsakuṭi* plates speak of a *Mahēndravarmaṉ's* victory at *Pullalūr* now *Pallūr*. Whatever that may be, there is not the slightest doubt that the *Chāḷukyas* began to invade the *Pallava* country as soon as *Narasiṁhavarmaṉ*, the son of *Mahēndravarmaṉ I* came to the throne. The *Kūram* plates speak of a *Narasiṁhavarmaṉ* defeating *Puḷakēsiṉ* at *Pariyaḷam*, *Maṇimaṅgalam* and *Surāmāra*. *Narasiṁhavarman's* army pursued the *Chāḷukya* king to his very capital *Vātāpi*. The *Vēḷur Pāḷayam* plates speak of *Narasiṁha* capturing the *Jayasthambha* in the very centre of *Vātāpi*. That this is not a vain boast is proved by an inscription found at *Vātāpi* itself, which speaks of *Mahāmalla Kṣhitibhujam Agrēsara Pallava Siṁhavishṇu*.[34] Therefore, the capture and pillage of *Vāpāti* by *Ciṟut-*

29. 8: 10: 3.
30. 1: 45: 7.
31. 1: 103: 6.
32. 3: 46: 3.
33. 1: 99: 5.
34. *Ind. Ant. Vol. IX*, Page 199.

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toṇṭar are referred to in *Periyapurāṇam* as historical facts. This capture of *Vātāpi* is said to have occurred somewhere about 642 A.D. But Prof. M. Raghava Aiyangar, to make *Tirumaṅkaimaṉṉar* a contemporary of *Ārūrar*, if not of *Campantar* as mentioned in the *Guruparamparā prabhāvam*, makes *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* a commander-in-chief of *Paramēśvara* I and Mr. M. S. Ramaswamy Aiyangar will therefore make *Mahēndravarmaṉ II*, the *Pallava* king who was converted by Appar.[35] According to *Kailāsanātha* temple inscription[36] *Paramēśvaravarmaṉ I* seems to have led another invasion against *Vātāpi* (*Bādāmi*). The Gadval plates of *Vikramāditya I*, the son of *Puḷakēśi* gives the date as 26th April 674 and the counter attack of *Bādami* must have followed sometime thereafter. Mr. Nīlakaṇṭa Sastry in his *Pāṇḍyan* kingdom proceeded on the basis that *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* was the commander-in-chief of *Narasiṁha I*.[37] But in his latest book "History of India, Part I" he changes his views and feels that *Ciṟuttoṇṭar* was a commander of *Paramēśvara* I. The following is according to him the summary of the events:

"*Vikramāditya* renewed the contest with the *Pallavas* add entered into an alliance with *Arikēsari Parāṅkuśa Māṟavarmaṉ* (670-710), the fourth king of the restored *Pāṇḍya* line. The *Gaṅgas* of Mysore were also allied to *Vikramāditya* who inflicted a defeat on *Mahēndravarmaṉ II* and advanced to *Kāñchi* early in the regin of his successor. *Paramēśvara's* attempt to stop the invasion in the *Gaṅga* country failed, and in the battle of *Vilande*, *Bhūvikrama*, the *Gaṅga* ally of the *Chāḷukya*, seized from the *Pallava* king a valued necklace containing the gem *Ugōrdaya*. At the same time the *Pāṇḍya* advanced from the south, and *Paramēśvara* seeking to dispose of him first, met with fresh defeats in the battles of *Nelvēli* and *Saṅkaramaṅgai* in the southern marches of his kingdom. *Vikramāditya* pursued him there and encamped at *Uṟaiyūr* on the banks of the *Kāvēri*. Undaunted by defeats, *Paramēśvara* effected a diversion by sending an army under *Parañjōti alias Siṟuttoṇḍar* into the heart of the *Chāḷukya* kingdom to threaten *Bādāmi* itself, and ended campaign with a resounding victory against his enemies at *Peruvaḷanallūr* in the Trichinopoly district".[38]

35. *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, p. 66.
36. *S.I I., Vol., I*, page 13.
37. *P.* 54.
38. History of India, Part I, pp. 226-227.

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But unfortunately the reasons are not clear to us. The references in *Periyapurāṇam* to the razing of *Vātāpi*[39] seem to suggest that it was the expedition during the reign of *Narasiṁha I*, rather than that of *Paramēśvara* that is referred to. For, we do not hear of any such great havoc happening at *Bādāmi* at the time of the second expedition. If we rely upon *Periyapurāṇam*, we could not say that the *Pāṇḍya Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāṟaṉ'* won the battle at *Nelvēli* against the *Pallava* as already explained when we were discussing the life of this *Pāṇḍya*. In any case, after all, there is only a difference of 40 years (642-674) and we may not be wrong in assigning the middle of the seventh century to *Ciruttoṇṭar*.

The note on the *Tirucceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi* by the Epigraphist is very illuminative. It runs as follows:

"With the supernatural elements eliminated, there is reason to believe that the incidents in the life of the saint as described in the *Periyapurāṇam*, largely admit of epigraphical verification. On the strength of the statements that *Siruttoṇḍa Nayaṉār* met *Tiruñāṉasambandar* personally and took part in the capture of *Vātāpi* (*i.e. Bādāmi* in the Bombay Presidency), Mr. Venkayya has shown that the two devotees must have been contemporaries of the *Pallava* king *Narasiṁhapōtavarmaṉ I*, who 'reduced to dust the city of *Vātāpi*' and flourished in the first half of the seventh century A.D. Epigraphical reference to *Śiṟuttoṇḍar*, known so far, occurs in an inscription of *Rājēndra Chōḷa I* from the *Rājarājēśvara* temple at *Tanjore*.[40] This record registers the setting up of copper-images of *Siṟuttoṇḍa-Nambi*, his wife *Tiruveṇgāṭṭu Naṅgai* and their son *Sīrāḷadēva*. *No.* 65 *of Appendix C*, found on the west wall of the *Gaṇapatīśvara* shrine in the *Uttarāpatīśvara* temple at *Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi*, is dated in the third year of an unspecified *Rājakēsarivarmaṉ* and records a grant of land for two perpetual lamps to *Sīrāḷadēva*. It is not possible to say who this *Rājakēsarivarmaṉ* may have been. The record has on palaeographical grounds, to be ascribed to the time of *Rājarāja I*, who in his earlier records, invariably appears under the name *Rājārāja — Rājakēsarivarmaṉ*. Two other epigraphs from the same place,[41] both dated in the 19th year of *Rājarāja I*, add further information about *Sīrāḷa*. The former registers a grant of land for feeding in the *maṇḍapa* of

39. *Vaṭapulattu Vāṭāviṭ toṉṉakaram tukaḷāka-Cirut.*, 6.
40. *S.I.I., Vol. II, p.* 172.
41. *Nos.* 57 and 59 of *Appendix C.*

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Siruttoṇḍa-Nambi, all the *Śaiva* devotees who gathered to witness the *Sittirai* festival of *Sirāḷdeva*. The latter provides for festivities in honour of *Siruttoṇḍa-Nambi* who was rendering devotional services to the gods *Mahadēva-Sirāḷadēva* and to *Vīrabhadra*. From these it becomes plain that, in the temple at *Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi*, in the time of *Rājarāja I*, there was a shrine or *maṇḍapa* dedicated to or called after the devotee *Siruttoṇḍa-Nambi* and that *Sirāḷadēva* was the name of the god *Mahādēva* in the chief shrine of the temple. The two shrines in the temple at *Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi* are now called *Uttarāpatīśvara* and *Gaṇapatīśvara*. The *maṇḍapa* of *Siruttoṇḍa*, which must have been located inside the temple *prākāra*, is no longer pointed out, — the only modern structure answering to this name being situated outside the temple. *Gaṇapatīśvara* is a *liṅga-shrine* on which the early *Chōḷa* inscriptions of the temple are engraved. *Uttarāpatīśvara* bears later *Vijayanagara* records and contains a metallic image of *Bhairava*, which possibly represents the *Vīrabhadra*-form of *Śiva* referred to in No. 59 quoted above. This figure of *Vīrābhadra* is perhaps, to be connected with the *Kāpālika* form, in which *Śiva* appeared to *Siruttoṇḍa Nāyaṉār*, as stated in the *Periyapurāṇam*. *Uttarāpatīśvara* must also have been a later name coined from the fact recorded in the story, *viz.*, that the *Śiva* (*Bhairava*) who manifested himself before *Siruttoṇḍa* came from the northern country (*Uttarapādha*). According to Nos. 71 and 76 of *Appendix C*. *Uttarāpati Nāyaka* received worship in the shrine (*tirumāḷigai*) of *Siruttoṇḍa Nāyaṉār*. Consequently, we may have to suppose also that the present shrine of *Uttarāptaīśvara* is identical with the original *Siruttoṇḍa-Nāyaṉār-tirumāḷigai* and that *Sirāḷadēva*, as stated already, was the name of *Gaṇapatīśvara* after whom the young *Sirāḷa* of the *Periyapurāṇam* story was, evidently, named. It is, however, difficult to explain how *Tirujñānasambandar* of the first half of the 7th century A.D. selected to call the place *Gaṇapatīchcharam*, while later records of the 10th and 11th centuries named it either *Paramēśvara* or *Mahādēva-Sirāḷadēva* of *Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭāṅguḍi*. The name *Uttarāpati-Nāyaka* appears for the first time in No. 64 of *Appendix C*, which is dated in the 45th year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa*. In the absence of the characteristic titles of *Rājakēsarivarman* and *Parakēsarivarman*, this inscription will have to be referred either to *Kulōttuṅga I* or *Kulōttuṅga III* both of whom enjoyed long reigns. From palaeography, however, we have to decide that the inscription refers to the 15th year of *Kulōttuṅka III* though his latest date,

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from inscription examined so far, is 40. I have suggested in my last year's report[42] that *Sēkkiḻār*, the author of the *Periyapurāṇam*, must have been a contemporary of *Kulōttuṅka II Aṉapāya*. It is therefore, right to expect the name *Uttarāpati Nāyaka* which is based upon the story of the *Periyapurāṇam*, to occur for the first time in an inscription of *Kulōttuṅka III*. Consequently there is full reason to suppose that the present *Uttarāpatīśvara* shrine at *Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi* must have risen to prominence under that name in the latter part of the reign of *Kulōṭṭuṅka Chōḻa III*, *i.e.*, about the beginning of the 13th century A.D. It may be noted incidentally that in the temple at *Tiruchcheṅgāṭṭaṅguḍi*, there is also a minor shrine dedicated to *Vātāpi Gaṇapati*. The epithet *Vātāpi* reminds one of the military expedition of *Paraṅjōdi* (later on called *Siṟuttoṇḍar*) against *Vātāpi*, as related in the *Periyapurāṇam*".

IV

The 37th saint is *Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivar Nāyaṉār*. In some manuscripts of *Periyapurāṇam*, the name is found as *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Kārkoṇṭa koṭaik Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār*, munificent like the cloud'. *Nampiyāṇṭār* states that *Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār* was a *Cēra*. He is also called '*Teṉṉarpirāṉ*'—'the Lord of the Southerners, of the *Tamils*', in the sense in which *Ārūrar* often uses the term. There are only two incidents in the life of this saint that *Nampiyāṇṭār* mentions. One is that this *Cēra* king saw a washerman full of fuller's earth (*Uḻamaṇ*) as though appearing as besmeared with sacred ash. He fell down at his feet. The washerman prostrated saying that he was a *dhobi* servant of the *Cēra*. The *Cēra* continued worshipping him stating that he himself was the slave of the *Śaivite Bhaktas*. The other incident is that when *Śiva* gave *Ārūrar* an elephant for reaching *Kailās*, this *Cēra's* horse overtook it. *Nampiyāṇṭār* also praises his own mind for becoming a servant of this brave saint who had conquered the warrior of the sugar-cane bow. In another place also he refers to the good path traversed by *Ārūrar* and *Villavar* or *Cēra* on an elephant and the horse respectively.

Cēkkiḻār gives us an elaborate version of the story of the saint connecting it with the story of *Ārūrar*. *Malaināṭu* or the

42. *P.* 67, *paragraph* 27.

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Cēra country where the *Śaiva* temple of *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* is situated along with the capital city of the *Cēras*, *Koṭuṅkōḷūr*—the modern *Cranganore*, is first described. The *Cēras* were also known as *Kōtai* and their city *Makōtai*. In this family of the *Cēras* was born *Perumākkōtaiyār*. He was doing service at *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* when *Poṟaiyaṉ* the *Cēra* king abdicated the throne to become a *tapasvin*. The ministers approached the *Śaivite* member of the family worshipping at the temple *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* with the request that he should become their king. He, however, wanted first to ascertain the will of the Lord and the Lord blessed him with (1) Sovereignty, (2) Loving service unto the Lord, (3) Knowledge of understanding whatever the men, beasts and the rest might say, (4) Unrivalled Power of victory, (5) Munificence, (6) Weapons and (7) *Vāhanams*, *i.e.*, carriages and animals for riding. He, thereafter, agreed to be crowned. Whilst ruling thus the incident of the washerman occurred.

Along with the *Cōḻa* king and the *Pāṇḍya*, he formed the triumvirate of *Tamiḻ* kings, conquering the internal and external enemies and ruling the world in such a way that the brilliance of the sacred ash glowed all the more gloriously. He realized, the greatest Royal happiness and wealth were but the feet of the Lord of *Tillai* of *Citamparam*. The Lord made this king hear the jingling sound of the anklet of His feet whilst dancing every day, at the end of his worship.

The next incident is the presents this *Cēra* gave away to *Pāṇapattirar*. This great *Pāṇa* was devoted to the Lord of *Tiruvālavāy* or *Madura*, whom he worshipped with musical compositions. One day, the Lord appeared in his dream to say that a letter directing the *Cēra* to present him with gold, silk and precious gems would be given to him. This letter in the form of a poem is found as the first verse of the eleventh *Tirumurai*. When *Pāṇapattirar* went with this letter of introduction to the *Cēra*, he was received with all devotion and the presents already described were given, along the *Cēra* kingdom and sovereignty which the *Pāṇa* begged the *Cēra* to be taken back.

The next incident is that one day when the *Cēra* failing to hear the jingling sound of the anklet of the dancing feet of the Lord went to commit suicide, the sound came to be heard. On begging the Lord to explain this delay, He told the *Cēra* that He was so much engrossed in the *hymn* just then sung by *Ārūrar* at *Citam-*

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param that He forgot to dance and make the jingling sound to be heard by the *Cēra*. The *Cēra* at once became desirous of visiting *Tillai* and meeting *Ārūrar*. After worshipping at *Tillai*, where he composed *Ponvaṇṇattantāti*, he went to *Ārūr*, where *Ārūrar* received him with all love and honour. There, the *Cēra* composed *Tiruvārūr Mummaṇikkōvai*. The *Cēra* and *Ārūrar* went on a pilgrimage to the temples in the *Pāṇḍya* country. At *Maturai* where the *Cōḻa* king was staying as the son-in-law of the *Pāṇḍya* all the three ancient kings of *Tamiḻ* land and *Ārūrar* met together. From there *Ārūrar* and *Cēra* returned to *Ārūr*. The *Cēra* king went to his own capital along with *Ārūrar* through *Aiyāṟu* and the *Koṅku* country. *Ārūrar* was given a Royal reception and when *Ārūrar* wanted to return to his country, the *Cēra* sent his presents through his servants which were however robbed at *Tirumurukaṉpūṇṭi*. *Ārūrar* returned to *Tiruvārūr*. At the same time *Ārūrar* started on his pilgrimage to the *Koṅku* country to meet his old friend the *Cēra*. After meeting his friend he went to worship at the temple at *Tiruvañcaikkaḷam* and a white elephant was sent to take him back to *Kailās*. *Cēramaṉ* followed him on his horseback uttering the *Pañcākṣara* in its ears, but his followers unable to bear the separation committed suicide. Both of them reached *Kailās* welcomed by the Lord and the work '*Ttruvulāppuṟam*' composed by *Cēramāṉ* was heard by *Śiva* at *Cēramāṉ's* instance.

Nampiyāṇṭār does not mention anything about the abdication by the previous *Cēra* king. The tradition is that the *Cēra* kings called *Perumāḷs* ruled for a fixed period abdicating the throne at the end of that period. *Cēramāṉ* also had abdicated though under different circumstances. We know *Kulacēkarapperumāḷ* also abdicated. It is on the basis of this tradition that *Cēkkiḻār* must be speaking of the abdication of the throne of *Cēramāṉperumāl's* predecessor. The story of this *Cēramāṉ* listening every day the jingling sound of the anklet on the feet of the Lord is not mentioned by *Nampiyāṇṭār*. The *yōgis* are said to hear miraculous sounds. *Māṇikkavācakar* also speaks of hearing the jingling sound of the anklet — "*Vātavūriṉil vantiṉitaruḷip pātaccilampoli kāṭṭiya paricum*".[43] *Nampiyāṇṭār's* description that he had conquered '*Maṉmata*' makes it clear that this saint never married.

43. *Tiruvācakam—Kīrttittiruvakaval, ll.*, 52-53.

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The information about the various works *Cēramāṉ* has composed may be gathered from the 11th *Tirumuṟai* in which they find a place. The references in *Poṉvaṇṇattantāti* are in many cases to the dance of *Śiva* and, therefore, that book has been taken as sung at *Tiruttillai* (*Tillaiccivaṉ*-84) but he also mentions *Maṟaikkāṭu*, *Ārūr* and *Kaḻukkuṉṟam*. One of the verses found at the end of *Poṉvaṇṇattantāti* gives us the information about the '*Ulā*' being accepted by the assembly at *Kailās*. *Tiruvārūr Mummaṇikkōvāi* as the name itself suggests might have been sung at *Tiruvārūr*.

Cēkkiḻār tells us that he went through the Heavens or the sky to *Kaiḻās* but the paintings discovered at *Rājarājēśvaram* temple at *Tanjore* give us a picture of a bearded person riding on an elephant with the '*tāḷam*' or cymbal in his hand. This must be *Ārūrar* singing the *hymn* beginning with "*Tāṉeṉai muṉpaṭaittāṉ*" (*H.* 100). Next to him rides *Cēramāṉ* on a horse. In front of him rides *Cēramāṉ* on a horse, with a beard and ornaments. His tuft of hair is flowing whilst that of *Ārūrar* is found knotted to the right. *Cēramāṉ* is turning towards *Ārūrar*. Beneath them are found the waves with fish. This seems to represent the tradition that they took the sea route; "*Āḻi kaṭalaṟiya*"[43a] occurs in the last *hymn* of *Ārūrar* wherein the Lord of the Seas is asked to carry the *hymn* and the information to *Cēramāṉ*. But they might have followed the sea route whilst at the same time flying through the air, even as our modern day aeroplanes do. This painting at *Tanjore* further shows the welcome these saints received at *Kailās* as referred to by *Cēkkiḻār*.

Pūnturutti Nampi Kāṭava Nampi, one of the authors of *Tiruvicaippā* speaks of *Ārūrar* and *Cēramāṉ* going on a white elephant with their own physical bodies.[44] An inscription of the 32nd year reign of *Rājādhirāja I* speaks of a priest *Nampi Kāṭava Nampi* of *Āttirēya gōtra*, a priest of *Tiruvaiyāṟu*, which is near *Pūnturutti*. One wonders whether this priest is the same as the author of *Tiruvicaippā* referred to above. It is curious that the *Dārāsuram* sculpture represents what it calls 'the *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ katai*' by representing two elephants one after the other on which ride two men, who are taken to be *Ārūrar* and *Cēramāṉ* by some. But the fact, that the person riding on the first elephant is holding

43a. 7: 100: 10.
44. *Kōyil Tiruvicaippā*, 5.

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the Royal umbrella with his right hand and having his face turned towards the person on the second elephant with all regard and respect, raises in our mind a point of doubt whether it will be right on our part to take him as *Ārūrar*.

In our ancient *Caṅkam* Literature in *Tamiḻ*, we hear of the Royal umbrella being carried as the first thing in a procession as a symbol of sovereignty. It is this that is represented by the first elephant on which is found the Royal umbrella. The second elephant carries the king. On the ground, we see four or five people, probably in the act of dancing in that procession. The person riding on the second elephant should, therefore, be the king *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ* taking a procession soon after his becoming the crowned king. So far we can take as representing the first scene. On the left hand side we find two persons standing, one with the hands held above his head in *añcali* pose, whilst the other is bowing down silghtly with the hands held in *añcali* pose near his chest. This reminds us of the first incident referred to by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, where *Cēramāṉ* on seeing a *dhobi* worships him whilst the *dhobi* protests saying that he is the slave of the king. How this could be taken as representing the final march to *Kailās* as is done by some[45] is not clear. Even *Nampikāṭava Nampi* must be taken to have mentioned the horse, thanks to what poetry calls the ellipsis; as a poet, he has emphasized the white elephant leaving the horse in our mental back-ground.

The name '*Kaḷaṟiṟaṟivār*' has been explained by *Cēkkiḻār* as explaining the gift given by Lord *Śiva* that this king would be capable of knowing all that the beasts, men and birds could express especially their miseries and short-comings in his kingdom. But the word '*Kaḷaru*' as found in the old phrase '*Kaḷar ṟetirmaṟai* means according to the *Tamiḻ* Lexicon, admonition, expostulation or criticism at once, kind and severe. Therefore, the title *Kaḷaṟiṟ-ṟaṟivār* will explain the greatness of the king ruling according to *Tirukkuṟal*, with the nobel quality of welcoming and seeing through destructive criticism against his rule.[46] In *Niṭūr*, there was a temple to this saint, which was called, '*Coṉṉavāṟaṟivār Kōyil*'.[47] It is not clear whether this refers to our saint or to the Lord; we

45. Dr. Rajamanikkam-*Periyapurāṇa Ārāicci, Tamiḻ* edition, p, 73.

46. Cf. "*Itippārai illāta ēmarā maṉṉaṉ keṭuppārilāṉum keṭum*" - *Kuṟaḷ*, 448. and "*Iṭikkum tuṇaiyārai āḷvārai yārē keṭukkum iakaimaiyavar*" -*Kuṟaḷ*, 447:

47. 535/1921.

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know *Viṣṇu* was called '*Coṉṉavaṇṇam ceyyum Perumāḷ*'. The folk tales speak of knowing the language of birds and beasts. Probably the conceptions of *Tirukkuraḷ* and the folk tales have given us this phrase *Kaḷaṟiṟaṟivār* emphasizing the important qualification of the ruler according to the hearts of the people.

The next incident is about *Pāṇapattirar*. *Tiruviḷaiyāṭal Purāṇam* also mentions this incident as taking place in the region of *Varaguṇa I* who is considered to be no other than *Kōccaṭaiyaṉ*, the grandfather of *Varaguṇavarmaṉ*, according to C. V. Narayanaswamy Aiyar.[48] This is an incident which *Nampiyāṇṭār* has not mentioned, but the description by *Ārūrar*, "*Kārkoṇṭa koṭaik Kaḷaṟiṟaṟivār*"[48a] 'that he was as munificent as the rain-bearing cloud' suggests that he was a great patron and it is probably this description that necessitated as a tradition of the *Pāṇa* described by *Cēkkiḻar*. We have the *Sanskrit* and the *Kannada* traditions about this *Pāṇapattirar* mentioning him as *Yāḻppāṇanāyaṉār* or *Tirunīlakaṇṭha* and as a musician famous for his devotional songs in praise of *Śiva*. He is said to have received valuable rewards from *Chērama* (*Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ*) king of the *Chēras*.[49] These traditions speak of *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ* or *Chērama*, called also *Mahāgōda*, a *Śaivite* King of the *Chēras* who is said to have visited *Sundara Nambiyar*.[50] As we had already discussed the age of *Ārūrar*[51] we need not repeat the same arguments here; for, after all, *Cēramāṉ* is a contemporary of *Ārūrar*.

In the light of certain facts referred to by us in the portion on the life of *Ārūrar*,[52] one may take the meeting of the three kings at *Maturai* as the meeting of the *Pāṇḍya*, *Cēra* and *Pallava* (*Rājasiṁha*) who had given his daughter in marriage to the *Pāṇḍya Kōccaṭaiyaṉ* whose son was named *Rājasiṁha*, after his grandfather.

V

The 38th saint is *Kaṇanāta Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Kaṭaṟkāḻik Kaṇanātaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Kaṇanāta* of *Kāḻi*, the coastal town'. *Nam-*

48. *Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India, Chap. XIII.*
48.a 7: 39: 6.
49. *Mys. Arch., Rep.*, 1926. p. 10.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Vol.* I.
52. *Vol.* 1.

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piyāṇṭar Nampi suggests that this saint was so called because he became the head of the *Śivagaṇas*, having trained the '*Toṇṭars*' and made them do such acts as befitted them. According to *Cēkkiḻār*, this saint was a *Brahmin*, training the *Śaivites* in performing '*toṇṭus*' like gardening, picking up flowers, making garlands, arranging for the sacred bath of the Lord, cleaning the sacred ground, painting it with the cow-dung, lighting lamps in the temple, writting and reading *Tirumuṟai*. He was so much attached to the sacred feet of *Campantar* that brought him the leadership of *Śivagaṇas*. The worship of *Campantar* by *Kaṇanāta* is a new information which is given only by *Cēkkiḻār*. The *Dārāsuram* sculptures give us a representation of *Kaṇanāta* inscribed as *Gaṇanādāṇḍār kadai*. We see on the left side of the sculpture of this saint, the '*toṇṭars*' or *Śaivite* followers being trained. One is in the act of plucking flowers; another is carrying materials for worship; next come two persons, one of whom sits and explains a book whilst the other standing listens to it with all humility and sincerity. Next comes a person with a broomstick and a pot probably of cow-dung. It is not certain what the person who comes after him does; probably he is lighting a lamp. *Kaṇanāta* stands next, supervising and directing their services. Then follows the final scene on the right half of this sculpture where God appears with *Pārvatī* on the *bull* in the presence of *Kaṇanāta*.[53] The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as a devoted *Śaivite* who took pleasure in feeding and clothing all his *Śaivite* guests and it is curious to note that the traditions make him a contemporary of *Campantar*.[54]

VI

The 39th saint is *Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Ārkoṇṭa vēl Kūṟṟaṉ Kaḷantaikkōṉ aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Kūṟṟaṉ*, the Lord of *Kaḷantai*, of the spear which has captured or which is adorned with '*āṭṭi* (the *Cōḻa* symbol)'. *Nampiyāṇṭar* makes him a *Kaḷappāḷar*. One wonders whether he has taken the word *Kaḷantaikkōṉ* in this sense. The *Kaḷappāḷars* are identified by Prof. M. Raghava Aiyangar with the *Kaḷabhras*. *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Caritai* refers to *Accuta Kaḷppāḷar*, conquering the kings of the three Royal families (154-157) and he is also called '*Tillai Accutanātaṉ*' reminding us of *Achuta*, the *Kaḷabhra* referred to by *Buddhadatta*. The *Toṇṭamuṇṭala Catakam* speaks of one *Amār*

53. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl.* 5, *fig.* 40.
54. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925.

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Kaḷappāḷar, sung by *Kāḷamēkam* (*V.* 80). *Nerkuṉṟavāṇar*, the autho of *Tiruppukalūr Antāti* is also referred to as *Kaḷappāḷar*. *Meykaṇṭār's* father is also referred to as *Kaḷappāḷar*. *Kaḷantai* is a shortened form of *Kaḷattūr*. It is not clear which *Kaḷattūr* is referred to, as *Cēkkiḻār* does not particularize. *Pāṇṭikkōvai*, quoted in *Iraiyaṉār Akapporuḷ Urai*, mentions the battle at *Kaḷattūr* in which *Neṭumāraṉ* was successful. We have a few chiefs of *Kaḷantai*: *Kaḷantai Aḻakapperumāḷ*, *Kaḷantaikkuṭitāṅki*, *Kaḷantaikkōppaṇṇaṉ* and *Kaḷantai Vaccaṇanti*. We have certain scholars and poets like *Jñānaprakāsar*, *Paṭikkācar* and *Pukaḻēnti* referred to as belonging to *Kaḷantai* and in a few cases like that of *Pukaḻēnti*, *Poṉṉiḷainta Kaḷattūr* in the Chingleput District has been referred to as *Kaḷantai*. As *Meykaṇṭār's* father who is considered to be a *Veḷḷāḷa* is spoken as a *Kaḷappāḷar*, probably all of them belong to the *Vēḷir* group. According to Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar who traces the word *Kaḷabhra* from *Kaḷavar* (whose chieftain is mentioned as *Pulli* in the *Caṅkam* Poetry) or *Kaḷavara*, through the *Kannada Kaḷabaru* — attributes this *Kaḷabhra* invasion to the expansion of the *Śātavāhana* Power driving the *Kaḷavar* further south. The invasion into *Madura* by the *Vaṭuka Karunāṭaka* is probably by the *Kaḷavars* coming through the *Kannada* country. *Kaḷappāḷar*, the protector of the '*kaḷam*' might have become corrupted into *Kaḷappāḷar*. Anyway, we find a number of chiefs who do not belong to the ancient Royal family calling themselves *Kaliyaracar* or the kings of the *Kali* age, as opposed to the kings coming from the more ancient age, ruling the *Tamiḻ* country during the *Kalabhra* interregnum and *Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār* is one of those who reigned the whole of the *Tamiḻ* country in that age.

Nampiyāṇṭār states that *Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār* crowned himself with the feet of the Lord reminding us the *Pāduka paṭṭābhiṣēkam* of *Bharaṭa*. He also imprinted in his mind the Great *Śiva*, and *Nampiyāṇṭar* tells us that this made him the ruler of the world. *Cēkkiḻār* continues the story. *Kūṟṟuva Nāyaṉār* requested the *Brahmins* of *Tillai* to crown him king. They refused to crown anyone but the members of the *Cōḻa* family and migrated to the *Cēra* country afraid of his power, but leaving one member of the family for performing the worship at *Tillai*. *Kūṟṟūva Nāyaṉār* was very sad and that night he was thinking of the feet of the Lord being given away by God as his crown and in his dream, the Lord did so. Carrying this on his head, he ruled the Southern land. He visited every temple and provided for worship therein.

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The phrase' '*Ārkoṇṭa*' has been probably interpreted 'adorned with *ātti*' and this has led the *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions to speak of *Kūrruva Nāyaṉār* as a *Cōḷa*. He is spoken of as *Kūttuva Nāyaṉār* or *Kriṭāntaka*.[55] These traditions continue the story a little more beyond *Cēkkiḻār*. The *Brahmins* of *Citamparam* who migrated to the *Kēraḷa* (*Cēra*) country on hearing Lord *Śiva* blessing this *Kūrruva Nāyaṉār* with the crown of his feet returned and formally crowned him and placed him at the head of the *Śaivites*. The *Dārāsuram* sculptures represent him sitting on the seat whilst two are standing and three are sitting in front of him, all with their hands held in *añjali* pose probably his feudatories paying him the homage.[56]

55. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925.
56. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20 *Pl. V, fig.* 39.

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CHAPTER VII

POYYAṬIMAI ILLĀTA PULAVAR CARUKKAM

I

The seventh verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the phrase, "*Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar*" which is the name of the *Carukkam* in *Periyapurāṇam* where the lives of the saints contained in this verse are described. The first saint of this verse — the 40th saint in the list from the beginning — is *Poyyaṭimai Illāta Pulavar*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavarkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the scholar whose service to the Lord is devoid of all deceits'. *Nampiyāṇṭar Nampi* interprets these words as representing the 49 poets of the *Caṅkam* including *Kapilar*, *Paraṇar*, *Nakkīrar* who composed many songs on the feet of the Lord of *Tiruvālavāy* (*Maturai*). But this name is not one of the group names specifically mentioned in verse 10 of this *hymn* (39). Whilst all other *hymns* mention only individual saints except for the *Tillai Vāḻ Antaṇar* mentioned at the beginning of the *hymn*, *Cēkkiḻār* seems to feel the force of the argument and he does not specifically mention the poets of the *Tamiḻ Caṅkam*. The purpose of poetry is the realization of true knowledge and with this conviction *Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar* took refuge in the feet of the Lord and became famous as a scholar of true service, never singing the praise of any one but the Lord. *Cēkkiḻār* always sings the individual saint in the honorific plural and this has misled some into thinking that he is also referring to a group name Some feel that *Māṇikkavācakar* is referred to under this name, though others will argue that *Ārūrar* came long before *Māṇikkavācakar* who according to them refers to *Ārūrar* in the lines, "*Tēṉamar cōlait Tiruvārūril ñāṉam taṉṉai nalkiya naṉmaiyum*".[1] The *Dārāsuram* sculptures probably accept the interpretation of *Nampiyāṇṭār*; for, we see there, a number of poets standing between the temple and a *maṇṭapa*.[2] No *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions are available about this saint or a group of saints.

1. *Tiruvācakam, Kīrttittiruvakaval, ll.* 73-74.
2. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. V, fig.* 38.

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II

The 41st saint is *Pukaḻccōḻar*, about whom we discussed when describing *Eripatta Nāyaṉār*.

III

The 42nd saint is *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiya Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar*, are, "*Meyyaṭiyāṉ Naraciṅka muṉaiyaraiyaṟkaṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of the true servant of the lord *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ*'. In some editions of this *hymn* the honorific plural suffix '*ar*' is found used but terms like *Meyyaṭiyāṉ* and *Ēmpirāṉ* prove conclusively that *Ārūrar* used only the ordinary singular and, therefore, the reading must give not the liquid '*r*' but the explosive '*ṟ*'. This saint used to give gold coins to *Śaivite Tapasvins* but to one who saw the feminine form everywhere he gave twice the gold — this is the greatness of *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ* according to *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*. *Cēkkiḻār* explains this further. This saint was the ruler of *Tirumuṉaippāṭiṉāṭu*. He always wore in his mind the greatness of the sacred ashes. On the *Ātirai* day he would honour the *Śaivites*, feed them and give one hundred gold coins each. One *Ātirai* day, a pronounced libertine expressing his lust in every act of his, came besmeared with the sacred ashes. When others slighted him, *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ*, because of the sacred ashes the libertine wore, welcomed him with all humility and gave him twice the gold he usually gave. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Narasiṁhamuṉi*, a *Śaivite* king who adopted *Sundara Nambi* as his son. *Ārūrar* mentions this saint in another *hymn* on *Tirunāvalūr* which he describes as the city of the Lord, his own city and the city where *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ* served the Lord with all love and honour.[3] In the *Taṭuttāṭkoṇṭa Purāṇam*, *Cēkkiḻār* refers to this *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ*[4] bringing up *Ārūrar*, the child. Whilst *Cēkkiḻār* speaks of *Sōmāci Māṟar* and others as contemporaries of *Ārūrar* in their respective *purāṇams*, neither he nor *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* mentions contemporaneity of *Nampi Ārūrar* in this story of *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ*. Similarly they do not mention that *Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ* was the contemporary of *Nampi Ārūrar*.

Muṉaippāṭi Nāṭu is the frontier of the *Cōḻa* country. Therefore, this frontier chief was called *Muṉaiyaraiyaṉ*. Probably

3. 7: 17: 11.
4. *Stanza* 5.

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Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ was a feudatory of the *Pallava* king *Narasiṁha I or Narasiṁha II*, but this name continued to remind the family for many centuries as we find a *Malaiyamāṉ Narasiṁhavarmaṉ* spoken of in the inscriptions of *Kulōttuṅka III*. These chieftains probably belong to the *Malaiyamāṉ* family calling themselves *Milāṭuṭaiyār* and *Cētirāyas*. Some were ruling from *Kiḻiyūr*, others from *Nāvalūr*; still others from *Kōvalūr*. Some of them are named after *Śiva* of *Siddhānta*, whilst others were called *Naraciṅka*.[5] Some claimed descent from *Ōri* and others from *Kāri*;[6] at the same time as already pointed out, they claimed their decent from the *Purāṇic* Royal families as *Cēti*.

Cētis formed an offshoot of '*Yatus*' according to *Purāṇas*. The *Yatus* extended their authority northward over the *Haihayas* probably after the maritime power under *Kārttavīriya* disappeared.[7] The *Cētis* were first ruling between *Jamuna* and *Vindhyas*. After the fall of the *Mauryas*, one of the members of the *Cēti* Royal family came to rule over the *Kaliṅga*, and *Karavēla* the Great was a *Cēti* ruler. Probably the *Cēti* rulers of the *Tamiḻ* land traced their relationship with this family.

The *Dārāsuram* temple contains a sculpture on its western wall with an inscription, *Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar* underneath.[8] This saint with a beard is sitting probably on a '*siṁhāsana*' (chair) in the act of giving probably gold. The person who is receiving it first must be the libertine. There are five other '*Saivite Bhaktas*' to his right. There is somebody standing behind the king. The *M.A.R.* mentioned above states that his queen is behind the king though it is not clear in the plate.

IV

The 43rd saint is *Atipatta Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are "*Viritirai cūḻ kaṭal Nākai Atipattarkkaṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Atipattar* of *Nākai*, the seaport surrounded by the expanding waves'. *Nākai* is *Nākappaṭṭiṉam* which was the centre of the seaborne trade and where *Rājasiṁha* built a *Buddhist* temple for the

5. 114/1900, 538/1902.
6. 252/1934.
7. *History and Culture of Indian People* by R. C. Majumdar, *Vol. I., pp.* 282, 284.
8. *M.A.R., Pl. V. fig.* 36.

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use of the traders coming from the eastern islands. *Atipattar* is according to the *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions, *Atibhaktanāyaṉār*, the devotee of great love or *bhakti*, a fisherman whose vow it was to offer to sea, the first fish he got in his net every day, even the first happened to be a golden fish. This is the story given by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* as well, who refers in another place to the Lord accepting even a fish as nectar without slighting it.[9] *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* calls *Atipattar*, *Poyyili*, probably because he did not break his vow. *Cēkkiḻār* brings about the greatness of *Nākappaṭṭiṉam* and describes the story in great detail. The saint, once the head of the fishermen village, became poor but continued to leave the first fruit of the fish to the Lord. One day he caught a wonderful fish of golden gems enough to purchase the whole world and put an end to his poverty and misery. His followers thought that his troubles came to an end, when, the saint threw it out into the sea for the Lord as the first fruit of the day. This story of sacrifice is very well brought out in the *Dārāsuram* sculpture. On the right hand side of the plate, we see the sea with all kinds of fish including the octopus. Three fishermen are drawing in, the net. *Atipattar* with the golden fish in his hand is in the act of throwing it out into the sea. He has a beard. In the centre stands a person with the turban on his head. Probably it is the starving *Atipattar*. On the left hand side, we see *Śiva* appearing on the bull with *Pārvati* whilst *Atipattar* stands worshipping him, raising his hands above his head in the *añjali* pose.[10]

V

The 44th saint is *Kalikkampa Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar's* words are, "*Kaitaṭinta vari cilaiyāṉ Kalikkampaṉ* (*Kaliyaṉ Kaḻarcatti Variñcaiyarkōṉ*) *aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Kalikkampaṉ*, of the beautiful bow cutting away the hand (*Kaliyaṉ*, *Catti* of the heroic anklets and the king of the citizens of *Variñcai*)'. *Kampaṉ* is the proper name of the *Nāyaṉār*. The epithet *Kali* may mean that he belongs to the family of *Kaliyaracar*. Accordingly, we find the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speaking of him as a king; but, he is made therein a *Cōḻa* king. Probably, the term does not mean anything more than a king of the *Cōḻa* country. He is made the native of *Peṇṇā-kaṭam* by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* and *Cēkkiḻār*. The description,

9. *Kōyil Tiruppaṇṇiyār viruttam* 40.
10. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. iv, fig.* 35,

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'*Kaitaṭinta vari cilaiyāṉ*' seems to emphasize the fact of his being a ruler of a country or a chieftain. '*Kai taṭinta*' has however been taken to mean that he had cut away somebody's hand. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions along with *Nampiyāṇṭār* speak of him as one who was wont to wash the feet of all the *Śaivite* guests, irrespective of castes and rank and entertain them, and who, when, one of his own servants of low caste appeared as a guest amongst others seeing his wife's hesitation in washing his feet, the saint cut off her hands and washed his feet and entertained him with others.

Cēkkiḻār makes him a member of the *Vaiśya* community. The *Dārāsuram* temple sculpture mentions *Kalikkampāṇṭār katai*. On the right hand half, we have three devotees on raised sets in front of one of whom in the middle the teapoy-like object with probably the food served thereon. *Kalikkampa's* wife is probably serving them. In the centre, we have five vessels placed one above the other, all probably containing food. On the left half, we have another person who must be the erstwhile servant of *Kalikkampar* seated with one leg hanging down. The wife of *Kalikkampar* is hesitating to wash his leg and the saint with the beard is found raising up the sword in the act of cutting off the right hand of his wife. On the left extremity appear *Pārvati* and *Paramēśvara* on the sacred bull.[11]

IV

The 45th saint is *Kaliya Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar* mentions only his name. *Nampiyaṇṭār* calls him merely *Kali*. His native place according to *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* is *Tiruvorriyūr* which is near Madras. He was wont to burn a lamp in the temple and when he could not afford it, he sold out everything and worked as a cooly at the oil-mill for performing the service of lighting the lamp without break. *Cēkkiḻār* also refers to him as *Kaliya Nāyaṉār* but speaks of him as *Kalinītiyār* in the last verse of *Kalikkampa Nāyaṉār Purāṇam*, a name, which is also found there in tha *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions. He is an oil-monger, a *cakkiri*, according to *Nampiyāṇṭar*, and a resident of *Cakkarappāṭi teru* in *Tiruvorriyūr* according to *Cēkkiḻār*. He was born rich and lit the lamps in the temple all the day. He lost all his wealth and he began to sell oil as a cooly and make some profit for doing his service.

11. *M. A. R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV*, *fig.* 34.

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When even this could not be done, he worked at the oil mill as a cooly. On account of many people taking to this work he lost his employment. He made up his mind to sell away his wife, but found no purchaser. Knowing no other way and carrying out services as usual, he thought of using his own blood as oil and began to cut away his own throat when the Lord appeared and caught hold of his hand. One of the *Dārāsuram* sculptures on its right hand half, shows the saint, first working as a cooly driving the bulls and next as a cooly removing the oil from the mill. In the left hand half is the *vimāna* of the temple in front of which stands a series of lights in what appears a pillar, for lighting which with his own blood, the saint is trying to cut away his throat.[12] The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* versions are the following: "*Kalinīti*, a *Śaivite* saint, want to burn a light before *Śiva* all the night over, went so far as to sell his wife for money to purchase oil for lamp-light. But when no purchaser could be found, he attempted to commit suicide rather than abstain from keeping a light in the temple. *Śiva* is said to have prevented him from doing so".[13] It is clear that this story is very much more developed than what is found in *Nampiyāṇṭār's* version. If one is to take into consideration the context one may be tempted to hold that *Kaliyaṉ* or *Kalinīti* was also a chief or chieftain like *Kalikkampaṉ*, *Śakti* and others mentioned along with him. The word *Kaliyaṉ* reminds us of the name of *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār*, a *Kaḷavar* chief.

VII

The 46th saint is *Śakti Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar* refers to his victorious heroic anklet and speaks of him as the chief of *Variñcai* which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with a city of that name in the *Cōḻa* country. He belongs according to *Cēkkiḻār* to the *Vēḷāṉ* community. He cut away the tongues of those who spoke ill of the *Śaivites*. That is all what *Nampiyāṇṭār* says. This shows that there were some people who were hostile to the *Śaivites* not only the *Buddhists* and the *Jains* but also some of the followers of *Smṛtis* looking upon the *Śaivites* as heretics unfit to dine with. *Cēkkiḻār* adds that the saint was powerful enough to cut away the tongue suggesting thereby that the saint was *Śaktiyār* because of *Śakti* or power. It looks as though *Cēkkiḻār* is speaking of the weapon *Śakti*, rather than the power but in verse, 4, of this *Purā-*

12. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV, fig.* 33.
13. *Mys, Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 9.

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ṇam, the saint is said to have cut away the tongue with '*katti*', the sword. It may be suggested that '*catti*' may be the more correct reading than '*katti*' in which case the name *Cattiyār* (*Śaktiyār*) may be explained as one carrying the '*catti*' the weapon. The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions speak this saint as *Śattināyaṉār* or *Śaktinātha* having made a vow to slay all those who were not *Śaivites* (not only those who abused the *Śaivites*).[14] The traditions do not describe the actual slaughter. The name *Śaktinātha* is borne by some *Muṉaiyaraiyar* and it may be that this saint belonged to that family but ruling from *Variñcaiyūr*, whilst other members of the family ruled, as already pointed out, from *Nāvalūr*, *Kōvalūr*, and *Kiḻiyūr*. It may be pointed out that '*Nātaṉ*' is a name assumed by some *Śaivites* who had attained *siddhi* as explained in *Tirumantiram* while others are called '*Āṇṭār*' like *Nampāṇṭār* and *Śivakāmiyāṇṭār* mentioned by *Cēkkiḻār* and the *Dārāsuram* sculptures. It is curious that the word *Nāyaṉār* is not found though the present editions of *Periyapurāṇam* given the headings as *Nāyaṉār Purāṇams* in spite of the fact that *Nāyaṉār* is not used by *Cēkkiḻār* within the body of the text.

The *Dārāsuram* sculpture[15] represents three persons on the right of *Śaktiyāṇḍār* and one on the left all standing with hands held in *añjali* pose, whilst the insulting tongue of the fourth person standing in front of the saint has been drawn out to cut away by the weapon in the hand of *Śaktiyāṇḍār*.

VIII

The 47th saint is *Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ*'. *Nampiyāṇṭār* describes him as a *Pallava* clearly bringing out the meaning of *Kāṭavarkōṉ*. *Aiyaṭikaḷ* will mean, the Lord, the father. The name suggests that the father of the king must have become an ascetic and, therefore, was called *Aiyaṭikaḷ*. *Nampiyāṇṭār* refers to the conviction of *Aiyaṭikaḷ* that it is better to beg as a servant of the Lord than to rule the world and refers to this saint singing a *veṇpā* each in every temple he visited. We have a work in the 11th *Tirumūṟai* called the *Kṣēttiruveṇpā* by *Aiyaṭikaḷ Kāṭavarkōṉ* of which only twenty-four verses are available. The

14. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 9.
15. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV*, *fig.* 32.

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Sanskrit and *Kannada* traditions are summarized as follows: "*Aiyaḍigal* or *Kāḍavarkōnāyaṉār* was a king of the *Pallava* dynasty ruling in *Kāñchi*. He is variously called *Siṁhāṅka*, *Pādasiṁha* and *Pañchapādasiṁha* whose father (rather son, according to inscriptions of the *Pallavas*) was *Bhīma* or *Bhīmavarma* (*A.D.* 550). He spent the whole revenue of his vast kingdom in constructing *Śiva* temples, groves, wells, tanks and feeding-houses".[16] *Cēkkiḻār* speaks of him in greater detail. The following are the points made out by him: (1) This saint first as a king brought under control his enemies and the sufferings of his people; (2) he conquered other lands; (3) the *Vēdic* and the *Śaivite* paths flourished along with *Dharma*; (4) he wanted to serve the Lord through *Tamiḻ* and *Sanskrit*; (5) he was convinced that to be a king was the source of misery and, therefore, abdicated the throne crowning his son, king; (6) he went and worshipped at all the temples of *Śiva* singing one *veṇpa* at every one of them and finally reached *Tillai*; (7) he did all that was necessary for the temple; (8) he was the *Kāṭavarkōṉ* of *Kāñci*—These descriptions are applicable to *Mahēndravarmaṉ II* as explained elsewhere (*Vol. I*, Age of *Nampi Ārūrar*) and that was why he was called the *Aiyaṭikaḻ*. The *Dārāsuram* sculpture gives a *vimāṉa* of a temple in the middle. The story has to be read from left to right of the sculpture. We find *Aiyaṭikaḻ* before abdication with the crown and the flowing cloth. On the right we see him going away without the crown and the flowing cloth.[17]

16. *Mys. Arch., Rep.*, 1925. *p.* 9.
17. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV, fig.* 31.

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CHAPTER VIII

KARIKKAṆṬA CARUKKAM

I

The eighth verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the phrase '*Kaṟaikkaṇṭaṉ*' which is the name of the *Carukkam* or *canto* in *Periyapurāṇam* giving us the lives of the saints mentioned in this verse. The first saint in the verse—the 48th saint in the list from the beginning—is *Kaṇampulla Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Kaṟaikkaṇṭaṉ kaḻalaṭiyē kāppukkoṇṭirunta Kaṇampulla Nampikkum* (*Kārikkum*) *aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Kaṇampulla Nampi*, who took as his armour or protection, the anklet bedecked feet of the Lord of blotted throat (and of *Kāri*)'. Unfortunately, the stories now current about this saint do not bring out either the significance of the work *Nampi* or of the description that he had the Lord's feet as his armour or protection. He was a native of *Irukkuvēḷūr* according to *Nambiyāṇṭār*, which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies as the city on the eastern bank of '*Vaṭa Veḷḷāṟu*'. According to *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, he became poor in the city and went to *Tillai* where he lighted up the grass for lamps. *Cēkkiḻār* describes him as the saint interested in putting up lamps in the *Tillai* temple and who becoming poor and penniless, cut and gathered '*kaṇampul*' grass which he sold away for purchasing ghee required for the temple. One day, he could not find any purchaser for the grass and, therefore, he burnt away the grass itself as light. Even the grass was not found in required quantity. He, therefore, burnt away his own tuft of hair as the lamp. This extreme service of self-sacrifice described by *Cēkkiḻār* is not mentioned by *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi*, but it is found represented in the *Dārāsuram* sculpture. We have on the right hand edge of the sculpture, the saint with the knotted tuft sitting and holding a lighted up bundle of grass as the lamp. In the centre we see a temple in front of which the saint is bending down his head with the unloosened hair of the head flowing down to be lighted up by the flames of the light below. At the left hand edge is found a person standing with a sacred thread. It is too blurred to be identified. It may be the *Śivagaṇa* form of the saint.

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The whole story seems to have been built on the name of *Kaṇampullar* without reference to the other description given by *Ārūrar*. *Ārūrar* speaks of this saint in another place when he gives a list of great men whose faults, the Lord has welcomed as their glories.[1] *Appar* also refers to this saint, "*Eṇṇiṟainta kuṇattiṉālē Kaṇampullaṉ karuttukantār*"[2]—'The Lord was pleased with the idea or heart of *Kaṇampullaṉ*, because of his innumerable good qualities'. In another place he sings, "*Aruntavatta Kaṇampullark karuḷkaḷ ceytu kātalām aṭiyārkkeṉṟum kuṇaṅkaḷaik koṭupparpōlum*"[3]—'He is the Lord who blessed *Kaṇampullar* of rare *tapas* and conferred good qualities on his loving servants'. Probably, it is this conferring of good qualities, *Ārūrar* speaks of as the Lord enjoying the faults of his servants as their good qualities. These references cannot be to the current story. One would have at least expected the tradition to speak of this saint in contemplation being overgrown with a jungle of '*kaṇampul*' or being saved from the attack of a group of tigers or other enemies. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of this saint as *Kaṇṇampāla* or *Kaṇolapa*, a *Śaivite* who burnt his own hair when the oil and faggots he collected one night for maintaining a light in the temple were exhausted.[4]

II

The 49th saint is *Kāri Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar*, as mentioned above, gives us only the name *Kāri*. This is a name known to *Tamiḻ* Literature from the days of *Malayamāṉ Kāri*, one of the seven *Vaḷḷals* or patrons. In this connection one may note, though *Ārūrar* knows of great men of the *Caṅkam* age like *Pāri*, he does not include any of the *Śaivite* patrons like *Vēḷ Āy* who is famous for the surrender of his precious cloth to God *Śiva*. *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* and *Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar*, included in the list of saints, however, are considered by some to belong to the *Caṅkam* age. People who bore the name *Kāri* were not only patrons and chieftains but some of them at least were poets like *Maturakavi Māraṉ Kāri*.[5] *Kāriyācaṉ* is the author of *Ciṟupañcamūlam* and the author of *Kaṇakkatikāram* is another *Kāriyācāṉ*. The word *Kāri* means

1. 7: 55: 4.
2. *Ap.*, 226: 7.
3. *Ap.*, 49: 9.
4. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 9.
5. *Vēḷvekkuṭi grant.*

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that which is black (*Kāri kaṭaṉañcāṉ—Kalittokai*) or one who is of dark complexion. It occurs as the name of *Aiyaṉār*.[6] The father of *Nammāḻvār* was also known as *Kāri*. It is, therefore, difficult to say who the saint referred to was, a chieftain or a poet. The tradition takes him as a poet probably because by the time the tradition solidified into the present form the name has become associated more with literary men than with chiefs and patrons. But, here also, the details given vary from author to author. *Nampiyāṇṭar* makes him a native of *Kaṭavūr*, which *Cēkkiḻār* speaks of as *Tirukkaṭavūr*, probably the place of that name in *Māyavaram* Taluk. According to *Nampiyāṇṭār*, *Kāri* praised the Lord *Śiva* with words and combination of words which he made beautiful and upright avoiding all faults. *Cēkkiḻār*, however, speaks of him as composing strings of *Tamiḻ* verses or *Tamiḻkkōvai* which he collected in his name or in such a way as to become famous as his work. The poems were not on *Śiva*. He was moving with the three Royal families of the *Tamiḻ* land with whose costly presents he constructed many a temple for *Śiva*, always thinking of the *Kailās* of the Lord. What *Tamiḻ* works and what temples were known to be the gifts of *Kāri* during the age of *Cēkkiḻār* it is not possible to say. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Kāri Nāyaṉār* or *Kārināṭha* constructing a number of *Śiva* temples with the money he collected by begging. The *Dārāsuram* sculpture of the story represents two persons wearing sacred thread in front of a background of mountains. If one is *Kāri*, it is not clear who the other is. The mountains probably remind us of the saint reaching *Kailās* or his travel through various countries.

III

The 50th saint is *Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāṟa Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Niṟāikkoṇṭa cintayāl nelvēli veṉṟa Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāṟaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Neṭumāṟaṉ* or *Śrī Māṟa*, the great, of abiding glory, who won the battle of *Nelvēli* because of the subjugated mind'. *Nampiyāṇṭār* speaks of this *Pāṇḍya* as the one in whose presence the *Jains* were defeated by *Campantar* and who impaled them all. He is thus identified with *Kūṉ Pāṇḍya*. *Campantar* speaks of him as *Teṉṉavaṉ* (the Lord of the south), *Pāṇṭiyaṉ*, *Pañcavaṉ*, *Pārttivaṉ*

6. *Taṇḍi-cūtram*-95.

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(or the king ot this earth), *Koṟṟavaṉ* (the victorious king), *Paṅkamilāṉ* (one who has no blemish), *Paṭṭimaṉ* (one who is learned), *Paraviṉāṉ* (one who worshipped and praised the Lord) and *Bhaktimāṉ* (the king of divine love or *bhakti*). The repetition of the name *Teṉṉavaṉ Teṉṉaṉ* shows probably that he became the undisputed king of the southern land after the *Nelvēli* battle. *Ārūrar* also speaks of *Neṭumāṟaṉ* of sacred ashes on whose crown was *Śiva* as *Teṉṉavaṉ* or *Teṉṉam*, "*Poṭiyāṭu tirumēṉi Neṭumāṟan muṭimēl Teṉṉāṉ*".[6a] The idea of *Śiva* being on the crown of the *Pāṇḍya* is also referred to by the *Pāṇṭikkōvai* where the author describes this patron *Neṭumāṟaṉ*, "*Naraiyāṟṟakattu veṉṟāṉ muṭimēl niṉṟāṉ Maṇikaṇṭaṉ*", *Villiṉaṭṭu veṉṟa malliyal tōḷ maṉṉaṉ ceṉṉi nilaviṉāṉ vār caṭaiyaṉ*". We have elsewhere referred to this idea as being explained by the epigraphists. Therefore, this seems to be a popular idea of *Ārūrar's* age. "*Neṭumāṟaṉ*" is identified with *Arikēsarimāṟavarmaṉ* of the *Vēḷvikkuṭi* grant. *Cēkkiḻār* refers to him as the king who ruled, thanks to *Campantar*, in such a way that *Dharma* and *Śaivism* flourished. He gives the description of the *Nelvēli* fight reminding us almost of the *Kali rhythm* of some of the lines of the *Vēḷvikkuṭi* grant and of the epigraphic description of the *Pallava* war with the *Chāḷukyas* of that age. "The enemies attacked the *Paṇḍya* at *Nelvēli* with a sea of horse and rows of angry elephants. There was a flood of blood in which floated the corpses of man and animal. The *Pāṇḍya* took up the spear even as his great ancestor did to make the sea dry up. The joyful neighing of the horses, the clash of the weapons of the soldiers, the roaring noise of the elephants, the music of the military band resonating like the thunder on the final day of destruction. The *bhūtas* and the *pēys* bathed in the blood and drank that liquor and danced after the feast of the foxes. In such a battlefield, the army of the chief king of the northern country, broke down and fled and the *Pāṇḍya* was crowned with the laurel of victory". This is an information which we do not get elsewhere.

The Vēḷvikkuṭi grant speaks merely of "*Vilvēlik kaṭaṟṟāṉaiyai Nelvēlic ceruveṉṟum*". *The Siṉṉamaṉūr* plate speaks of the conquest of the *Villavaṉ* being conquered at *Nelvēli*. *Villavaṉ* usually means the *Cēra* but this will be opposed to the specific reference in *Periyapurāṇam*, unless we take the *Nelvēli* there as another battle. Or, the *Villavaṉ* read as *Villavar* may refer to the bow-

6a. 7: 38: 8.

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men who are referred to as *Vilvēli* in the *Vēḷvikkuṭi* grant. *Villavaṉ* may also be a mistake for *Vallavaṉ*, a name which occurs in *Pāṇṭikkōvai*, which may then refer to the *Chāḷukya* '*Vallabha*'. From the description given by *Cēkkiḻār*, it is clear that he is referring to the *Chāḷukya* invasion when *Vikramāditya* came as far as *Uragapuri* or *Uṟaiyūr* to be defeated by *Paramēśvaraṉ*, the *Pallava* at Peruvaḷanallūr. There is an intriguing reference in the Smaller *Siṉūamaṉūr* plates: "*Jayantavarmaṉ makaṉākip pakai pūpar talai paṉippa Paramēśvaraṉ veli* (c) *paṭṭu Arikēsari Asamasam ... Pāravanipakulam ɪṟaiñca*".[7] One wonders whether it refers to *Neṭumāṟan's* conquest of the *Chāḷukyas* before *Paramēśvara* conquered the *Chāḷukyas*. Or, did *Paramēśvara* attack the *Chāḷukya* from behind at *Peruvaḷanallūr* after the *Pāṇḍya* defeated him *Nelvēli*? *Nelvēli*, if we are to connect it with the battles around *Uraiyūr* and *Peruvaḷanallūr* should be in the *Cōḻa* country; it is probably the *Nelvēli* referred to as being in the "*Teṉkaraippaṉaiyūr nāṭu*" in the *Cōḻa* country.[8] His battle was considered to be very important probably because it released the *Tamilians* from the fetters of the Northern kings. The victory was felt to be very miraculous because *Ārūrar* assigns the victory to the subjugation of his own mind by the *Pāṇḍya* and it is curious that he refers to this conquest and not to the conquest over the *Jain*. This king is the husband of *Maṅkaiyarkkaraci*; he did all the divine services or '*toṇṭu*' and made the path of the sacred ash flourish. *Cēkkiḻār* tells us that he ruled for a long time.

The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him thus: "*Kaḍumāṟanāyaṉār* or *Dīrghamāra*, also called *Kūṉa* and *Kubja* was the King of *Madura*. He embraced *Jainism* under the influence of *Jinasēna*, *Bhaṭṭākalaṅka* and others. He was reconverted to *Śaivism* by *Tirujñāṉasambandar*".[9]

The *Dārāsuram* sculpture[10] represents the king on a raised seat or *simhāsana* wearing a crown and a sacred thread. On his right, stands a person with a sacred thread and a tuft knotted to the left probably *Campantar*. Right of him stand two persons probably being marched to be impaled.

7. *S.I.I. Vol. III, Part IV, page* 463, *ll.* 14-18.
8. 266/1916.
9. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 10.
10. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV, fig.* 27.

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IV

The 51st saint is *Vāyilār Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Tuṟaikkoṇṭa cempavaḷam iruḷakaṟṟum cōti toṉ Mayilai Vāyilāṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Vāyilāṉ* of the old *Mayilai* of the light of the red coral on the port removing darkness.' *Nampiyāṇṭār* emphasizes his mental worship; his mind was the temple, infinite knowledge was the light, the bloss somed heart was the flower and love was the nectar offered — a description which reminds us of some verses of *Appar*. *Cēkkiḻār* identifies this *Mayilai* with *Mylapore* now in *Madras*. He is siad to belong to the *Śūdra* community. According to *Cēkkiḻār*, he comes of the family of '*Vāyilārs*'. In addition to what *Nampiyāṇṭār* has said, he informs us that *Vāyilār* bathed the Lord with bliss. In the sculptural representation of this saint at *Dārāsuram*, we find him seated cross-legged between two trees with the beard, the sacred thread, a garland round his neck and probably the *jaṭāmakuṭa* with the *cinmudra* held in the right hand whilst the left hand is resting on his lap. Probably the garland round his neck is *rudrākṣamālā*. The figure suggests a *yōgi* in contemplation on his mental temple.[11]

The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions mention this saint as *Vāyilāṟu nāyaṉār* or *Vāgmi* which latter word is only a translation of the name of the saint and he is there also famous for his mental worship.[12]

There is a separate shrine in the Mylapore temple for this saint but it must be of very recent date.

V

The 52nd saint is *Muṉaiyaṭuvar Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are: "*Aṟaikkoṇṭa vēl nampi Muṉaiyaṭuvārkkaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Muṉaiyaṭuvār*, the patron and lord of the spear of attack'. According to *Nampiyāṇṭār*, he was the lord of *Nīṭūr*. He was a mercenary soldier, who for money, helped the defeated people to become victorious in war and who gave all his money to the *Śaivites*. This *Nīṭūr*, *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with a place of that name in the *Cōḻa* country probably nearby the railway station *Nīṭūr* and he also makes the saint a chief of the *Vēḷāṉ* community

11. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. IV. fig.* 26.
12. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 10.

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explaining further that the money he received as the mercenary soldier for feeding them with ghee, curd, milk fruits, sugar, and other kinds of food, in addition to the various kinds of gifts to the *Śaivites*. In the *Dārāsuram* sculpture representing this *Nāyaṉār*, we find three persons: (1) the central one with his tuft dressed up as a *makuṭa* and a sacred thread, is in the act of piercing with a spear which he holds up in his hands. On his left is his opponent who had fallen down on the ground with a crown. On his right stands another with hands held in *añjali* pose, probably the person who had secured the help of this saint against his enemy.[13] The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Monai Āṇḍuvārunāyaṉār* or *Nāsirabhanjāna*, the latter expression meaning 'one who destroys the van guard of the enemies' army'. They speak of him as a brave warrior who spent all his earnings ih the construction of *Śiva* temple about which we hear nothing in *Tamiḻ*.[14]

13. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20 *Pl. III, fig.* 25.
14. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 10.

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CHAPTER IX

KAṬAL CŪḶNTA CARUKKAM

I

The ninth verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the phrase '*Kaṭal cūḻnta*' which has become the name of a *carukkam* or *canto* in *Periyapurāṇam* giving us the lives of the saints mentioned in this verse. The first saint in this verse — the 53rd in the list from the beginning — is *Kaḻarciṅka Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar's* words are "*Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉra Perumāṉ Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻarciṅkaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Kāṭavarkōṉ Kaḻarciṅkaṉ* who is ruling the world surrounded by the seas'. According to *Nampiyāṇṭār*, the nose of the queen who smelt the flower set apart for the Lord of *Ārūr* was cut away when this king however stating that the hand must be first cut away probably because it took the fiower before the nose smelt it away accordingly the hand of his very queen. The cutting of the nose was the greatness of another saint *Ceruttuṇai Nāyaṉār* and, therefore, his story also may be taken up for consideration at this point, though he comes as the 55th saint in the list. The words of *Ārūrar*, "*Maṭal cūḻnta tār Nampi Iṭaṅkaḻikkum Tañcai maṉṉavaṉām Ceruttuṇaitaṉ aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of the servants of *Ceruttuṇai*, the king of *Tañjai* and (*Iṭaṅkaḻi*, the Lord of the garland of petals).' His native place if *Tañcai* in the *Marukal Nāṭu* of the *Cōḻa* country. The full name of the place is given by *Cēkkiḻār* as *Tañcāvūr*. This saint belongs to the *Vēḷāṇ* community according to *Cēkkiḻār*. If we are to reconcile *Ārūrar's* description of the *hymn* as the ruler of *Tañjai* and *Cēkkiḻār's* statement that he belongs to the *Vēḷāṇ* community we must assume that we have a chief of the *Vēḷir* community. *Nampiyāṇṭār* states that he cut away the nose of the queen of *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ* when she smelt the flower set apart for the Lord. He does not mention the name of *Cēruttuṇai*, in the verse describing *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ*, but when we take both the verses describing the two saints respectively, it is clear that they give a connected story of *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ's* visit to *Tiruvārūr* with his queen, of *Ceruttuṇai* being there inside the temple at the time, of the queen smelling a flower, of *Ceruttuṇai* getting enraged at this sacrilege cutting away the nose of the

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queen, of *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ* intervening and stating that before the nose was cut off, the offending hand must be cut off, and of the King Emperor cutting off the hand of his own queen. *Cēkkiḻār* gives us some more particulars about *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ*. He came of an old *Pallava* family blessed by the Lord; he went on a military expedition, defeated the frontiers of the enemies and conquered the northern country. He went and visited the temples of *Śiva* and performed true or bodily services. His own crowned queen of great fame going round the temple at *Tiruvārūr* saw all its points of greatness one by one and reached the *maṇṭapa* where the garland for the Lord was woven. On its side was lying a flower which had fallen and she picked it up and was smelling. *Cēkkiḻār* thus seems to have minimized the fault of the queen. *Ceruttuṇai* took it as a great sacrilege that she was smelling it within the sacred precincts of the temple and hastened and cut away her nose. There was great bleeding and the queen was rolling on the ground because of great pain. The king who came just then was enraged that semebody had wounded the queen. But when *Ceruttuṇai* explained the circumstances, the king stated that the hand which had first taken the flower should have been cut, and cut away the rosy hand of his beloved crowned queen. The king ruled thereafter for a number of years reaching the abode of *Śiva* in time. From the two accounts,[1] it is quite clear, that both these saints were incapable of governing their impulses; but in fairness to *Śaivism*, we should be careful to reconcile that it was their merit of devotion to God and not their inability to control themselves that enabled them to obtain *Śiva's* Grace. The real greatness lies in their deep reverence for *Śiva*, such, a deep reverence that *Ceruttuṇai* forgets that he is cutting away the nose of the queen and *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ* forgets that he is cutting away the hand of his own beloved queen. They forget this world in the thought of the Lord, and old attachments no longer are found to endure. But reading the words of *Ārūrar*, none of these incidents is suggested to our mind.

The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions speak of *Kaḻarciṅka Nāyaṉār* or *Pādasiṁha* as a *Pallava* king of *Kāñci* who cut off the hand of his wife when she took with her hand an old flower garland removed from the body of *Śiva* after worship and smelt

1. *Origin and History of Śaivism, p.* 192, C. V. Narayanaswamy Aiyar.

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it — smelling such flowers being considered a heinous sin.[2] This seems to go one step further than *Cēkkiḻār* because after all, the queen here smells an old flower. In those traditions, *Ceruttuṇai Nāyaṉār* is made *Siruttuṇenāyaṉār* but the name is correctly translated as *Raṇamitra* who cut off the nose of the queen of *Pādasiṁha* for smelling the old flower garland removed from *Śiva's* image and thrown out.

The *Dārāsuram sculpture*[3] represents a *Śaivite* sitting down and probably preparing garlands out of flowers lying on the raised the queen clothed from the waist to the ankle. Her left hand rests on the platform and her right hand holds a flower which she is smelling. Next to her stands a person with the sacred thread probably in the act of worshipping. On the left hand side of the sculpture we find *Ceruttuṇai* cutting away the nose of the queen with a sword or a knife. The inscription beneath the sculpture is *Seruttuṇaiyāṇḍār*. In the sculpture representing the story of *Kaḷaṟciṅka Nāyaṉār*,[4] we find *Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ* with his crown and his flowing clothes catching hold of the left hand of the queen with his left hand and raising his sword with his right hand to cut away her hand. The question of identification of this king was discussed in our attempt at fixing the age of *Ārūrar*.[5]

II

The 54th saint is *Iṭaṅkaḻi Nāyaṉār*. *Ārūrar's* words have already been referred to above. He refers to him as a *Nampi*. It shows he must be of some importance in the *Śaivite* world. *Nampiyāṇṭār* makes him the king of *Irukkuvēḷūr* who proclaimed that all his wealth belonged to *Śaivites*. The *Dārāsuram* sculpture represents this story with the inscriptions *Iṭaṅkaḻiyāṇṭār* underneath it. We find *Iṭaṅkaḻi* sitting cross legged with a sacred thread on a raised seat, with ornaments and the tuft of hair knotted to the left in a peculiar *makuṭa* form, giving orders for issuing a proclamation. On his right probably representing another scene is one who is playing on the drum notifying the proclamation probably to the effect that the king's wealth belongs

2. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 10.
3. *Pl. III, fig.* 22.
4. *Pl.* III, *fig.* 24.
5. *Vol. I.*, Age of *Ārūrar*.

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to the *Śaivites*. It is here that *Nampiyāṇṭār* refers to his contemporary king *Āditya* and we get the new information that this *Āditya* adorned the roof of the *Tillai* temple with gold brought from the *Koṅku* country. *Cēkkiḻār* mentions the same story and both of them make *Iṭaṅkaḻi* the ancestor of the *Cōḻa Āditya*, the founder of that line of *Cōḻa* kings, which gave to the world *Rājarāja* and *Rajēndra* the great. But *Cēkkiḻār* does not make *Irukkuvēḷūr*, the capital of *Irukkuvēḷir*, the native city of *Iṭaṅkaḻi*, as is done by *Nampiyāṇṭār*. According to *Cēkkiḻār*, *Koṭumpāḷūr* in *Kōṉāṭu* which is a division of *Pudukkōṭṭa*, was the capital city of this *Vēḷir* chief. The *Irukkuveḷs* are said to have ruled from *Koṭumpāḷūr* and, therefore, the *Irukkuvēḷūr* mentioned by *Nampiyāṇṭar* may be taken as referring to the capital city of the *Irukkuvēḷs* which was probably no other than *Koṭumpāḷūr*. *Cēkkiḻār* gives some more particulars about this saint. There was a *Śaivite* who undertook as his life mission to feed every day the followers of *Śaivism*. He could not get any employment for earning the money required for this kind of service. Knowing no other way of livelihood, he entered the royal store of paddy but he was caught red-handed as a thief. He was brought before the king. The *Śaivite* explained the truth. The *Śaivite* king explained, "Is not this saint my true treasure house?" and allowed him to take away all that he could from the store of paddy and from his treasury.

Iṭaṅkaḻi may mean the tiger which dismisses without touching anything that falls to its left and we know many chieftains metaphorically mentioned as '*puli*' — see, *Kōṭpuli*, *Ciṟappuli*.

Iṭaṅkaḻi is used by *Tiruttakka Tēvar* as one beyond the reach of others. "*Iṭaṅkaḻi kāmam*" (2038). We know of one *Koṭumpāḷūr* chief '*Paradurggamardhana*' called '*Vātāpi jit*', which suggests that *Koṭumpāḷur Vēḷirs* probably accompanied the *Pallavas* on the northern expeditions against the *Chāḷukyas* of *Vātāpi*.[6] Since tradition makes *Ceruttuṇai* and *Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ*, contemporaries, there is noting wrong in our considering *Iṭaṅkaḻi* who comes in between the two saints in the list of *Toṇṭar*, as being also a contemporary of these two saints. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions pronounce this name as *Idamkrishi*. According to them, he was a *Cōḻa* king who not only excused the thief who stole grains from

6. *Koṭumpāḷur Inscription*; *Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VII*; *J.R.A.S.*, 1935.

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his palace granary to feet *Śaivites*, but also threw his granary and treasury open to all *Śaivites* and thus rendered robbery unnecessary.[7]

III

The 55th saint is *Ceruttuṇai*. With regard to this saint we have already discussed along with *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ* and hence it is unnecessary to repeat anything about this saint here.

IV

The 56th saint is *Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṉār*, and *Ārūrar's* words are, "*Puṭai cūḻnta puliyataḷmēl aravāṭa āṭip poṉṉaṭikkē maṉam vaitta Pukaḻttuṇaikkum āṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Pukaḻttuṇai* who concentrated his mind on the golden feet of the Lord of dance who dances whilst the serpents on the tiger's skin round him, dance.' *Ñāṉacampantar* himself speaks of this saint as the servant of the Lord, who was in a sorry plight and who received a coin every day and worshipped at *Puttūr* in the morning and evening.[8] One may be tempted to make him a contemporary of *Ñāṉacampantar* because of the verb in the phrase '*Pōṟṟum Puttūrē*'. In his *Aricir-karaipputtūr hymn*, *Ārūrar* gives the story of this saint in the 6th verse: "The *Brahmin* who belonged to the inner circle of service (*akattaṭimai*) brought water from the *Aricil* river and was bathing the Lord. He was so famished and weak that he let fall the water pot on your crown. He shook with fear. You arranged a daily batta of one gold coin and made it enter the grateful hands of *Pukaḻttuṇai*. You were happy for having done this. O, thou pure God of *Tirupputtūr* full of gardens"—this is the substance of the verse.[9] *Nampiyāṇṭar* makes him a native of *Ceruviliputtūr*. There was a great famine and this saint had no food. Therefore, he had to let fall the water pot on the Lord who, therefore, blessed him with wealth. *Cēkkiḻār* tells us that a sleep overcame him when on account of fatigue he let fall the water pot. In the dream, the Lord appeared to inform that a coin everyday would be placed till the famine was over. Waking up from sleep he found a coin below the seat of the Lord.

7. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 10.
8. 2: 63: 7.
9. 7: 6: 6.

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The *Dārāsuram* sculpture represents this story on its northern wall.[10] This story has to be read from the left to the right. We find a *vimāṉa*, and a *liṅga* beneath it in the *Garbhagṛha*, on which *liṅga*, *Pukaḻttuṇai* is letting fall his water vessel whilst he himself collapses and sits down overcome by fatigue. Probably he had dreamt of the promise of the gold coin and we see him walking away having left the *garbhagṛha* and the *maṇṭapa* in front of it. We see him walking between his *maṇṭapa* and the sacred bull, holding up his slightly extended hands in wonder and awe. There is a '*balipīṭha*' behind the sacred bull, and wee see *Pukaḻttuṇai* in the act of taking away a coin from there. There is another temple probably of the Mother Goddess also represented behind him though it does not explain the story any further. *Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṉār's* name is translated into *Kīrtinātha* in the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions which though giving the story of the saint letting fall the vessel, does not mention the gift of the coin by the Lord.

V

The 57th saint is *Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Aṭal cūḻnta vēl Nampi Kōṭpulikkum aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of *Kōṭpuli*, the Lord of the spear conspiring to kill the enemies or the spear crowded with victories'. He was one of the contemporary chieftains of *Ārūrar* who praises him in another verse as the Lord of *Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi* of old fame in the *Cōḻa* country, the obstinate *Kōṭpuli* who conquered the enemy kings when they came in a crowd.[11] *Kūṭṭam* or crowd is the accepted reading but in one edition the reading is *kūṭam*. It is not clear whether this is the name of a battlefield or whether it means secret strategy. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* makes him the chief of *Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuṭi* and states that he received the blessings of *Ārūrar*, that he became glorious by killing away his relatives who broke his oath uttered in the name of the Lord. According to *Cēkkiḻār*, he was a member of the *Vēḷāṉ* community and a commander-in-chief of the *Cōḻa* army. He made his plant of fame flourish through war, which, however, made the plant of misery flourish in the lands of others. All the wealth received from his king he utilized in storing up paddy like the mountain of gold for feeding the *Śaivites*. Before starting on one of the expeditions against the enemies as ordered by his king, he sealed his store of paddy and told the relatives

10. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. III, fig.* 21.
11. 7: 15: 10.

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that in the name of the order of the Lord which does not hasten, the paddy should not even be thought of by them. In a few days, a famine devastated the country and the relatives preferred the breach of that order to their death and ate the paddy. *Kōṭpuli*, hearing of this on his return, conspired to bring them all inside his house under the pretext of making a gift of the great wealth he had amassed in war and keeping his grandson or his grandfather (*Pērōṉ*) killed them all for eating away his paddy. There was a child which escaped this slaughter and the grandfather or grandson pleaded for it, stating that it had not tasted the paddy and therefore it should be left to continue their line. *Kōṭpuli*, however, threw it and cut it away with the sword, because it had tasted the milk of the woman who had tasted the forbidden paddy. Then and there, *Śiva* appeared to take the saint away to his own abode.

Cēkkiḻār does not mention anything about *Ārūrar* meeting this saint in this *Purāṇa* describing the saint's life, though he refers to the reception given by *Kōṭpuli* to *Ārūrar* and the gift of his own daughters to the latter in the *Ēyarkōṉ Kalikkāma Nāyaṉār Purāṇam*. This makes one suspect that *Cēkkiḻār* is thinking of some other *Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār* probably an ancestor of this *Kōṭpuli* met by *Ārūrar*. If there was not even a child left, how can there be any one left to meet *Ārūrar*? But the grandson rather than the grandfather must be taken to be the meaning of the word '*Pērōṉ*' or '*Peyarōṉ*' and he must have escaped the universal slaughter because he went with his grandfather and thus avoided the necessity of eating the paddy. This seems to be the suggestion of *Cēkkiḻār* though *Nampiyāṇṭār* will make this saint *Kōṭpuli* the very *Kōṭpuli* who met *Ārūrar*. Then the question will arise how could *Ārūrar* who had sung *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* wherein he included the name of this saint sing of his escaping the fetters of relationship and reaching the abode of the Lord, thanks to the great attachment to the name of God, and meet the very same *Kōṭpuli* sometime after he had sung the *hymn*. This question has to be studied in some detail when we come to fix the time when *Tiruṭṭoṇṭattokai* was sung. This story is given in one of the *Dārāsuram* sculptures with the inscription *Kōṭpuli-yāṇḍār* underneath it. In the right half we find *Kōṭpuli* holding the sword after having thrown up the child which is falling on the sword; there are also three persons probably those attacked by his sword, being in three progressive grades of falling down. The

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left hand half shows *Śiva*, *Pārvatī* and the bull in front of whom stands *Kōṭpuli* holding his hands in an *añjali* pose. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Kōṭpuli Nāyaṉār*, translate the name as *Vīraśārdūla* and give the story as found in *Cēkkiḻār*.[12] We have shown already in another place that this victorious battle which *Kōṭpuli* fought against a crowd of enemies is taken by Dr. Mīnākṣi and others as referring to the battles which *Teḷḷāṟeṟinta Nampi* fought against these southern kings. But if *Kōṭpuli* belong to the age of *Rājasiṁha* as we hold, the battle should be one of the many battles which *Paramēśvara* as the king and *Rājasiṁha* as prince fought against *Vikramāditya I*, who with the help of *Gaṅgas* and probably some southern kings and chieftains tried to avenge the sack of *Bādāmi* by the *Pallavas* during the reign of his father *Puḷakēsin II*. *Periyapurāṇam* speaks of a series of northern expeditions, both offensive and defensive, in which a number of *Śaivite* saints had taken part — *Kalippakai*, *Aiyaṭikaḷ*, *Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ*, *Kōṭpuli*, *Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāṟaṉ* and *Ciṟuttoṇṭar*. Probably all these are referring to the *Chāḷukyan* invasion and the *Tamilian* counter invasion.

12. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925.

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CHAPTER X

PATTARĀYP PAṆIVĀR CARUKKAM

The tenth verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the phrase "*Pattarāyppaṇivār*" which has become the name of a *carukkam* or *canto* in *Periyapurāṇam* describing groups of saints—the 58th to the 64th in the list from the beginning—mentioned in this verse. After the generalization into groups in this 10th verse, the 11th verse begins to continue the list of individual saints. This may suggest that this 10th verse was an interpolation into the *hymn* of 10 verses sung in accordance with his usual scheme of singing every *hymn* with ten verses. But as already pointed out this verse summarizes, as it were, the message of the whole *hymn* and is too significant to be an interpolation. Even if it is, it must be by one who had understood the message of this *hymn*. Therefore, it ought to be studied after our study of all the individual saints.

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CHAPTER XI

MANNIYA CĪRC CARUKKAM

I

The eleventh verse in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* begins with the phrase, "*Maṉṉiya cīr*" which is the name of the *Carukkam* or *canto* in *Periyapurāṇam* describing all the personalities mentioned in this verse. The first saint in this verse and the 65th in the list from the beginning in *Pūcalār Nāyaṉār*. He belonged to *Tiruniṉṟavūr* which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with the city of that name in the *Toṇṭainātu* a place sung by *Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār*[1] — none other than the place *Tiṉṉaṉūr* in the Madras-Arakkōṇam line. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Maṉṉiya cīr maṟaināvaṉ Niṉṟavūrp Pūcal* (*vari vaḷaiyāḷ Māṉikkum Nēcaṉukkum*) *aṭiyēṉ*"—'I am the servant of (*Nēcaṉ* and *Māṉi* of the beautiful bangles and of) *Pūcal* of *Niṉṟavūr* of well established greatness, the great reciter of the *Vēdas*. *Cēkkiḻār*, therefore, calls him a *Brahmin*. Probably it is this saint who is praised by *Ārūrar* in one of the two *Niṉṟiyūr hymns* which we had suggested to be a *Niṉṟavūr hymn*.[2] The name *Pūcal* has come from the root '*Pūcu*' to besmear with sacred ash.—"*Nīṟu Pūcattiṉār*"[2a] are the words of *Ārūrar*. The story of the saint has become well known to the historians of the *Pallava* age. He began building a mental temple and fixed a date for its consecration. The contemporary *Pallava* king also fixed the same date for the stone temple he had constructed at *Kāñci*. *Śiva* preferred *Pūcalār's* temple of the mind and requested the *Pallava* to fix another date for his temple, the temple of stone. Mr. Gopalan thinks that there is a reference to this in the inscription of *Rājasiṁha* where the latter is said to have heard the voice of heavens. *Nampiyāṇṭār* states that *Pūcalār* was desirous of constructing a temple and spent sleepless nights in laying out the details of that temple. *Cēkkiḻār* gives a more detailed story. The saint came to the conclusion that he must construct a temple but he failed to get any money. He, however, gathered the wealth and the

1. 2: 5: 2; 7: 5: 10.
2. Vol. III.
2a. 7: 19: 2.

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architects in his own imagination and began the construction in his own mind. The day for consecration was also fixed. The *Pallava* was told to fix another date in his dream by *Śiva*. The *Pallava* king was so surprized that he went to *Tiruniṟṟavūr* to have a sight of the temple preferred by God. No temple could be seen but he met *Pūcalār* from whom he learnt that it was all a temple of the mind. It is probably this that *Ārūrar* refers to: "*Vāyār maṉattāl niṉaikkum avarukkā aruntavattil tūyār*",[2b] and '*Pukaḻttoṇṭar*'[2c] will become one of the names of *Pūcalār*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of this saint as *Bhōsala*, a *Brahmin* who pleased *Śiva* by his mental worship in a mental temple of his own.[3] The temple in *Tiṉṉaṉūr* is of '*Hṛdālayēśvarar*' or '*Maṉakkōyil koṇṭār*', probably built after this great incident. An inscription of *Dantivarmaṉ* and *Pūcalār's* image are found there. The lions of *Rājasiṁha's* pillars are also found and one of the statues found there is pointed out as that of a *Rājasiṁha* himself. Therefore, following Mr. Gopalan's conclusion, we may take that *Pūcalār* was a contemporary of *Rājasiṁha* and that *Kaḻaṟciṅkaṉ* as described by *Cēkkiḻār* was a contemporary of *Pūcalār*.

II

The 66th saint is *Maṅkaiyarkkaraciyār*. *Ārūrar* speaks of her as '*Māṉi*', '*Varivaḷaiyāḷ*', following *Campantar* who speaks of her as *Varivaḷaikkaimmaṭa* '*Māṉi*'[3a] *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* mentions her as '*Pāṇṭimātēviyām Māṉi*'. She was the wife of *Kuṉ Pāṇṭiya* and brought *Campantar* to *Maturai* to put down the *Jaina* influence. *Māṉi* or *Maṅkaiyarkkaraciyār* is mentioned by *Campantar*.[4] She was according to him the daughter of *Cōḻa*, *Maṇimuṭiccōḻaṉ*[5] ruling the world who patronized the path of the sacred ash; she was a beautiful person adorned with the sacred ash and full of *bhakti*.[6] The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions make her the daughter of *Pogaḻchōḻa* (*Pukaḻccōḻa*) and she is also called *Kulaśchari*.[7] The *Dārāsuram* sculptures represent her in *Pl. II. fig.* 13.[8] *Campantar*

2b. 7: 19: 10.
2c. 7: 19: 11.
3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, *p.* 10.
3a. 3: 120: 1.
4. 3: 120.
5. 3: 120: 9.
6 3: 120: 7.
7: *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1925, *p.* 10.
8. *MA.R.*, 1919-20,

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is there found seated. *Pāṇṭimātēvi* with her companion is found holding her hands in the *añjali* pose worshipping or welcoming *Campantar*, Behind *Campantar* stands a person probably *Kulaccirai*. At a distance stand two persons holding their hands in the *añjali* pose probably the followers of *Campantar* or the servants of the *Pāṇḍya* house-hold. The inscription underneath the sculpture speaks of her as *Pāṇṭimātēvi*.

III

The 67th saint is *Nēca Nāyaṉār*. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* makes him a native of *Kampili* and a weaver or '*cāliyaṉ*'. He wove clothes and loin cloths and presented them free to the *Śaivites*. No further details are given by *Cēkkiḻār*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of him as *Kēra Nāyaṉār* or *Snēhanātha*. One of the *Dārāsuram* sculptures[9] represent the story with the inscription *Nēsāṇḍār* beneath it. *Nēcāṇṭār* is there with his cloth coming from the waist to a point very much above the knee and with his tuft knotted to the left and a necklace probably of *Rudrākṣa*. He is holding up a loin cloth in his right hand which is in the act of being presented to a *Śaivite bhakta* who is found here with the sacred thread. *Kampili* is on the banks of *Tuṅgabhadra*. If our contention that *Tiruttoṇṭāttokai* is a list of *Tamiḻ* saints is correct, that *hymn* must have been sung in an age when the power of any one of the *Tamiḻ* kings extended up to *Tuṅgabhadra* and this could not have been after the time of *Nandivarma Pallava*. Some, however, point out that *Nēca Nāyaṉār* and *Tirumūlar* said to have come from *Kailās* are saints of the northern country. *Tirumūlar* got into the body of *Tamilian* shepherd according to the story. He must be considered to be an out and out *Tamilian*; for this description of a *Tamilian* can never refer to the soul but only to the body. Instead of making *Nēca Nāyaṉār* an exception to the rule, it is much better to look upon him as the saint of the *Tamiḻ* country living in the age of the great *Pallavas*.

IV

The 68th saint is *Kōcceṅkaṭ-cōḻa Nāyaṉār*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Teṉṉavaṉāy ulakāṇṭa Ceṅkaṇārkkaṭiyēṉ*,' — 'I am the servant of *Ceṅkaṇār* who ruled the world as the Emperor of the South.' *Teṉṉavaṉ* usually means the *Pāṇḍya*, but *Ārūrar* here uses it in the sense of the Southern ruler. It is from this point

9. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. II. fig.* 12.

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of view that *Cēkkiḻār* speaks of all the rulers who invaded South India or *Tamiḻ* Lands as the Northern kings or '*Vaṭapulattaracar*'. It is curious to note that *Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār* also refers to him as '*Ulakamāṇṭa Teṉṉāṭaṉ*' (*Tirunaṟaiyūrp patikam* 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 & 9) reminding us of *Ārūrar's* phrase '*Teṉṉavaṉāy Ulakāṇṭa*'.[10] He is also spoken of as the victor, the king of the northern country and the western *Koṅku*. It is *Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār* who gives us the information that he has built 70 temples to *Śiva*[11] and *Nampiyārūrar* refers to this *Cōḻa* king as one who built *Naṉṉilam temple*.[12] *Campantar* speaks of *Ampar temple*,[13] *Vaikal Māṭakkōyil*[14] and *Taṇṭalai nīl neṟi*[15] as having been built by this great *Cōḻa*.

Even by the time of these saints, his story has become a mythological one and a tradition in the *Tamiḻ* country. *Ārūrar* speaks of the previous birth of this king. God was pleased with a spider and made it *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*.[16] *Appar* and *Campantar* give a detailed version of this story. A spider put up a cobweb of a '*pantal*' with its saliva, covering it with dry leaves to form a canopy over the *liṅga* at *Tiruvāṉaikkā*. God was so pleased with the kind act of even this insect that he made it be born in the *Cōḻa* country of the *Kāviri* fame as *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*.[17] *Appar* states that as soon as this spider died, it was made king *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*.[18] The cause of its death is explained in the following way. There was an elephant which was also worshipping at *Tiruvāṉaikkā* according to the accepted practice, the elephant being the '*Airāvatha*' of *Indra*. The elephant looked upon the cobweb as so much rubbish and removed it. Thereupon the spider became enraged and got into the trunk of the elephant to give it trouble. The elephant dashed its trunk on the ground and the poor spider died. Lord *Śiva* appeared and blessed the spider to be born as the *Cōḻa* whilst the white elephant was allowed to return to Heavens. This story is given in detail by *Cēkkiḻār*. After having ruled the world as *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*, God allowed him to enter the group of *Śivagaṇas* in his next birth —

10. 7: 39: 11.
11. *Periya Tirumoḻi*, 6: 6: 8.
12. *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ cey kōyil*, 7: 98: 11.
13. 3: 19: 1; 5 & 9.
14. 3: 18: 2; 4 & 6.
15. 3: 50: 9.
16. *Ap.*, 65: 1 and *Camp.*, 2: 63: 7.
17. *Ap.* 49: 4; 233: 5; 236; 3; 278: 6; 287: 8; 288: 8.
18. 4: 49: 4.

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that is what *Appar* tells us.[19] *Campantar* also refers to the spider becoming the *Cōḷa*.[20] He begins to explain the name as "*Ceyya Kaṇ Iṟai*";[21] "*Ceyya Kaṇ Vaḷavaṉ*";[22] "*Ceṅkaṭpeyar Koṇṭavaṉ*"[23] though he mentions also the name *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*.[24] *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* speaks of this *Cōḷa* as one who never thought of any faith other than *Śaivism*. He refers to the spider becoming the king and building temples. He writes two verses:[25] In the first of it he gives the story of *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* and in the second he speaks of *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* as the ancestor of the king who passed away during the life of *Nampiyāṇṭār*, the king whom we identified with *Āditya I*.

Cēkkiḻār's story is much graphic and detailed. We had already referred to the spider and the elephant. The father of *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* according to *Periyapurāṇam* was *Śubhadēva* and his mother *Kamalāvati*. The parents worshipped at *Tillai*. The mother kept herself hanging upside down which reminds us of the birth of *Karikāla*[26] so that the child might be born in an auspicious hour to rule the whole world. After giving birth at the proper time, she expired. As soon as *Ceṅkaṇāṉ* grew up to manhood, the father abdicated the throne in his favour and returned to the forest as an ascetic. *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* built many temples, endowed them richly for their daily worship and for the *Brahmins* at *Tillai*. This mythological story is mentioned in the *Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭu* plates of *Rājēndra*. The *Kannada* and *Sanskrit* traditions translate his name as *Raktākṣa Cōḷa* and give us the story as found in *Periyapurāṇam*. One of the *Dārāsuram* sculptures gives us the representation of the story with the inscription *Kō-Seṅgapperumāḷ* underneath it.[27] In this sculpture there it a temple with the *vimāna* in which stands the king with the crown and flowing clothes with flying ends. He holds the hands in the *añjali* pose. The colophon to the *Puranāṉūṟu* (Verse 74) says that the verse was sung by *Cēramān Kaṇaikkāl Irumporai* who was defeated by *Cōḷaṉ Ceṅkaṇāṉ* and that he sang it before his death. But *Tamiḻ Nāvalar*

19. 296: 6.
20. 2: 63: 7.
21. 3: 19: 2.
22. 3: 18: 2.
23. 2: 23: 5.
24. 1: 48: 6; 3: 18: 4; 3: 50: 9:
25. *Tirut. Tiruvantāti*, 81, 82.
26. *Tāy vayiṟṟiruntu tāyam eyti—Porunarāṟṟuppaṭai.*
27. *A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. I. fig.* 11.

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caritai states that this verse was said to *Poykaiyār* by the *Cēramāṉ* and *Poikaiyār* sang the glories of the *Cōḷa* fight in *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu* to please the *Cōḷa* and obtain the release of his king and patron *Cēramāṉ*. The colophon to the *Caṅkam* poems is preferred to the statements in the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar caritai* but in the absence of any specific reference in this verse itself the *colophon* is not conclusive. It is clear from what we have been writing that *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ's* name has become one of mythological importance under whose name all sorts of stories grew sometimes as the stories of his previous birth, sometimes as the stories of his future birth. His name has come to be remembered as the greatest temple builder. He has built *Śiva* temples and also *Viṣṇu* temples. That is the tradition and it is very difficult to say whether he had built all the seventy *Śiva* temples himself. The names of his parents must have been invented in later times when high sounding *Sanskrit* terms captured the minds of people, long after the age of *Ārūrar*. It is not also clear whether the *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* of the *Caṅkam* age is this very *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ*, the saint and the temple builder. In any case, if *Appar* could be taken as having been born in the closing years of the sixth century at least one or two generations are necessary to have elapsed before him so as to enable the people of his times to believe in the story of the spider becoming the king.

Tirumaṅkaiyāḻvār refers to *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* in his two *hymns* on *Tirunaṟaiyūr*. He speaks of the temple there as a '*māṭakkōyil*' in his *Periya Tirumaṭal*. In the first of the *hymns*, he refers to the *Cōḷa* as *Ceṅkōl Valavaṉ*,[28] the correct reading should be *Ceṅkōl Vaḷavaṉ*. In the third *hymn* (6:6), in every verse he refers to this *Cōḷa*. The first verse speaks of him as *Cempiyaṉ Kōcceṅkāṇāṉ*. The second verse speaks of his greatness as the greatness of the *Kāviri*. The third verse refers to the battle of *Veṇṇi* in which he became victorious. He is there referred to have used a divine sword and the *Vaiṣnavite* commentators explain this reference as referring to a sword given by the Lord of *Tirunaṟaiyūr*. The 4th verse also refers to this battle-field. The 5th verse speaks of him as the Lord of the *Cōḷa* country, the northern country and the southern *Tamil* country, whereas in the 3rd verse and the 4th verse the *Āḻvār* was speaking of victorious kings

28. 6: 4: 3.

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defeated and killed. The 6th verse speaks of the chieftain *Viḷantaivēḷ* of the *Vēḷir* community who was conquered and killed by *Kōccēṅkaṇāṉ*, the Lord of the southern country and of the west *Koṅku*. The verse refers to him as *Kulaccōḷaṉ* and describes the greatness of *Kāviri*. The 8th verse refers to this *Cōḷa* building 70 *māṭakkōyil* to *Śiva* and his ruling the world. The old *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators state that this *Cōḷa* failed to get his desires fulfilled by the construction of those 70 *Śiva* temples and, therefore, took refuge in the feet of *Mahāviṣṇu* at *Tirunaṟaiyūr*. The 9th verse speaks of the battle of *Aḻuntai* where the *Cōḷa* cut away the bodies of kings. The battle of *Kaḻumalam* referred to in *Kaḷavaḻi Nāṟpatu* (36) "*Kaviri Nāṭaṉ Kaḻumalam koṇṭa nāḷ*" is not at all mentioned by this *Āḻvār*. Nor, is there, a reference to the *Cēra* mentioned in *Kaḷavaḻi*—"*Vañcikkō aṭṭa kaḷattu*" (39). One may doubt therefore whether this *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* is identical with the *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* of *Kaḷavaḻi*. The *Veṇṇi* battle reminds us of *Kārikāla* who defeated the *Cēra* king *Cēralātaṉ*.[29] But this must be a different battle. The *Cōḷa* seems to have been subduing the *Vēḷir* chieftains who were proclaiming themselves as this king and that king is mentioned in "*Pārāḷar aṟivar eṉṟu...*" (6:6).

V

The 69th saint is *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar*. The words of *Ārūrar*, are "*Tirunīlakaṇṭatup pāṇaṉārkkaṭiyēṉ*" — 'I am the servant of *Tirunīlakaṇṭattuppāṇaṉār*'. The usage of this form '*Tirunīlakaṇṭattu*' has already been noted when we were discussing *Tirunīlakaṇṭattuk kuyavaṉār*. This *Pāṇar* according to *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* is a native of *Erukkattampuliyūr* which *Cēkkiḻār* identifies with the village of that name in the *Cōḷa* country. His greatness according to *Nampiyāṇṭār* was that he accompanied *Campantar* and played the latter's *hymns* on his '*yāḻ*', that he was a *Perumpāṇaṉ*, that is one who uses the '*Pēriyāḻ*' and not the '*Ciṟiyāḻ*' of seven strings. *Cēkkiḻār* gives further details. The saint went to worship at *Maturai*. As ordered in their dreams, the *Śaivite bhaktas* took the *Pāṇa* to the presence of the Lord at *Tiruvālavāy* who pleased with the *Pāṇa's* song expressed in a voice heard in the empty space that the '*yāḻ*' would get out of time if placed on the cold floor and that, therefore, a beautiful plank should be given for placing the '*yāḻ*' on it. A gold plank was

29. *Akam*, 55.

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given accordingly. The *Pāṇa* went play on the *yāḻ* in all the temples till he met *Campantar* at *Cīkāḻi*. *Pāṇar* accompanied *Campantar* wherever the latter went and finally disappeared with him at the time of the marriage of *Campantar* to attain salvation. The story of the old plank is not even whispered by *Nampiyāṇṭār* and in the story found in *Tiruviḻaiyāṭal*, the name of the *Pāṇa* is *Pāṇapattiraṉ*, who in the time of *Varaguṇa* went to *Cēramaṉ* with a latter of introduction from Lord *Śiva*. Therefore, the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions speak of *Yāḻppāṇa Nāyaṉār* or *Tirunīlākaṇṭha*, a musician, famous for his devotional songs in praise of *Śiva* receiving valuable rewards from *Cēramāṉ*. But *Cēkkiḻār* does not so identify *Pāṇapattira* whose story he narrates in *Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār Purāṇam* with *Nīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar*. If both the *Pāṇas* are identical, this saint must be a younger contemporary of *Campantar* and the elder contemporary of *Cēramāṉ* probably also of *Ārūrar*. *Campantar* himself speaks of a *Pāṇa* singing the praises with great *bhakti* in accompaniment to music and receiving the blessings of the Lord:[30] "*Pāṇaṉicai pattimaiyāl pāṭutalum parintaḷittāṉ*"; "*Takkapūmaṉaic cuṟṟak karuḷoṭē tāramuyttatu Pāṇarkāruḷoṭē*"[31] is another reference. One of the *Dārāsuram* sculptures represents this story. We find the *Pāṇa* with his wife playing on the '*yāḻ*' in front of the temple which is half visible. We notice herein the old form of this *yāḻ*.[32]

VI

The 70th and the 71st saints are *Caṭaiyaṉār* and *Icaiñāṉiyār*. They are not counted that way by *Ārūrar*. In the portion of the last verse where he usually mentions his names as the author of the *hymn*, he describes himself as the son of *Caṭaiyaṉ* and *Icaiñāṉi*. The words of *Ārūrar* are, "*Eṉṉavaṉām araṉaṭiyē aṭaintiṭṭa Caṭaiyaṉ Icaiñāṉi kātalaṉ Tirunāvalūrkkōṉ aṉṉavaṉām Ārūran aṭimai kēṭṭuvappār Ārūril ammāṉuk kaṉpar āvāre*":[33] "They will become the lovers of the Lord of *Ārūraṉ*, those who are happy to listen to the servility of that *Ārūran*, the chief of *Tirunāvalūr*, the beloved son of ,*Icaiñāṉi* and *Caṭaiyan* who reached the feet of my *Hara*'. Thus, *Ārūrar* has not included them in the list of saints. The later generation cannot help including in the

30. 1: 62: 9.
31. 3: 115: 6.
11. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pl. I, fig.* 10.
33: 39: 11.

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list these two great personalities who brought forth *Ārūrār* into this world. *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* and *Cēkkiḻār* emphasize this greatness. An inscription of *Kulōttuṅka II* issued in the 7th year of his reign ends with the following words: "*Āḷuṭaiya Nampikaḷ mātākkaḷ Icaiñāṉiyār*" — "*Jñānī bhavatō Jñāṉaśivācārya kulē bhavat, Śaivē Gautama gōtrēsmin jñāṉyakhya Kamalāpure*".[34] This makes *Ārūrar*, a member of the *Gautama gōra*; the name *Nampiyārūrar* was also the name of his grand-father of *Tiruvārūr*. It is rather curious that *Cēkkiḻar* does not give the particulars about his *gōtra*. The *Dārāsuram* sculptures give us their pictures.[35] Plate 8 represents *Icaiñāṉiyar* and plate 9 represents *Caṭaiyaṉār*. *Caṭaiyaṉār* has a beard and mustache and sacred thread. The cloth is found flowing, thus emphasizing his importance. The mother has no upper cloth. She wears ear-rings, necklace, and bangles. If what the *Mysore Archaeological Report* (1925) states is correct, the *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions make *Jaḍenāyaṉār* or *Nīlajñāni Kapardi*, the father of *Tiruñāṉacampantar*, whilst *Yasyajñāni* is made the mother of *Campantar*. But it is also mentioned there that *Jaṭēśvara* was the father of *Ārūrar* and *Sujñānini*, the mother of *Ārūrar*.

34. *S.I.I. Vol. VII No.* 485, *p.* 298.
35. *M.A.R.*, 1919-20, *Pls.* 8, & 9.

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CHAPTER I

PART II

THE *TOṆṬAR* (DEVOTEES) AND THEIR RELIGION

I

WORSHIP: CLASSIFICATION:

All those various kinds of worship, mentioned in *Part I*, of the saints may be brought under certain well-known heads. Though the details given by the modern tradition and the tradition that may be taken to have been known to *Nampiyāṇṭār* may differ, the underlying principles are all the same in both cases. We have more of miracles and more of aggressive and punitive acts, elaborated in the later day tradition. But that does not affect the fundamental basis of the worship of these saints. We have the importance of temple worship brought out through the lives of many saints.

Building temples, digging tanks attached to these temples, Temple worship, *Liṅga* worship, offering rice *etc.* as *naivēdya*, lighting lamps, burning incense, offering sandal paste, offering various requirements of musical instruments, *abhiṣēka* to the *Liṅga* inside or outside the temples, attending and performing the festivals to the temples — all these come under the general head of temple worship.

The *Āgamas* dealing with temple worship were probably in existence at the time of *Ārūrar*, and people were in search of these *Āgamas* in general. But, though we know of *Brahmin* priests like *Pukaḻttuṇai*, *Murukaṉ* and *Śivakōcariyar*, members of other castes were also known to have acted as priests at the temples, as is learnt from the following verse of *Campantar*:

> *"Patta rōṭu palarum poliyam malar aṅkaia puṉal tūvi*
> *Otta colli ulakattavar tāmtoḻu tētta uyar ceṉṉi*
> *Mattam vaitta perumāṉ piriyā turaikiṉṟa valitāyam*
> *Cittam vaita aṭiyār avarmēl aṭaiyāmaṟ ṟiṭarnōyē".*[1]

1. 1: 3: 1.

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'many, along with the *bhaktas*, shower the shining flowers and water from the palms of their hand. The people of the world praise and worship, uttering what is appropriate. The Lord resides there, at *Valitāyam*, He, who has placed the '*matta*' flower on His towering crown. Obstacles and diseases inflict not the devotees who place within their heart this *Valitāyam*'.

The belief, in the sacred ash (*Vibhūti*), in *rudrākṣa*, in the *mantra pañcākṣara*, in the *Śrī Rudram* of the *Vēda* — forms part of *Āgamic* worship. The reverence for the name *Tirunīlakaṇṭha* implies the popularity of the *Purāṇic* stories and a recitation of *Purāṇas* has become part of temple worship. Singing of *hymns* and playing them on musical instruments are also connected with temple worship. Pilgrimages to holy places sanctified by temples became a common habit of pious people. Certain places became '*tīrthas*' (holy places) and people born there were looked upon as *Śivagaṇas* as was seen in the story of *Naminānti aṭikaḷ*, one of the 63 *Śaiva* saints.

The rules of the rituals were not always strictly followed. What was considered important was the love of God as is seen by the story of *Kaṇṇappar* and that of *Cākkiya Nāyaṉār*. The performance of *pūjā* or worship will come under the head *Kriyā mārga*, whilst the other services will come under the head *Caryā mārga*.

We have also cases of private or individual worship of '*liṅga*' as in the case of *Saṇḍēśvara* as contrasted with the public worship within the temple. There are also cases of mental worship: the life of *Pūcalār* and *Vāyilār* illustrate this aspect of worship which may be looked upon as *Yōga*: *Perumiḻalaik kuṟumpar* and *Kaḷaṟiṟaṟivār* are looked upon as great *Yōgis*.

The next important head under which the activities of the saints could be brought is the worship of the *Śaivite aṭiyārs*. First come those saints who were great because of their admiration and reverence for the three great *Tēvāram* saints. *Kaṇanāta* worshipped *Campantar*. *Āppūti* worshipped *Appar*. *Perumiḻaḻaikkuṟumpar* worshipped *Ārūrar*. There are also other saints who were contemporaries of these great men. Irrespective of the greatness of *Śaivite aṭiyārs*, it was thought that one should offer one's service to the *aṭiyārs* in general looking upon them as no other than the Lord *Śiva* Himself.

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The reverence for the outward form is clearly brought out in the stories of *Ēṉātinātar*, *Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār*, *Pukaḻccōḻa Nāyaṉār* and *Kaḻarirṟaṟivār Nāyaṉār*. The saints were prepared to offer their all and sacrifice their dearest and nearest as well as their own lives. This is explained os *Caryā mārga*. Following the path of the Lord, according to *Vaiṣṇavism*, is *Sāra Dharma*, the good; surrender to Him is *Sāratara Dharma*, the better; surrender to His followers is *Sāratama Dharma*, the best. Therefore, it is said: "God would forgive an offence to Himself but an offence to His devotees—*aṭiyārs*—was unpardonable: *Bhāgavatāpachāra* was more heinous than *Bhagavadapachara*". The cult of the worship of *Śaivite aṭiyārs* has taken a definite form by the time of *Ārūrar*. *Viṟaṉmiṇṭar* laid the emphasis on the worship of the *aṭiyārs* rather than on the worship of God Himself. *Tirumūlar* explains the significance of this cult in his famous verse in *Tirumantiram*:

"*Paṭamāṭak kōyiṟ pakavarkoṉ ṟīyil*
Naṭamāṭak kōyil namparkkaṅ kākā
Naṭamāṭak kōyil namparkkoṉ ṟīyil
Paṭamāṭak kōyiṟ pakavarka tāmē".[2]

(*Paṭamāṭum*, *Naṭamāṭum*, *Naṭamāṭum* and *Paṭamāṭum* are other readings for *Paṭamāṭa*, *Naṭamāṭa*, *Naṭamāṭa* and *Paṭamāṭa*).

There remain the great saints and mystic philosophers who have given their experience in the forms of *hymns* and verses containing the quintessence of *Jñānamārga*, such as *Campantar*, *Appar*, *Ārūrar*, *Kāraikkāl ammaiyār*, *Tirumūlar*, *Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar*, *Aiyaṭikal* and possibly also *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Yāḻppāṇar* who expressed the great truths of *Campantar's* poems in the language of music.

II

SADHAKAS AND SIDDHAS:

We have been talking of *Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yōga* and *Jñāna mārgas* in relation to these saints, but these are only the means of attaining the final realization or *siddhi*. A reference to these *mārgas* can be justified only if we look upon these saints as *sādhakas* or probationers. But, if they are *siddhas*, who have attained realization, it will be absurd to speak of these means. But, as will be

2. 1857.

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explained or pointed out later, we can look upon these *mārgas* (paths) as being followed by even the released souls for '*lōkasaṅgraha*'—for the benefit of the world at large: "*Kaṭṭu mayakkam aṟuttavar kaitoḻutu ēttumiṭam*" says *Ārūrar*.[2a] *Bhakti* itself is distinguished as '*Parā bhakti*' or '*Sādhya bhakti*' which is nothing else than the immortal bliss of freedom (*Mukti*) itself. It comes unsolicited, by the Grace of God and self sacrifice. Upon gaining it, man realizes his perfection and divinity, and becomes thoroughly contented. He desires nothing more. He is then free from grief and hatred; he does not rejoice over anything, nor does he exert himself in the furtherance of self-interest. The realization makes him intoxicated and fascinated as it were, because he is completely immersed in the bliss of the *Paramātman*.

Cēkkiḻār brings out the greatness of these *siddhas* in the introductory part of the *Periyapurāṇam* called *Tirukkūṭṭaccirppu*: "Their mind is pure and white like the sacred ash besmeared on their body. Even if the elements go astray, their minds will not swerve from the love of God. To them gold and potsherd are the same. They care not even for *Mōkṣa*, if only they could be assured of loving worship. They have no burden other than the service of the Lord, these merciful lovers and heroes wanting in nothing (*vv.* 6-8)". "*Iccuvai tavira yāṉ pōy intiralōkam āḷum accuvai periṉum vēṇṭēṉ*".[2b] "*Paṭiyāyk kiṭantu uṉ pavaḷavāy kāṇpēṉē*"[3] are the oft quoted versions of the *Āḻvārs*. The verse of *Appar*,

> "*Kuṉitta puruvamum kovvaiccev vāyir kumiṇcirippum*
> *Paṉitta cataiyum pavaḷampōṉ mēṉiyir pāḷveṇṇīṟum*
> *Initta muṭaiya eṭuttapor pāṭamum kāṇapperrāl*
> *Maṉittap piṟaviyum vēṇṭuva tēyinta mānillatte*"[4]

best illustrates his mind as a *siddha*.

The question arises why they should follow any rules or rituals if they had become '*Jīvaṉmuktas*'. The *Nārada Bhakti Sūtras* give the answer: "Let a man have care for the scriptural teachings, even after his spiritual realization becomes well established. For otherwise there is the risk of fall (of others). Social customs and practices also may be followed, in a like manner, to

2a. 7: 10: 7.
2b. *Tirumālai*, 2.
3. *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*, 4: 9.
4. *H.* 81, *v.* 4.

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that extent only; but activities like taking food, may be continued to the measure necessary for the preservation of health of the body until it falls off in its natural course."[5] As *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār* puts it, though the saints may be behaving like ordinary men, they become identified with *Śiva* and all their acts are the acts of the Lord.[6] It is because of this *Śivajñānabōdham* in its last *sūtram* emphasizes temple worship and worship of the *aṭiyārs*:

"*Cemmalar nōṉṟāḷ cēraloṭṭā*
Ammalaṅkaḷīi aṉparoṭu marīi
Mālaṟa nēyam malintavar vēṭamum
Ālayam tāṉum Araṉeṉat toḻumē".

Ārūrar in enumerating the saints in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* would not have looked upon them as mere *Sādhakas*, He falls at their feet in almost every line of his verses because he feels that they have attained *siddhi* (realization).

III

SIGNIFICATION OF THE GROUPING OF ATIYARS:

The penultimate verse of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, a verse which we have reserved for consideration here, is important as giving us an idea of his classification of the *Śaivite* saints. That verse is said to give a list of groups of *Śāivite* saints not specifically mentioned in that *hymn*. According to him the saints are classified as follows:

(1) *Pattarāyp paṇivār*, (2) *Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvar*, (3) *Cittattaic civaṉpālē vaippār*, (4) *Tiruvārūrppiṟantār*, (5) *Muppōtum tirumēṉi tīṇṭuvār*, (6) *Muḻunīṟu pūciya muṉivar* and (7) *Appālum aṭic cārntār*.

Muppōtum tirumēṉi tīṇṭuvār are those who worship the '*liṅga*' thrice a day at the temple or elsewhere. *Cēkkiḻār* would take them as *Śaiva Brahmin* priests. But, as already mentioned, others like *Kaṇṇappar* and *Cākkiyar* could be brought under this head.

Tiruvārūrppiṟantār, as already noted, exemplify the cult of holy places connected with temple worship. Or, this may mean that the worshippers in a temple and all the people born in that holy place, appear to be sacred and holy, to be worshipped by all.

5. *Sūtras*, 12-14.
6. 12, 51-56, 64.

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This gives us the high ideal these saints had about society, and service to society, without any distinction. It is not the followers of their religion alone that are looked upon as worthy of their service but all the people in general. The *Śaivites* have been thus living as far as their ideal is concerned in a classless and casteless society—a society of devotees.

Muḻunīṟu pūciya muṉivar are those holy people who smear themselves with the sacred ash (*Vibhūti*) as the outward symbol for the inner purity of their heart.

Pattarāyp paṇivār are those who worship the *Śaivite aṭiyārs*. '*Paṇital*' emphasizes bending low in humility and service.

Cittattaic civaṉpālē vaippār are those saints great for their mental worship and *yōga*. *Cittam* emphasizes the mental contemplation.

Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār then refers to poets. The emphasis is on the *karaṇa*—tongue or speech. They are the mystic poets like our *Tēvāram* authors.

It is thus clear that *Ārūrar* is emphasizing the very principles we had analysed in the philosophy of temple worship and holy places, the principle of mental worship, of mystic poetry, of the greatness of outward form and a reverential feeling therefor.

Appālum aṭiccārntār is mentioned to cover cases not mentioned anywhere else. *Cēkkiḻār* takes it as referring to the lovers of God beyond the limits of the *Tamiḻ* country and those who might have lived before and after the age of *Ārūrar*, thus conceiving a democratic family of the lovers of God in the whole Universe and of all times.

IV

NATURE OF THE WORSHIPPER—INTRODUCTION:

The various difficulties one feels in understanding *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, may drive one to conclude that it was perhaps not from the pen of *Nampiyārūrar*. But the ideas contained therein are found in other verses of *Nampi Ārūrar*. Some of the names of the saints are referred to by *Namp; Ārūrar*, as already pointed out by us.[7] The philosophy of service to *bhaktas* has been deve-

7. *Part I* of this *Volume*.

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loping both in *Śaivism* and *Vaiṣṇavism*. *Kulaśekhara's hymn*, "*Teṭṭarunti ṟattēṉ*" has become famous because of this philosophy; and provision has been made for reciting this *hymn* in the temples, as is borne out by very early inscriptions. *Nampi Ārūrar's* poems may be examined from this point of view.

The various forms of the Lord as described in the *Purāṇa* and as appealing to our poet have been described at length in our study of our poet's *purāṇic* mysticism.[8] That study gives us our poet's conception of his God. In the duality of the religious predicament of God and His worshipper, the Deity and the devotee, after an account of the nature of God, that of the worshipper is taken for consideration here:

V

WORSHIP OFFERINGS:

The *pūjā* or worship by the *aṭiyārs* or followers of God is referred to by our *poet*[9] as *Pūcai* or *Pūcaṉai*. This forms part of *Kriyā mārga*. We have the descriptions of the worship by *Saṇḍēśvara*,[10] *Agastya*,[11] *Brahma*,[12] *Viṣṇu*[13] and the Mother Goddess.[14] *Muppōtum Tirumēṉi tīṇṭuvār* come under this head. The symbol, image, or idol of God is placed before the worshipper and God is felt or imagined to incarnate Himself in that form.[15] Usually this form is a *liṅga*; in another place we have explained the various kinds of *liṅgas*.[16] *Saṇḍēśvara* makes a *liṅga* out of sand.[17] *Agastya* makes a '*tāpara*' (*stāvara*) *liṅga*, *i.e.*, an immobile *liṅga*.[18]

V (a)

Offerings are made to this Lord incarnating in the image. Any leaf or a hand ful of water is enough to please the Lord who

8. *Vol., II*
9. 7: 9: 2; 7: 19: 8; 7: 30: 6:
10. 7: 16: 3.
11. 7: 65: 5.
12. 7: 16: 10.
13. 7: 19: 2; 7: 66: 3.
14. 7: 16: 1; 7: 61.
15. 7: 16: 3; 7: 65: 6.
16. *Vol.* 1.
17. 7: 16: 3.
18. 7: 65: 5.

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is hungering for the love of the souls. It may be any leaf but the worshippers see it is green; it may be any water but they see it is clear without any foam — "*Nocciyam paccilaiyāl nurai tīr puṉalāl toḻuvār*".[19] Our poet brings out this truth in his statement, "*Ilaiyāl aṉpāl ēttumavar*"[20] — 'Those who praise Him with leaves out of love'. Does not the Lord of the *Gītā* say that He accepts (eats) even leaves?[21] The Lord is pleased with the loving offering of flower.[22] *Viṣṇu* has offered his own eye when there was a shortage of flowers.[23]

But usually the worshippers do not stop with the leaves. They offer the Lord, flowers and they are fragrant flowers[24] blooming with all freshness[25] and beauty inviting the humming bees.[26] They offer the best of flowers.[27] All the flowers of the land are there for the Lord and the worshippers offer them as great *tapas*.[28] Of those flowers eight have become sacred to the *Śaivites* which are, '*puṉṉai*', '*veḷḷerukku*', '*caṇpakam*', '*nantiyāvaṭṭam*', '*nīlōtpalam*', '*pātiri*', '*alari*' and '*centāmarai*'.[29] They offer this with their own broad munificent hands.[30] Compare the *Gītā* calling them '*udārāh*'.[31] They offer it on his feet in a feeling of self-surrender — "*Aṭimēl alariṭṭu nalla toṇṭaṅkaṭi paravi*".[32] They themselves carry the water in a pot and the flowers, performing thus the service of the Lord who becomes pleased with them and dances.[33] They go all pure and holy after they had bathed every day without fail in water.[34] They pluck the flowers with their own hands and weave out a beautiful garland out of love which

19. 7: 98: 3.
20. 7: 94: 9.
21. "*Patram puṣpam phalam tōyam yo mē bhaktyā prayaccatih..... asnāmi*"—*Bhagavatgītā*, 9: 26.
22. 7: 19: 8.
23. 7: 19: 2; 7: 66.
24. 7: 8: 3.
25. 7: 41: 9; 7: 86: 3.
26. 7: 23: 4.
27. 7: 84: 2.
28. 7: 82: 6.
29. 7: 22: 8.
30. 7: 57: 4; 7: 84: 2.
31. 7: 18.
32. 7: 22: 2.
33. 7: 6: 5.
34. 7: 30: 3.

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knows no break.[35] Flowers are offered in plenty.[36] The offering of water is also made and it is said that it is made eastward (to the Sun as a form of the Lord).[37] These offerings of flower and water are made to the accompaniment of the *mantras* which the worshippers recite.[38] Some offer these flowers with the *mantras* of the *Ṛg Vēda*.[39]

The water is not only given as offering but the Lord is bathed in water.[40] The Lord is bathed not only in water but also in the five sweet (*tēṉ*) things of the cow.[41] The five of the cow are — milk, curd, butter or ghee, cow-dung and cow-urine. Of these the milk occupies the pre-eminent position.[42] One may at once distinguish milk, curd and ghee from the other two and these are, therefore, specifically mentioned.[43] Honey also is mentioned as an article in which the Lord is bathed.[44] The word used is '*Tēṉ*' and this, as already pointed out, refers also to the sweet fluids of the cow.[45] The idea behind this bath seems to be that the worshippers should realize that the Lord is the inner light within these various objects of worship and that the various organic processes are a divine mystery.

Indian life is characterized by the co-operation of the best and the man. The cultivation is the basic occupation of this country and when the harvest is made, man gets his share of rice and the bull gets its share of straw and grass. The grass becomes the life blood of the cow but when the cow is the loving mother, its blood undergoes a wonderful and mysterious change by becoming the milk — the ideal food, containing in a miraculous way all the necessary elements in the right proportion. This milk undergoes further change into the curd, the best protein food, and the ghee, the best fat food, the milk becoming the curd in the stomach and the ghee being absorbed by the body in its digestible organic

35. 7: 30: 3; 7: 94: 2.
36. 7: 83: 2.
37. 7: 84: 4.
38. 7: 30: 6.
39. 7: 78: 3.
40. 7: 88: 3.
41. 7: 17: 4; 7: 19: 5; 7: 40: 7; 7: 53: 9; 7: 61: 8; 7: 68: 2; 7: 87: 6; 7: 88: 3; 7: 97: 3.
42. 7: 61: 8; 7: 68: 2.
43. 7: 5: 1; 7: 15: 6; 7: 19: 5; 7: 84: 7; 7: 70: 9.
44. 7: 70: 9.
45. 7: 88: 3.

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form through the small intestines. The live process continues and the water and the undigested fibres are thrown out as refuse — the urine and the cow-dung — by the kidney and the colon respectively. This refuse is valued by men not only as the manure but also as the plaster for beautifying the mud walls and floors of their habitat. The biologists speak of the nitrogen cycle. Here comes in the co-operation of Nature and living beings. The refuse goes back to the land to enrich it with all that it had willingly given away for the growth of the plant on which we live. All this is looked upon by the *Hindus* and *Śaivites* including our poet as a mystery explicable only as a divine consummation. In every one of the stages, God is found in all His creative glory and this is the significance of this bath of the cow's five (*pañcagavya*). *Abhiṣēka* may be generalized as revealing this inner truth of all the sweet things we love, as God. We offer God unto God and we partake of it as God, a wonderful transubstantion. We. therefore, love, move and have our being in God.

Incense is also offered; *Bhaktas* worship Him with the rich fragrant smoke.[46] The worshippers besmear themselves with the sacred ash.[47] "*Muḻunīru pūciya muṉivar*" are those great men.[48] Purification through a bath in water has already been referred to.[49]

Here, a distinction is made between '*Caryā*' and '*Kriyā*'. When one brings the flower, water, *etc.*, for the worship in the temple, that is when the *pūjā* is not one's own, it is *Caryā* — it is service — '*Toṇṭāṭal*' or *Toṇṭu pūṇal*[50] — taking up a vow of service;[51] '*Kuṟṟēval ceyyal*' — performing all menial services.[52] Has not *Kulaśēkharar* said that he will follow the Lord carrying the spittoon?[53] The *Bhaktas* are thus practising themselves for living in His service.[54] They take care of Him as a parent.[55] Those who perform worship in the temple are called '*Akattaṭimai*',[59] the ser-

46. 7: 82: 6.
47. 7: 30: 2; 7: 30: 6.
48. 7: 39: 10.
49. 7: 30: 3, *etc.*
50. 7: 15: 9.
51. 7: 24: 4.
52. 7: 14: 9; 7: 17: 1; 7: 26: 4; 7: 30: 8.
53. *Perumāḷ Tirumoḻi*—4: 3.
54. 7: 77: 4.
55. *Pēṇal*—7: 56: 5; 7: 92: 8.
56. 7: 9: 6.

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vants of the interior like *Muruka Nāyaṉār* and *Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṉār*.

It must be noted that the *Caryā* mentioned in some of the references are really *Caryā* in *Jñāna*; for, the *Jñāni* who has realized God has to perform acts whilst alive and his *Caryā* is the *Caryā* in *Jñāa*.

Fruits intended for the beloved are also offered and this is mentioned with reference to the worship by a loving couple of monkeys which worship on the mountains at every one of the *Sandhyas* with water and flower.[57] *Kaṇṇappar's* story tells us that food also was offered to God.

Going round the Lord or the couple from the right side of the Lord is another item of this worship —"*Cūḻum valam ceytu*".[58] Circumambulation is referred to with reference to *Muttāru* which is conceived by our poet as his comrade in worship.[59]

VI

TIME OF WORSHIP:

This kind of worship is offered every day.[60] The morning worship[61] is important as it begins the day with the sacred thought. The phrases '*Toḻutēḻuvār*'[62] *Cintitteḻuvār*,[63] '*Vaḻipāṭuceyteḻuvār*'[64] aud '*Niṉainteḻavār*',[65] are important. The second word of these phrases is '*eḻuvar*', *i.e.*, those who wake up. The first words are '*Toḻutal*' (bowing down), '*Cintittal*' (think of Him), '*Vaḻipaṭal*' (worship Him) and '*Niṉaital*' (contemplate on Him). The phrases as they stand mean that worship occurs first and then the waking. This is an impossibility. Unless this worship is something like a dream-waking, it can occur only after one wakes up. Therefore, Subrahmanya Diksitar (the commentator on *Tamiḻ Prayōkavivēkam*) changes the word order and interprets them as '*Eḻuntu toḻuvār*' *etc.*, those who wake up and worship. This

57. 7: 92: 7.
58. 7: 83: 2.
59. 7: 43: 10.
60. 7: 20: 1; 7: 50: 7; 7: 61: 8.
61. 7: 41: 5.
62. 7: 74: 1.
63. 7: 4: 3.
64. 7: 82: 3.
65. 7: 61: 8.

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is making prose of poetry. But this '*Eḻuntu toḻuvār*' is also referred to by our poet.[66] Hence these phrases should have a special significance. These phrases refer to a different mental state and these have been interpreted by *Parimēlaḻakar* and *Pērāciriyar* to mean that the worshippers always contemplate on God, that their last thought before they sleep is their worship of the Lord, that their first thought on waking up at dawn is the same worship and that, therefore, they wake up thus with the thought of worshipping the Lord. Worshipping and waking are said to occur simultaneously. As worship is the continuous act, it is spoken of in the past tense. This reveals a spiritual stage called '*Sahaja niṣṭā*'.

The worship is sometimes performed twice—'*Irupoḻutum*';[67] '*Irupōtum*',[68] at dawn and at dusk or at day and night.[69] Day and night may also mean always, when the worship will be '*Sahaja niṣṭā*'. But the worship in the morning and in the evening is clearly referred to — "*Kālaiyilum mālaiyilum*".[70] There is also the worship thrice a day. The *Sandhya* worship is offered at morning, noon and evening. Therefore, our poet also speaks of '*Canti mūṉṟu*'[71] — "three *sandhyas*; '*Mūṉṟu pōtu*'[72]—at the three points of the day. This is described as two joints of the day morning and evening along with midday — "*Antiyum naṇpakalum*".[73] The expression "*Iravum elliyum pakalum*"[74] is not clear. Can we take '*Iravu*' to denote the evening, '*Elli*', morning and '*Pakal*', the midday? Then this expression will mean, worship at the three points of the day. Or, can we take the expression to mean, the night, the morning and the evening *sandhyas* and the midday? Then it will mean worship always, that is '*Sahaja niṣṭā*'. Every day at these *sandhis*, the Lord is adorned with flowers like the beautiful ruddy sky.[75] The worship at midnight (*Naṭumāḷ*) and day (*Pakal*) is also spoken of with reference to the 'single

66. 7: 41: 5.
67. 7: 83: 2.
68. 7: 50: 7.
69. 6: 14: 8.
70. 7: 16: 8.
71. 7: 65: 5.
72. 7: 30: 3.
73. 7: 83: 1.
74. 7: 75: 8.
75. 7: 88: 7.

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legged Beings',[76] uttering the *Ṛg Vēda*, standing like elephants sprinkling the mountain spring water.[77] '*Naṭunāḷ*'[78] is midnight, probably because the ancient *Tamilians* counted the day from the midday to the next midday. The '*Naṭunāḷ*' worship will answer to the '*Ardhajāma pūjā*' of the present day.

All this is the '*pūcai*'[79] or '*pūcaṇai*'[80] which is called in *Tamiḻ* '*Vaḻipāṭu*'.[81] The life of this *pūjā* is *bhāvanā*. Our poet speaks of '*Pāvittal*'.[82] This *bhāvanā* has three levels: one is mental imagination, where mind is one with *prakṛti*, *i.e.*, with '*Paśu karaṇa*'; the second is the contemplation of the *jīva* which is with the '*Pati karaṇa*'; the third is the contemplation out of '*Aruḷ*' or Divine Grace. Here comes the mystic vision blossoming into beatific vision.[83] The worshippers contemplate on Him and praise Him with offerings of flowers and frankincense.[84] This worship becomes a *tapas*.[85] The worship of the Mother Goddess is described as *tapas*.[86] Love is the soul of this *pūjā*.[87] Bowing down, falling at the feet, touching them with our head, and bringing hands together, one palm facing the other palm in what is called the *añjali* pose are all mentioned — "*Nīḷ nīḷ muṭi vāṉavar vantiṟaiñcum*";[88] "*Muṭiyāl vāṉavarkaḷ muyaṅkal*";[89] "*Aṭi toḻal*";[90] "*Aṭi vīḻtal*";[91] "*Aṭi toḻuvār*";[92] "*Kai toḻal*";[93] "*Kaikaḷāl kūppi*".[94] *Kūpputal* is *añjali Vaṇaṅkutal* is bowing down:[95] "*Talaiyāl tālum*".[96]

76. 7: 78: 3.
77. 7: 78: 3.
78. 7: 78: 3.
79. 7: 30: 6.
80. 7: 5: 1; 7: 9: 2.
81. 7: 82: 3; 7: 92: 7.
82. 7: 31: 6; 7: 48: 1; 7: 54: 5; 7: 57:
83. *Ciṟṟurai p.* 124; *Pāṭiyam, p.* 402 of *Śivajñānabōdham.*
84. 7: 82: 6.
85. 7: 82: 6.
86: 7: 16: 1.
87. 7: 94: 9.
88. 7: 3: 9.
89. 7: 26: 7.
90. 7: 14: 12.
91. 7: 4: 10:
92. 7: 82: 3.
93. 7: 14: 8; 7: 20: 1; 7: 57: 8.
94. 7: 22: 5.
95. 7: 8: 3.
96. 7: 94: 9.

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VII

TRIKARANA:

The worship is through all the *trikaraṇas* — body, speech and mind. The poet asserts that he has dedicated his head, tongue and mind to the services of the Lord.[97] The poetry is itself a worship as *Cēkkiḻār* says, "*Arccaṉai pāṭṭē ākum*"[97a] and this is a peculiar kind of worship in which our poet has specialized. These worshippers sing; they speak of Him in many ways; they compose verses of various rhythms. They cease not singing. Even as their speech becomes the art of poetry and music, their movements inspired by the thought of the Lord become the dance. They praise him in whatever way they are capable of — "*Vallatellām colli vāḻttal*".[98] They sing his praises — "*Pōṟṟicaittal*";[99] they praise His feet — '*Ukantēṭṭi*'.[100] They live in this praise of their love even as they live in His presence. '*Sōttu*' is their cry of refuge.[101] '*Aṭi pōṟṟi*'[102] is another form of this cry of self surrender.

Their uttering of the *mantras* is referred to.[103] There is again the repetition of the names of the Lord, His thousand names,[104] and His many names.[105] "I have been blessed with the repetition of your name";[106] "Thanks to my good old fortune" sings our poet. Learning the sacred name,[107] the name of All Power,[108] the worshippers praise Him with these names.[109] This practice has soaked through his body and the poet exclaims, "Even if I forget, my tongue shall utter the *mantra*, *Namaśśivāya*".[110] Here also it is the mind which moves. "The Lord, He stands in the mouth of those who contemplate on Him with their mind".[111]

97. 7: 14: 1.
97a. *Tatut.*, 70.
98. 7: 5: 4.
99. 7: 98: 1.
100. 7: 22: 5.
101. 7: 2: 1; 7: 67: 4; 7: 92: 6.
102. 7: 98: 1.
103. 7: 83: 1.
104. 7: 18: 3; 7: 44: 7; 7: 53: 7; 7: 56: 1.
105. 7: 48: 9.
106. 7: 66: 4.
107. 7: 3: 8.
108. 7: 82: 5.
109. 7: 48: 9.
110. 7: 48: 1-9.
111. 7: 19: 10.

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Learning His name has been referred to. It becomes thus an art and the worshippers practise this art. They learn it, listen to it and repeat thereby the greatness of the Lord, reciting, praising and contemplating on the various *hymns* of praises (probably *Tamiḻ hymns* and *Vēdic mantras*) full of the glory of words and their meanings.[112] The Lord thus is the meaning of all arts and becomes sympathetic with the *Sahṛdya* who experiences the art as the Seer.[113] "The worshippers recite and learn; they realize the meaning; they think of Lord's greatness; contemplate on it. Their hearts melt in love. Appropriate words come out as sound."[114] The words of praise as far as *Ārūrar* is concerned are *Tamiḻ* words.[115] All these descriptions suggest the worshippers taking pleasure in these names even as the beloved does in the name of her lover.

Mind is much more important than the tongue and the body, for, it is the mind which moves them. Out of the fullness of the heart the mouth speaketh: "*Maṉattu mikkatu vāy veruvum*" is a familiar saying. "*Vāy veruvit toḻutēṉ*"[116] sings our poet. We referred to the phrases '*Cintitteḻuvār*',[117] '*niṉainteḻuvār*'[118] *etc.* The worshippers are steeped ever in this contemplation. It becomes a *sahajaniṣṭā*, where the contemplation with God as centre becomes as natural as our very breathing. The worshippers there sit, they lie, they walk, but all along, they think of Him and utter with all their heart, "He is our Lord".[119] They sit, stand and lie, but they praise Him always,[120] ... wherever they may be, they always think of Him[121] and He becomes one with them.[122] They think Him for long — "*Nīḻa niṉaintu*".[123] They think of Him and nothing else — "*Nuṉaiyē niṉaintiruntēṉ*";[124] "*Uṉaiyallāl iṉiyoṉṟum uṇarēṉē*".[125]

112. 7: 16: 5.
113. 7: 59: 3.
114. 7: 84: 2.
115. 7: 69: 4; 7: 84: 10.
116. 7: 58: 5.
117. 7: 4: 3.
118. 7: 61: 8.
119. 7: 11: 2.
120. 7: 95: 10.
121. 7: 23: 2.
122. 7: 23: 2.
123. 7: 20: 1.
124. 7: 21: 1.
125. 7: 26: 9.

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VIII

CITTATTAIC CIVANPALE VAIPPAR:

The importance of the mind even in *pūjā* has been already brought out. The verbs used are, "*Eṇṇal*";[126] "*Karututal*";[127] "*Cintittal*";[128] "*Uṇartal*";[129] "*Aṟital*";[130] "*Uḷkutal*";[131] "*Pāvittal*";[132] "*Niṉaital*";[133] "*Paraval*";[134] "*Cintai ceytal*".[135] The nouns used are, "*Uḷḷam*";[136] "*Cittam*";[137] "*Cintai*";[138] "*Mati*";[139] "*Maṉam*";[140] "*Neñcu*";[141] "*Niṉaippu*";[142] *Karuttu*";[143] and "*Bhāvanā*".[144] Sometimes these words are used as synonyms; sometimes they are distinguished. *Namputal*,[145] *Kuḻaital*,[146] *Kacital*,[147] *Nekutal*,[148] *Urukutal*,[149] *Ēlutal*,[150] *Aṭicērtal*,[151] *Ceṟital*,[152] *Teḷital*,[153] *Terital*,[154] *Cikkaṉavu*,[155] *Tēṟal*[155a] are also used with reference to these mental acts. What is important in this worship is '*Cintai*' which contemplates and in many places it is the '*Cintaṉai*' and its acts

126. 7: 11: 2; 7: 75: 6.
127. 7: 6: 7; 7: 90: 8.
128. 7: 4: 3; 7: 61: 1; 7: 61: 8; 7: 67: 7; 7: 77: 1.
129. 7: 84: 3; 7: 84: 8.
130. 7: 74: 2, 3, 4.
131. 7: 59: 7; 7: 61: 10; 7: 92: 4; 7: 96: 5; 7: 97: 10.
132. 7: 57: 2; 7: 59: 10; 7: 61: 2.
133. 7: 3: 4; 7: 11: 7; 7: 61: 8; 7: 68: 4; 7: 87: 2; 7: 91: 4; 7: 96: 5; 7: 97: 2, 3.
134. 7: 62: 3; 7: 77: 1.
135. 7: 30: 7.
136. 7: 61: 10; 7: 64: 5; 7: 67: 1.
137. 7: 56: 6; 7: 62: 3.
138. 7: 57: 3; 7: 59: 3; 7: 61: 8; 7: 77: 8.
139. 7: 56: 8; 7: 59: 3.
140. 7: 67: 2; 7: 61: 2; 7: 59: 3; 7: 68: 4; 7: 87: 2.
141. 7: 84: 7.
142. 7: 87: 2
143. 7: 58: 3; 7: 62: 8; 7: 14: 8; 7: 51: 9.
144. 7: 57: 2; 7: 61: 2.
145. 7: 88: 1.
146. 7: 14: 9; 7: 90: 8.
147. 7: 16: 8; 7: 63: 10.
148. 7: 11: 7.
149. 7: 68: 2.
150. 7: 75: 3.
151. 7: 75: 1, 4, 5 *etc.*
152. 7: 59: 5; 7: 73: 4.
153. 7: 59: 5.
154. 7: 57: 10; 7: 80: 4.
155. 7: 59: 5.
155a. 7: 4: 3.

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that are referred to. Does not *Cēkkiḻār* describing *Ārūrar* whilst the latter was worshipping the Lord of *Tillai*, state that the four internal organs of the mind of *Ārūrar* became this '*Cintai*'—"*Aḷapparuṅ karaṇaṅkaḷ nāṉkum cintaiyē āka*"?[156]

Maṉam, *Buddhi*, *Cittam* and *Ahaṅkāram* are distinguished as internal organs or organizations of mental activity. *Maṉam* perceives and builds its castles in the air with all its consequent doubts and confusions; this is often compared to the monkey wandering about without any rest. *Buddhi*, like the serpent winding through to its place of rest understands the *pros* and *cons* of a problem for arriving at a judgment; it is the faculty of decision; *Cittam* is the conative faculty of pursuing this decision like the dog following its scent. *Ahaṅkāram* is the feeling of 'I' — the feeling of self or egoism moving proudly and majestically like the elephant as though it is the master of everything. "The oscillating mind should be stabilized, the arguing *buddhi* should be let alone with the Reality, the Ego which feels there is nothing comparable to it should be subdued, then, '*Cittam*' will bring out Greatness (the *Mahat* or the Absolute) even where it stands": (This is one of the invaluable versions of the *Tamiḻ Upaniṭatam*, consisting of 32 such versions or verses). The internal organs have thus to be transformed by a re-orientation. When our poet speaks of these, he must be taken to be referring to such transformed organs all re-oriented towards God. The mind ordinarily a slave to the world and the passions which are evanescent, develops the Universe as consciousness (*Akaṇṭākāra vṛtti*) in its attempt at aiming at the Absolute; when that is developed, mind is said to become burnt itself away, like the torch setting fire to a heap of wood and being itself burnt away along with other logs of wood, the whole lot becoming the glorious bonfire. This is according to a verse in *Tamiḻ Upaniṭatam*.[157]

In the *Sāṁkya* Philosophy *Maṉam Buddhi* and *Ahaṅkāram* are alone emphasized and the *Śaiva Siddhānta* following this philosophy looks upon '*cittam*' as the second stage of activity of the mind. *Śivajñāna Māpāṭiyam* explains these.

"In every perception, there, are certain sensations; for instance, we have the sensation of yellow colour, a round form and a

156. *Taṭut.*, 106.
157. V., 1.

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sweet smell at the sight of a mango — a meaning is added on to these by memory and the resultant is the perception of the mango. The mere sight, a dim awareness that something is before us as an object is called undifferentiated perception — '*Nirvikalpak kāṭci*'. When it is perceived as a particular object placed within a particular class, then it is called differentiated perception — '*Savikalpakkāṭci*', As soon as there is a dim awareness, the activity of what is called '*manas*', the desire for knowing the object begins. Memory is searched and old recollections come to light. A suggestion that what is appearing may be this particular thing develops. This is the mental activity of '*cittam*' what is considered to be a sort of *manas*. All the possible meanings are put in the melting pot but there is not a definite conclusion arrived at as yet. The mind is still indefinite and doubtful. In the next stage the mental activity of egoism or '*ahaṅkāra*' comes into play and the man is attempting at solving the puzzle or the challenge of the object. The emphasis is on the ego or its volition. The last stage is reached when the man decides that the object is any one particular variety of fruit or mango. This is the result of the activity of '*buddhi*'.[158]

'*Niṉaippu*' is recollection, a freedom from distraction; '*Karuttu*' emphasises certain amount of feeling and decision or will.[159] Worshipping with all one's heart is spoken of as '*Karuttiṉāl kai toḻutal*'.[160] It is possible to interpret this as mental worship also. '*Cintittal*' is *maṉaṉam*; this is connected with '*cintaṉai*' — *the dīrgha cintanā*. Our poet speaks of *cintai*, *maṉam* and *mati* all in one verse.[161] Here, *cintai* may be *cittam*; *mati*, the *buddhi* and *maṉam*, the *maṉam* of the above classification. Or, they may stand for *ahaṅkāram*, *maṉam* and *buddhi* which are alone mentioned in the old *Sāṁkhya Philosophy*. Before these internal organs, stands the world as object, making possible the enjoyment according to *karma* — '*Vitiyiṉ payaṉ*'.[162] It must be pointed out that in worship and contemplation, *cittam* plays the important part and these various words may after all refer to that.

158. *Śivajñānabōdha Śivajñāna Māpāṭiyam* by *Śivajñāna Svamikaḷ* — *Samājam Edition, pp.* 229-237.
159. See '*Kātalālē karutum*' — 7: 6: 7; '*Karutumā karutaki rṟal*' 7: 90: 8.
160. 7: 14: 8.
161. 7: 59: 4.
162. 7: 41: 5.

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"*Bhāvanā*" is imagination. This is of various kinds: 1. Imagination through mind—a mere mental experience; 2. Imagination without mind; 3. Imagination which is none of these two; 4. Imagination like that of a starving man imagining that he is feasting. All these are either unreal or mere mental affections. But, the vision of the Soul is real; the Soul is inspired and embraced and kissed by the inner Lord. The *bhāvanā*, then, is the beatific vision and real divine experience, thanks to the '*Aruḷ*' (Grace) of God. The mental imagination blossoms, if there is the sincerity of the Soul, into the supra mental real imagination or the beatific vision and experience of the Lord.[163] There is also the '*Śivōham Bhāvanā*'—the contemplation of *Śiva* as the Self or the Self of Self. The poet refers to the difficulties of this *bhāvanā*—"*Uṉṉaippōl eṉṉaip pāvikkamāṭṭēṉ*".[164] '*Śivōham*'—'I am *Śiva*'; '*Nānāya Paraṉ*'[165] is the form of the contemplation arising out of the teaching of the *Guru* or Master, '*Tattvamasi*'—'That thou art'.[166] *Bhāvanā* is interpreted by *Parimēlaḻakar* as *Nididhyāsana*, the final stage of the realization of the message of '*Tat tvam asi*'.[167]

IX

SRAVANA, MANANA AND NIDIDHYASANA:

The *Upaniṣad*, *Brhad Araṇyaka* speaks of *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsana*. There is the *upadēsa* of the Master, the revelation of the Truth. The disciple listens to it and learns the Truth. This is *Śravaṇa*. "*Kēṭṭēṉ kēṭpatellām*"[168] says our poet—'I have listened to all that has to be heard, and learnt them'. "*Piṟāvāmai kēṭṭoḻintēṉ*"[169]—'I have learnt and experienced birthlessness!' This is not mere study, for the poet asserts that this is a message of birthlessness. '*Kēṭṭal*' is '*aṟital*', knowing, though literally it means hearing or listening to. It is not merely hearing by the ear; it is hearing in the mind. It is real understanding where the knowledge learnt soaks through the soul so as to transform it. 'To know is to be'; *c.f.* "*Brahmavit Brahmaiva bhavati*". '*Manana*' is contemplating on this truth, and removing thereby all doubts,

163. *Śivajñānabōdha Māpāṭiyam*, *p.* 408.
164. 7: 54: 5.
165. 7: 38: 4.
166. V. 2, *Śivajñānabōdham*.
167. Commentary of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 358.
168. 7: 21: 2.
169. 7: 21: 2.

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so that the realization may result. *Nididhyāsana* is the clarity of the vision of Truth. *Niṣṭā* follows: it is standing firm in that realization; it is the stage of inseparable communion or unity with God. The *Vaiṣṇavite* commentary 'The *Īṭu*' interprets the terms *Terivu*, *Niṉaivu* and *Eṇṇutal* as referring to the *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsana*.[170] *Śivajñāna Yōgi* interprets the words *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsana* as *Kēṭṭal*, *Cintittal* and *Teḷital*[171] and *Parimēlaḷakar* translates them as *Kēḷvi*, *Vimarisam* (*Vimarśa*) and *Pāvaṇai* (*Bhāvanā*).[172] *Śivajñāna Yōgi* interprets '*Uṇartal*' as *Pāvittal* (*Bhāvanā*).[173]

In *hymn* No. 86, our poet uses the terms, '*Arivu*',[174] '*Niṉaivu*',[175] '*Uṇarvu*'[176] and '*Cārvu*'.[177] One may interpret '*Arivu*' as learning through *Śravaṇa*; '*Niṉaivu*' as *Manana*, and '*Uṇarvu* as *Nididhyāsana*. In that *hymn* the poet speaks of the *Jñāni* ever speaking of Him; ever praising Him; ever being in His presence in all his acts. '*Cārvu*' may mean, not the first approach but the final complete self-surrender; the final communion — the '*Prapatti*' or '*Āṉma nivētanam*', referring to what the *Gītā* gives as its final message: "*Sarva dharmān parityajya mām ēkam śaraṇam vraja*".[178] '*Aṭi vīḻtal*',[179] '*Aṭi aṭaital*'[180] and '*Aṭi cērtal*'[181] may be taken as referring to this *Niṣṭā*. The poet speaks of '*Ēlutal*'[182] receiving or carrying the truth, which may be taken to be *Śravaṇa*; of '*Ēttutal*'[183]—meditation so as to blossom into vision, which may be taken as *Manana*; of '*Eṇṇutal*'[184] which may be taken as *Nididhyāsana*. Here '*Aṭicērtal*'[185] which may be taken as *Niṣṭā* is also mentioned. The 59th *hymn* (verse 5) speaks of '*Cerivu*', the attachment of the mind to

170. Commentary on *vi*, *ix*, 11.
171. *Śivajñānabōdham*, *Māpāṭiyam*.
172. *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 357.
173. *Ibid.*, p. 512.
174. 7: 86: 7.
175. 7: 86: 8.
176. 7: 86: 2.
177. 7: 86: 1.
178. 18: 66.
179. 7: 4: 10.
180. 7: 55: 1-9.
181. 7: 75: 1, 4, 5, 9.
182. 7: 75: 3.
183. 7: 75: 8.
184. 7: 75: 6.
185. 7: 75: 1, 4, 5, 9.

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the Lord. Probably this is the result of *Śravaṇa*; this is the contemplation and meditation and the mental communion. Then this must be taken as *Manana*. The poet next speaks of '*Teḷivu*',[186] the clarity of vision which is the result of *Nididhyāsana*. Out of the clearness of vision and of the firmness of conviction comes the unloosening embrace of real communion or identity—'*Cikkaṉavu*'.[187] Does not *Māṇikkavācakar* say, '*Uṉṉaic cikkeṉappiṭittēṉ*'?[188]

In passing it may be added that *Śravaṇa*, *Manana* and *Nididhyāsana* and *Niṣṭā* are related to the *Śaivite Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yōga* and *Jñāna* paths. *Śravaṇa* is said to be *Caryā* in *Jñāna*; *Manana*, *Kriyā* in *Jñāna*; *Nididhyāsana*, *Yōga* in *Jñāna* and *Niṣṭā*, *Jñāna* in *Jñāna*.[189] *Vallabhāchārya* speaks of *Bhakti* being developed by deep faith or *Śravaṇa*,[190] loving remembrance or *manana*[191] and devotional music or *Saṁkīrtana* which he places in the place of *Nididhyāsana*. This throws a flood of light on the correct conception of the musical compositions of *Ārūrar*. But all this is of *Śāstrīya Bhakti* which later on bursts all limits to become *Puṣṭi Bhakti*. This points out the inadequacy of our attempt at restricting the thoughts of our poet to the traditional dimensions.

X

YOGA:

Our poet speaks not only of *Caryā* and *Kriyā* both physical and mental but also of *Yōga*. What has been described above is in a way *Yōga*. But the *Yōga* system refers to the various stages of contemplation. First is *Pratyāhāra* — the introversion or the looking in; the Second is *Dhāraṇā*, where the contemplation becomes concentrated and continuous like the flow of a liquid, unlike the intermittent thoughts of the previous stage; the Third is *Dhyāna*— the mental retention. The Fourth is *Samādhi* or spiritual unity. Our poet speaks of "*Karutumā karutakirrār*";[192] "*Karuttil ummaik karutuvārkaḷ*";[193] this may be *Pratyāhāra*. "*Cittam oru nerikkē*

186. 7: 59: 5.
187. 7: 59: 5.
188. *Tiruvācakam-Piṭitta pattu*: 1-10.
189. *Śivajñāna Māpāṭiyam, pp.* 471, 472.
190. *Namputal*, 7: 63: 7 of *Ārūrar*.
191. *Kātalālē karututal*, 7: 6: 7.
192. 7: 90: 8.
193. 7: 6: 4.

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vaittal" is the *Dhāraṇā* leading to *Dhyāna*. *Niṉaivu* will be *Dhyāna* leading to *Samāthi* as a *result* of which the Lord occupies the whole mind leaving no room for anything else, "*Niṉaivārtam uḷḷattē niṟaintu tōṉṟum*".[194]

The *Kuṇḍalini* — the Serpent Power — the *Yōgi's* divine power—is said to sleep at the lower end of the vertebral column. It has to be awakened when it rises up to the crown and the beyond. The six *cakras* or mystic centres in the body are, (1) *Mūlādhāram*, (2) *Svādhiṣṭhānam*, (3) *Maṇipūrakam*, (4) *Anāhatam*, (5) *Viśuddhi*, and (6) *Ājñā* respectively at (1) the base of the spinal column, in (2) the region of the genitals, (3) abdomen (navel), (4) heart, (5) throat and (6) in the forehead between the two eyes.[195]

Our poet exclaims, "I will search four fingers breadth above the navel and there I shall dance" — "*Nāṭuvaṉ nāṭuvaṉ nāpikku mēlē ōr nālviral...āṭuvaṉ āṭuvaṉ*"[196] reminding us of the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, "When the Self chooses, unto Him, He reveals Himself".[197] The significance of this statement of our poet cannot be explained before futher researches are made in the *Yōgaśāstra*. *Maṇipūrakam* is near the navel; *Svādiṣṭnānam* is four fingers below the navel. Is '*mēl*' to be interpreted as '*kīḻ*'? The *cakra* above the navel is *Anāhata* of the heart. The *Āgamas* speak of the mental *pūjā* conceiving the Universe or *Aṇḍa* being in the *Piṇḍa* or the body, starting from the navel in the form of the lotus on which the Lord as the Great Beyond sits. There is the flower stalk of this lotus — eight finger breadth in length. The lotus bends down; possibly it reaches the midway of the stalk — above four finger breadth from the navel. If this were so, our poet may be referring to this meditation.

> "*Maṇ mutal nāḷamalar vittai kalārūpam*
> *Eṇṇiya Īcar Catāśivamum — Naṇṇiṟ*
> *Kalaiyuruvā nātamām Cattiyataṉ kaṇṇām*
> *Nilai atilām accivaṉ nēr*".[198]

The twenty-four *tattvas* from *Pṛthvī* upwards from the stalk of the lotus. The seven *Vidhyā Tattvas* along with *Śuddha Vidhyā*

194. 7: 30: 2.
195. *Shaktī* and *Shakta* by *Woodroffe*, *p.* 682.
196. 7: 45: 9.
197. III. ii. 2.
198. *Sivajñānabōdham*, *Ciṟṟurai*, *p.* 186.

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form its eight petals. *Īśvara Tattva* and *Śadāśiva Tattva* form the sixty four stamens. *Śakti Tattva* forms the pericarp. The *Śiva Tattva* forms the (51) seeds, inside the pericarp. *Śiva's* feet stand on this lotus of the heart. Worship them (through *pañcākṣara*).

XI

JNANA:

The final state is communion or identity. That is *Jñāna*. It is spoken of as love. In all that has been described, therefore, what is important is the love which according to *Tirumūlar* is nothing but *Śiva*.[199] Love transmuted is God. '*Kāṭaṉmai*',[200] '*Kātal*',[201] '*Nēcam*',[202] '*Pittam*',[203] '*Aṉpu*',[204] are the words used by our poet. It is a melting of the heart: '*Nekutal*'[205] '*Kacital*',[206] '*Īram*',[207] '*Kuḻaivu*'.[208] Love is a union and inseparability and both these are emphasized: "*Kalantuṉaik kātalittāṭ ceykiṟpār*";[209] "*Piriyātu uḷki*";[210] "*Piriyāta aṉpar;*'.[211] This Divine Love is universal Love and *Jñānīs* are characterized by their love and sympathy: '*Kuḻaivu*',[212] '*Īram*'.[213]

199. *Tirumantiram*, 70.
200. 7: 26: 7.
201. 7: 6: 7.
202. 7: 19: 2.
203. 7: 43: 11.
204. 7: 7: 7.
205. 7: 11: 7.
206. 7: 16: 8.
207. 7: 75: 7.
208. 7: 14: 9; 7: 67: 3.
209. 7: 63: 9.
210. 7: 90: 2.
211. 7: 90: 3.
212. 7: 67: 3.
213. 7: 75: 7.

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CHAPTER II

THE CULT OF AṬIYĀRS

I

PATTARAYPPANIVAR:

We referred to the cult of *Aṭiyārs'* worship — the worship of the *Aṭiyārs* — being considered greater than the worship of *Śiva*. Is that not the philosophy of *Viraṉminṭar*, which is said to have given birth to the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*? Our poet also expresses this truth elsewhere in his poems. *Pattarāyppaṇivār* are the followers of this cult who worship the *Bhaktas* and make preparations for their *pūjā* — a kind of *Caryā* in *Jñāna*. Though a distinction has been made, this does not create any water tight compartments. Saints of one group are found to be saints of other groups as well. In our poet himself we find the aspects of all these, though we may speak of him as *Paramaṉaiyē Pāṭuvār*.

Our poet calls himself, "*Paramaṉaiyē paṇiyac cittam vaitta toṇṭar ṭaṇṭaṉ*"[1] — 'I am the servant of the servants of those who resolved with all their heart to worship the Lord'. He remonstrates in another place, 'I have become not only His servant, but also the servant of His servants' — "*Orumaiyē..... aṭiyēṉ, aṭiyavarkkaṭiyaṉum āṉēṉ*".[2] Again he confesses, 'Even if you will not get attached to me, I am always attached to you; I have become the slave of those who take refuge in your feet, yet I have not left off singing your praises' — "*Oṭṭī rākilum oṭṭuvaṉ aṭiyēṉ ummaṭi yaṭaintavark kaṭimaip paṭṭēṉākilum pāṭuta loḷiyēṉ*".[3] In the *Tirumaḷapāṭi hymn*,[4] the chorus of the song is, "Whom else could I think of, except you?" and for stressing this idea he exclaims, 'I am your servant and I have long long ago assumed the service to all the servants of your servants'—"*Paṇṭē niṉṉaṭiyēṉ aṭiyār aṭiyārkaṭkellām toṇṭē pūṇtoḷintēṉ*".[5] When he sings of the *Tirukkētāram* in the north, he is reminded of this idea and again confesses

1. 7: 7: 11.
2. 7: 14: 10.
3. 7: 15: 5.
4. 7: 24.
5. 7: 24: 4.

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"*Civaṉaṭiyārkaḷuk kaṭiyāṉ aṭittoṇṭaṉ*"[6] — 'I am the slave of the servant of the servants of *Śiva*'.

There are whole *hymns* expressing this idea of surrender to the *Bhaktas*. The *Tiruvāḷaṅkāṭu hymn*[7] has, as it were, for its chorus for every one of its verses the phrase, "*Āḷaṅkāṭā uṉ aṭiyārkkaṭiyēṉ āvēṉē*" — 'O, Lord of *Āḷaṅkāṭu*! I shall become the servant of your servants'. It looks as though the saint is here rededicating himself to the service of the *Bhaktas*. The *Tiruvāṉaikkā hymn*[8] in every one of its verses expresses the idea that those who take refuge in the Lord are his own Lords. The *Pañcākṣara hymn*[9] of *Koṭumuṭi*, as already pointed out, expresses the idea that his realization of the truth of *Pañcākṣaram* has brought him the birthless state. He also expresses the idea implied therein, that when he forgets this truth he is no more than a dead man.[10] But *Pañcākṣara* is interpreted not only as 'I am not mine but *Śiva's*', but also as, 'I am not mine but *Śiva's* servants' *i.e.*, I belong to the servants of *Śiva*', because it being *Śiva's* amounts to being the servant of the servants of *Śiva*. It is because of this that the second verse of the *hymn No.* 48, instead of saying that he would be a dead man if he forgets the Lord, he states that he would be a dead man when he slights the *Bhaktas* of the Lord—"*Iṭṭaṉum aṭi ēttuvār ikaḻntiṭṭa nāḷ maṟantiṭṭa nāḷ keṭṭa nāḷ ivai eṉṟalāṟ karutēṉ*".[11]

The servants of the Lord are in a sense our guides showing us the way. *Nampi Ārūrar* says that he was seeing the *aṭiyavar* worship the Lord and he went imitating them or went under their cover — "*Ayalavar paravavum aṭiyavar toḻavum aṉparkaḷ cāyaluḷ aṭaiyaluṟ ṟiruntēṉ*".[12] We had already referred to the other verse wherein he exclaims, "When am I to worship you with flowers and bubbling love, realizing that all that the *aṭiyārs* sing is about you".[13] These guides are the messengers of God who introduce us to God. *Hymn* 73 is addressed from this point of view to the *Bhaktas* begging them to inquire of the Lord if he would accept

6 7: 78: 10.
7. 7: 52.
8. 7: 75.
9. 7: 48.
10. 48: 2, 3.
11. 7: 48: 2.
12. 7: 58: 7
13. 7: 84: 2.

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Nampi Ārūrar as his servant — "*Iruppatum Ārūr avar emmaiyum āḷvarō kēḷīr*".[14] The *hymn* 44 seems also to be addressed to the *Bhaktas* raising various questions about His *purāṇic* personality. The third and the fourth verses have explicit reference to '*Toṇṭars*' begging them not to speak harsh words and not to speak of separation. The 33rd *hymn* is also addressed to those who worship the Lord as they like—"*Numakkicaiyumā* (or *vallavā*) *niṉaintēttuvīr*".[15] Here also *Nampi Ārūrar* raises the various *purāṇic* descriptions of the Lord in the form of rhetoric interrogations. The last verse of this *hymn* makes it clear that it is addressed to the *Bhaktas*, "*Paṭicey nīrmaiyir pattarkāḷ paṇintēttiṉēṉ paṇiyīraruḷ*".[16]

In the *hymns* of *Āḻvārs* and *Nāyaṉmārs*, there occur some request to the birds to carry the message of the love-sick maiden to the Lord. The *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators have always interpreted these birds as the *Bhaktas*, as spiritual guides carrying the message to the Lord.[17] *Hymn* 37 has to be interpreted in this manner. Therefore, the philosophy of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is not at all foreign to the other *hymns* of *Ārūrar*. He takes a pride in calling himself a '*Toṇṭaṉ*';[18] '*Aṭittoṇṭaṉ*';[19] '*Toṇṭar toṇṭaṉ*'.[20]

It was the common belief in that age that for a full blown *Bhakta* to be born, his previous seven generations should have been pure and should have been worshipping the Lord. In some places it is possible to interpret that what is referred to is not the previous generations but one's own previous births. Probably we will not be far from the truth if we conclude that both the ideas are included: "*Orumaiyē allēṉ eḻumaiyum aṭiyēṉ*"[21]—'I am not in one birth alone your servant, but in seven births'; "*Naṟṟavai eṉṉaip peṟṟa muṟṟavai tammaṉai tanataikkum tavvikkum tampirāṉār*";[22] "*Eṉakkiṉiyavaṉ tamarkkiṉiyavaṉ eḻumaiyum*

14. 7: 73.
15. 2, 3, 6, 7.
16. 7: 33: 10.
17. See *Ācārya Hṛdayam, III*, 1-7.
18. 7: 6: 10; 7: 18: 10; 7: 48: 10; 7: 59: 11; 7: 77: 11; 7: 92: 10.
19. 7: 3: 10; 7: 21: 10; 7: 28: 10; 7: 43: 11; 7: 44: 10; 7; 51: 12; 7: 78: 10; 7: 80: 10; 7: 86: 10.
20. 7: 7: 11.
21. 7: 14: 11.
22. 7: 18: 7: See under *H.* 18, already discussed, *Vol. III*.

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maṉakkiṉiyavaṉ''[23] — 'He is sweet unto me, sweet unto my people, of seven generations, sweet unto their mind'.

II

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SAINTS:

Our study so far reveals that *Ārūrar* has been referring to the groups of saints enumerated in the verse beginning with '*Pattaṟāyp paṇivār*' in the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. We may here group together his references to the various kinds of *Bhaktas* for proving that this verse beginning with '*Pattarāyppaṇivār*' is in his mind and that verse explains our poet's outlook on religion.

Our poet speaks of *Aṭiyār*,[24] *Toṇṭar*,[25] *Pattar*,[26] *Cittar*[27] *and Aṉpar*[28] emphasizing respectively *Aṭimai* — absolute self-surrender, *Toṇṭu*—service, *Bhakti* — reverential love, *Citti* (*Siddhi*)—spiritual realization and *Aṉpu* — love. These ideas are also found combined in '*Aṭittoṇṭar*,'[29] '*Pattākiya toṇṭar*'.[30] Most often our poet like his predecessors uses the phrase '*Pattar Cittar*'.[31] *Bhaktas* or devotees and *Siddhas* or those who are *Jīvanmuktas*. In other places, he speaks of *Aṉpar*, *Toṇṭar* and *Pattar*.[32] He sings in that verse,[33] "*Āṭumiṉ aṉpuṭaiyīr*" — 'You lovers dance'; "*Aṭikkāṭpaṭṭa tūḷi koṇṭu cūṭumiṉ toṇṭaruḷḷīr*" — 'You *toṇṭars*, who have dedicated yourselves to the service of the Lord, crown yourselves with the dust of the feet of the Lord's followers'; "*Umarōṭu emar cūḻa vantu vāṭumiv vāḻkkaitaṉṉai varuntāmal tiruntaccenṟu pāṭumiṉ pattaruḷḷīr*" — '*Bhaktas* or devotees! let your people and our people come together and improve and reform this life which is a life of lightning of suffering'. *Pattar* and *Aṉpar* are here found mentioned together; therefore, the first must refer to *Sādhaka Bhaktas*; the second to *Sādhya Bhaktas*, where *Aṉpar* or *Siddhas* dance in the rapture of divine bliss beyond words. *Toṇṭar* will be those who serve. The word, '*Aṉpar*' will be emphasizing the mind,

23. 7: 72: 1.
24. 7: 53: 10.
25. 7: 7: 11.
26. 7: 52: 10.
27. 7: 52: 10.
28. 7: 58: 7.
29. 7: 71: 10.
30. 7: 80: 1.
31. 7: 36: 8; 7: 52: 10.
32. 7: 22: 3.
33. 7: 22, *v.*, 3.

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'*Toṇṭar*', the bodily activity and '*Pattar*', the speech aspect. It is because of this we have not chosen to take the words '*tūḻikoṇṭu*' to go along with '*āṭumiṉ aṉpuṭaiyīr*' though such an interpretation will be justified according to the conception of the age as learnt from *Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār*: "*Toṇṭar aṭippoṭi āṭā nām peṟil*".[34] In discussing the *Kāpāli* form of the Lord, we had to interpret the *Bhūtas*, *Pēy* and *Pāriṭam*'[35] in a similar way, as referring to these three classes.[36] '*Pattarāyp paṇivār*', '*Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār*', '*Cittattaic Civaṉpāle vaittār*' — these are the three classes mentioned in the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*,[37] which correspond to the three classes mentioned here; only the name '*Pattar*' is used there for '*Toṇṭar*' here.

He speaks of the greatness of the *Aṭiyār* in another verse.[38] He describes: (1) the services of many *aṭiyārs* with which the Lord sympathizes; (2) the song and dance of *Bhaktas* whom He loves; (3) the spiritual goal of those who follow His foot path, almost close on His heels, without swerving even by a hair's breadth, all of whom the Lord blesses with *Mukti* and *Siddhi*; (4) the hidden treasure of a Lord turning up to save the '*Nal aṭiyār*'— the good followers — in times of scarcity or danger; and (5) the desire of the mind of those '*Val aṭiyār*', the undaunted followers, the desire being the very Lord Himself. The first is the description of those in the service of the Lord; the second, of those who sing His glories; the third, of those who reach the Lord with all their heart and mind, these three corresponding to the '*Toṇṭar*', '*Pattar*', and '*Aṉpar*' above referred to.

The fourth and the fifth descriptions introduce another distinction. The poet describes one class as '*Nal aṭṭyār*' and the other as '*Val aṭiyār*'. To the one class, the Lord comes to its rescue as a hidden treasure. The other class possibly forms a hidden treasure to God Himself like *Kaṇṇappar* and other servants coming as it were to His rescue. The members of the latter class have no thought of themselves; they have no self of theirs; God moves them and all their acts are His. These are the towers of spiritual strengh. But both of them are *aṭiyārs*. The path of the on seems to be tempting and easy for us to follow and they are the '*Nal*

34. *Tēṭṭaruntiṟal*, 2.
35. 7: 2: 3.
36. See *Vol. II.*
37. 7: 39: 10.
38. 7: 67: 2.

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aṭiyār' like those in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*, who like *Nēca Nāyaṉār* and others come offering anything they can to the world at large, a pot, a cloth, or food without any suffering whatsoever. The other path seems to be beyond our reach. But in both the cases there is self surrender and God loves them all.

The epithets '*Nal*' and '*Val*' with reference to the *Aṭiyārs* are explained by the author of *Tirukkaḷiṟṟuppaṭiyār* as applying to their acts, '*nalviṉai*' and '*valviṉai*'. Whatever the action, the aim is the destruction of the separating self, 'I'; for, when that self is destroyed, Lord appears in Love. Therefore, both achieve the destruction of the selfish 'I'.

"*Melviṉaiyē yeṉṉa viyaṉulakil āṟṟariya*
Valviṉaiyē yeṉṉa varumiraṇṭum — Colliṟ
Civataṉma māmavaṟṟiṟ ceṉṟatilē celvāy
Pavakaṉmam nīṅkum paṭi".[39]

"The action or conduct of ours is of two kinds: the soft acts and the powerful or hard acts. Both are *Śivadharma*. For removing the *karma* which brings on birth, enter any of these".

"*Ātiyai arccittāṟku aṅkamum aṅkaṅkē*
Tītil tiṟampalavum ceyvaṉavum — Vētiyaṉē
Nalviṉaiyām eṉṟē namakkum eḷi tāṉavaṟṟai
Malviṉaiyē eṉṟatunām vēṟu".[40]

"The various steps of worshipping the Lord, who is the Beginning, the steps of the various blotless ways of our actions, that is, all these good actions which are easy for us — it these we have mentioned separately as '*melviṉai*'." Here it is important to note that this author who first labelled these as '*melviṉai*' identifies them also with '*nalviṉai*' which we may, therefore, interpret as the actions of the '*Nal aṭiyār*' of *Ārūrar*. "The terrific acts like killing and cooking with their own hands for the *Bhairava* without any compunction are those which we have called '*valviṉai*":

"*Varaṅkaḷ tarumceyya vayiravarkkut taṅkaḷ*
Karaṅkaḷiṉāl aṟṟu kaṟiyākka — Iraṅkātē
Kolviṉaiyē ceyyum koṭuviṉaiyē āṉavaṟṟai
Valviṉaiyē eṉṟatunām maṟṟu".[41]

39. *V.*, 16.
40. *V.*, 17.
41. *V.*, 18.

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The reference here is to *Ciruttoṇṭar*. The author refers further under this head of '*valviṉai*' to *Saṇḍēśvara* and *Arivāḷ Tāya Nāyaṉār*[42] where all their acts are really acts of God and not of their lower selves which have become destroyed or transcended.

It is thus clear that what our poet has stated in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is asserted all through his *Tēvāram*. It is, therefore, nothing incredible in his having written that *hymn*. Has he not given us his vision of the whole universe as a *Gurukula* under the feet of the Great Master of the banyan tree and all the living beings becoming comrades in divine love and being saved by the Lord?[43] *Appālum aṭic cārntār* may be interpreted to include this vision as well.

This social aspect of this spiritual progress needs no special mention. Universal salvation is the goal of *Hinduism*. *Buddhism* has evolved its *Bōdhisattva* conception where the freed soul refuses to reach salvation before all the souls have attained it. This is the heroism of refusing salvation which according to *Cēkkiḻār* characterizes the *Bhaktas* of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. The *Purāṇa* speaks of the *Toṇṭars* reaching *Kailās*. According to *Appayya Dīkṣiṭar* when one individual attains freedom, he attains identity only with *Iśvara*, and not with *Brahmam*, with which he attains final identity only when all the souls or *jīvas* attain *Mōkṣa* or freedom, just like when a particular mirror is destroyed the reflection of the face becomes one with the reflecting face; becoming one with the face itself being possible only when all the mirrors are destroyed when alone there can be no further reflection. This may be the truth underlying the stories which assert that the saints reached *Kāilās*.

III

THE TIRUTTONTATTOKAI:

A new element has thus been introduced in this *Tiruttoṇṭattokai hymn*, that of communion with the loving souls hankering after God. These are called '*Toṇṭar*', that is, those in the service of God. This conception of *Toṇṭars* is considered by the *Śaivites* as another spiritual message of *Ārūrar*. The ideas of reverential feeling towards the *toṇṭars* is nothing new. *Periyāḻvār*

42. *vv.*, 19-20.
43. 7: 65: 6.

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talks of the '*Toṇṭakkulam*',[44] thereby abolishing all castes and creating a family of all those who worship the Lord, to whatever caste or community they may belong. *Ārūrar* also refers to this great community.[45] The love for God reaches its highest point only when it becomes the love of the *Bhaktas* or *toṇṭar*, even to the neglect of God. The phrase '*Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi*'[46] is very significant, the dust on the feet of the *Bhaktas*; this is purer than the water of the *Ganges* — that is the conviction of *Kulaśēkharar*: "*Toṇṭaraṭippoṭi āṭa nām peṟil Gaṅgai nīr kuṭaintu āṭum vēṭkai eṉ āvatē*"?[47] Our saint *Ārūrar* goes a step further.

He creates a democracy of *Bhaktas*, a democracy for all times and climes. Though this is universal in its core, he has made it appear as a *Tamilian* democracy at the first sight. Man as he is constituted cannot grasp the full significance of the universal spirit. He is a speaking animal and it is this speech that creates his communal life. Our poet coming to sing in *Tamiḻ*, has naturally to appeal to the *Tamilian* at first. Therefore, he groups together the saints of *Tamiḻ* land and they represent the first vision of this spiritual democracy. The individual saints mentioned in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* are all, saints born within the sacred precincts of the *Tamiḻ* country. This is not narrow parochialism; for, we soon find our poet hastening to make this democracy universal for all lands, for all times. He has only utilized the national awakening of the *Tamiḻ* country of his times to serve the religious cause. Even in his age, *Tamiḻ* land was not one political unit. The *Pāṇḍyas*, the *Cōḻas*, the *Cēras* and the *Pallavas* have made the *Tamiḻakam* their battle ground and our poet perhaps was himself a partisan of the *Pallavas*. He wants on escape from this scene of hatred and disunity, to a world of love and union. Fortunately, the *Tamiḻ* language and its culture offered one way of escape into this world of love: The common man understood this uniform culture of the *Tamiḻ* land. This democracy of *Bhaktas* emphasizes that way of the common man. The spirit of renunciation, the feeling of divine love, are possible for the poorest of the poor to whatever caste or community they may belong. Kings also come within this group of *Bhaktas* not as kings but as *Bhaktas* great for their spirit of

44. *Toṇṭakkulam Tiruppallāṇṭu*, *v.*, 5.
45. 7: 72: 11:
46. *Nālā. Prab.*, *Tēṭṭaruntiṟal*, 2.
47. *Ibid.*

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self-surrender and self-sacrifice. These great *Bhaktas* live for their great ideal laying down their very lives if necessary.

IV

SUGGESTIVE DESCRIPTION OF SAINTS:

The next important point that deserves our attention is the suggestive description of some of the saints given by our poet. He calls '*Iyarpakai*' as one who never says, 'No' — *Illaiyē eṉṉāta Iyarpakai*".[48] '*Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār*' is described as one who is an adept in the path of success — "*Vellumā mikavalla Meypporuḷ*".[49] This description gives the inward view and significance of the life message of this saint. *Meypporuḷ Nāyaṉār* breathed his last at the hands of a traitor who came in the form of an *Āgamic* scholar. This saint pleaded with the servant, T*attaṉ*, in spite of the deceit to save the honoured form thus glorifying his own reverence for the sacred book through his own death. The victory is the victory of the Ideal. Again, '*Taṇṭi*' is described by our poet as one full of eyesight — "*Nāṭṭamiku Taṇṭi*",[50] though according to the tradition he was blind. Our poet must be emphasizing the inner light and the ideal which guided *Taṇṭi*. Similarly *Kaṇṇappar*, the illiterate hunter saint, is described by our poet as the hero of all arts — "*Kalaimalinta cīr Nampi Kaṇṇappar*".[51] The hunter saint was as it were the fruition of all arts, the divine love, and it is this, our poet must have had in his mind. In describing '*Amarnīti*', our poet refers to his garland of '*mullai*' or jasmine — "*Allimeṉ mullaiyantār Amarnīti*".[52] Usually it is a symbol of chastity. Probably our poet wants to emphasize that kind of relationship between *Amarnīti* and the Lord.

The poet describes some of the saints by the honoured title of *Nampi* perhaps looking upon them as divine princes. Some of them, *Appūti*[53] and *Naminanti*[54] are *Brahmins* and they might deserve the title of *Nampi* as already explained; se do the heroes

48. 7: 39: 1.
49. 7: 39: 1.
50. 7: 39: 5.
51. 7: 39: 2.
52. 7: 39: 1.
53. 7: 39: 4.
54. 7: 39: 4.

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and ministers, *Kulaccirai*,[55] *Iṭaṅkaḷi*,[56] *Muṉaiyaṭuvār*[57] and *Kōṭpuli*.[58] But *there* are also others, who are not *Brahmins*. Therefore, our poet could not have had the castes in his mind when he described them as *Nampis*. *Kaṇṇappar* is called by him as '*Kalaimalinta cīr Nampi*'[59] and he is accepted by all as the prince among the *Bhaktas*. *Kaṇampullar* is one *Nampi*—"*Kaṇampulla Nampi*"[60] and his caste is not known. *Eṟipattar* is another *Nampi*.[61] *Kulacciraiyār*, the minister of the *Pāṇḍya* was responsible for bringing *Ñānacampantar* to *Maturai* for restoring *Śaivism* and he is, therefore, called "*Peru Nampi Kulaccirai*".[62] *Appūti* who exemplified the path of service, "*Tirunāvukkaracu vaḷar tiruttoṇṭiṉ neri*"[63] is called "*Orunampi*"[64]—'The unique one'. *Naminanti* is called "*Arunampi*"[65]—*Aru* means rare. *Muṉaiyaṭuvār*[66] and *Kōṭpuli*[66a] are "*Vēlnampis*" like *Eṟipattar*,[67] the saints of heroism and valour. *Iṭaṅkaḷi* is called, "*Tār Nampi*",[68] *Tār* means garland, the prince who is considered to be a *Cōḻa*.

In some places our poet gives more than a passing reference to the glorious deeds of these saints—"*Vellumā mikavalla Meyp-poruḷ*";[69] "*Illaiyē eṉṉāta Iyaṟpakai*";[70] "*Mummaiyāl ulakāṇṭa Mūrti*";[71] "*Umaipaṅkaṉ kaḻalē maṟavātu kalleṟinta Cākkiyar*";[72] "*Kaitaṭinta varicilaiyāṉ Kalikkampaṉ*"[73] and "*Teṉṉavaṉāy ulakāṇṭa Ceṅkaṇāṟ*".[74] Usually our poet devotes one half of a line

55. 7: 39: 4.
56 7: 39: 9.
57. 7: 39: 8.
58. 7: 39: 9.
59. 7: 39: 2.
60. 7: 39: 8.
61. 7: 39: 2.
62. 7: 39: 4.
63: *Periya. Pur., Ap. Pur.*, 1.
64. 7: 39: 4.
65. 7: 39: 4.
66. 7: 39: 8.
66a. 7: 39: 9.
67. 7: 39: 2.
68 7: 39: 9.
69. 7: 39: 1.
70. 7: 29: 1.
71. 7: 39: 3.
72. 7: 39: 6.
73. 7: 39: 7.
74. 7: 39: 11.

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in describing each one of the saints. He devotes more than half a line to *Kaṇampullar*.[75] But he devotes almost a full line to some of the saints: *viz.*, *Tirunāvukkaracar*,[76] *Cākkiyar*,[77] *Neṭumāraṉ*,[78] *Vāyilāṉ*,[79] *Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ*[80] and *Pukaḻttuṇai*.[81] He devotes a line and a half to *Caṇṭīcar*[82] and *Campantar*.[83] But to *Murukaṉ*,[84] *Uruttirapacupati*,[85] *Miḻalaikkuṟumpar*,[86] *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār*, (*Pēyār*),[87] *Taṇṭi*,[88] *Mūrkkar*,[89] *Kāri*[90] *Maṅkayarkkaraci* (*Varivaḷaiyāḷ māṉi*)[91] and *Nēcaṉ*,[92] he devotes only one quarter of a line. He describes *Ñānacampantar* as our Lord (*Empirāṉ*) who pays no regard except to the feet of God adorned with the beautiful and sweet smelling *koṉṟai*.[93] *Tirumūlar* is also described as *Nampirāṉ*, our Lord.[93a] He speaks of *Tirunāvukkaracar* as one who had the straight path of Grace as his ideal path.[94] *Neṭumāṟaṉ* is said to have conquered the battle of *Nelvēli* because of the power of his mind so full of concentration on the Lord's feet.[95] *Kaḷaṟciṅkaṉ* is referred to as the son of *Kāṭavarkōṉ* and the Lord of the world surrounded by the seas.[96] The verb used is '*kākkiṉṟa*' which is in the present tense suggesting that he is the contemporary of *Ārūrar*. The description implies that the *Pallava* king was the Lord of the seas.

75. 7: 39: 8.
76. 7: 39: 4.
77. 7: 39: 6.
78. 7: 39: 8.
79. 7: 39: 8.
80. 7: 39: 9.
81. 7: 39: 9
82. 7: 39: 3.
83. 7: 39: 5.
84. 7: 39: 3.
85. 7: 39: 3.
86. 7: 39: 4.
87. 7: 39: 4.
88. 7: 39: 5.
89. 7: 39: 5.
90. 7: 39: 8.
91. 7: 39: 11.
92. 7: 39: 11.
93. 7: 39: 5.
93a. 7: 39: 5.
94. 7: 39: 4.
95. 7: 39: 8.
96. 7: 39: 9.

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Some of the names themselves are suggestive of the greatness of the saints: *Viraṉmiṇṭar*,[97] *Eṟipattar*,[98] *Kaṇṇappar*,[99] *Meyp-poruḷ*,[100] *Iyaṟpakai*,[101] *Māraṉ*,[102] *Tirunāḷaippōvār*,[103] *Tirukkuṟippuṭ-toṇṭar*,[104] *Cākkiyar*,[105] *Kaḷaṟiṟṟaṟivār*,[106] *Śakti*[107] and *Kaṇam-pullar*.[108]

We have further discussed this significance of the various descriptions given by *Ārūrar*, in our study of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai hymn* in connection with the *hymns* giving us a life history of mysticism.[109]

V

SAIVISM, THE RELIGION OF SERVICE:

Aṭiyārs are the life of the *Bhakti* cult. From this point of view, *Śaivism* becomes a religion of service. It is this philosophy which has really worked the miracle, making *Śaivism* popular in South India. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1925, explains the consequences of this Philosophy of Service, after giving a short account of the life of each saint:

"Little or nothing is known of *Śaivism* and *Vaiṣṇavism* of *Southern India* before the advent of the *Jains* and the *Buddhists* in this part of the country. While *Brahmin* immigrants of *Southern India* seem to have given a *Vēdic* colour to those local cults and have mingled with the local people in the interests of their own culture, there is no doubt that the ambition of the *Jains* and the *Buddhists* was to root out the local cults and convert the people to their own faith. The most powerful means they employed for this end was '*Āhāra-abhaya-bhaishajya-śāstra-dāna*' — gift of food, protection, medicine and knowledge. Food, security, medicine and right knowledge! What more will man want them these? The temptation for the people to embrace *Jainism* or *Buddhism* was so

97. 7: 39: 1.
98. 7: 39: 2.
99. 7: 39: 2.
100. 7: 39: 1.
101. 7: 39: 1.
102. 7: 39: 8.
103. 7: 39: 3.
104. 7: 39: 3;
105. 7: 39: 6.
106. 7: 39: 6.
107. 7: 39: 7.
108. 7: 39: 8.
109. *Part I* of this *Volume*.

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great that unless the *Śaivites* adopted the same policy, *Śaivism* was in imminent danger. That the *Śaivites* adopted the same policy that the *Jains* and *Buddhists* observed for spreading their own faith, is evident from the stories of Nos. 4, 31, 32, 34, 39, 41, 42, 52, 55, 58 and 59. That like the *Buddhists* and the early *Jains*, the *Śaivites* discarded caste distinction, if at all they had it, is clear from the stories of Nos. 32 and 42. It is also clear from stories of Nos. 2 and 35 that in the matter of pleasing a *Śaivite* guest neither wife nor life was too sacred to part with. So great was the honour shown to the *Śaivites* that even a theif and a murderer (Nos. 52 and 4) were honourably let off. It may be presumed that the rivalry in feeding the *Śaivite* poor gave room for no accumulation of wealth in a few hands, an economic evil for which no solution other than religious piety could be found, Even kings seem to have been afraid of abusing their wealth and of being indifferent to the claims of poverty. Immorality which is ever attendant upon selfishness seems to have had no wide scope owing to the altruistic spirit of *Śaivism*".[110]

The munificence of the patrons of *Śaivism* strengthened this philosophy of service and gave political importance to *Śaivism*. Some of these patrons are said to have amassed the wealth in whatever way they liked either in gambling or in war for offering their services to the *Śaivite Aṭiyārs*. It is this philosophy of love and service that had made *Śaivism* popular and powerful. Great *Vēdic* scholars and ritualists like *Sōmāsimāṟar*, *Rudrapaśupati*, great *Āgamic* scholars like *Śivakōsariyar*, learned men and poets like *Poyyaṭimai illāta pulavar* and *Kāri*, great kings like *Neṭumāṟaṉ*, *Kaḷarciṅkaṉ*, great chieftains like *Ēyarkōṉ*, *Kōṭpuli* along with fishermen like *Atipattar*, untouchables like *Tirunāḷaippōvār* and *Tirunīlakaṇṭa yāḻppāṇar*, potters like *Tirunīlakaṇṭar*, washermen like *Tirukuripputtoṇṭar* and hunters like *Kaṇṇappar* became followers of this religion, making it thus a cosmopolitan one.

Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari speaks of all the *Nāyaṉmars* as mystics in the following passage:

"The devotees of *Śiva*, known as the sixty-three *toṇḍars* or servants of *Śiva*, belong to all ages and castes and form a spiritual democracy whose common quality was their deep *Śaivite* experience. Another feature common to all of them was their refuta-

110. *pp.* 10-11.

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tion of *Buddhism* and *Jainism* which are said to be not only anti-*Śaivite* but anti-mystical. The lives of these saints are recorded in *Periyapurāṇam* by the saintly poet *Śekkizhar*. Among the best known of the saints is *Kaṇṇappar*, who was a hunter of the second century A.D. He nourished an image of *Śiva* every day with his own food consisting of flesh and finally risked his sight owing to his perfervid devotion to the Lord. Service to *Śaivite* saints was deemed superior even to that to *Śiva* Himself. The life of *Tirunīlakaṇṭa Nāyaṉār*, a potter of *Chidambaram*, is an example of such service. *Nanda* was an *Ādidrāviḍa* of *Ādaṉūr* near *Chidambaram*. In his irrepressible longing to see *Śrī Naṭarāja*, he hastened to the shrine and is said to have disappeared in the shining ecstatic Presence. A devotee, who was by profession a washerman, dedicated himself to the service of *Śiva bhaktas* and washed their clothes in a spirit of service. *Buddhism* stressed the practice of love to all living beings, but denied the Supreme Being. A *Buddhist, Sākya Nāyaṉār*, gave up his creed and became a *Śaivite*. He gave a positive meaning to love and lived in that love which is *Śiva* Himself. *Śiva* is every man's God and is easily accessible to the devotee in any form desired by him. *Adipatta Nāyaṉār* was a fisherman by profession who lived near *Nāgapaṭṭiṉam*. He gave one fish every day to *Śiva* in order, as he thought, to satisfy His hunger and finally offered himself to Him. *Kalia Nāyaṉār* was an oilmonger who became, by his *bhakti*, a *Śiva*-monger. *Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār* was a *Vaiśya* woman. She had visions of *Śiva*, the Inner Light in all lights, and saw Him with the spiritual eye of love. *Vāyilār Nāyaṉār* of Mylapore was, as his name implies, a silent seer of *Śiva* who built a shrine for Him in his inner life or spirit, lighted the lamp of self-illumination, and bathed Him in immortal bliss. *Pūsalār Nāyaṉār* was also given to this *mānasapūjā*, as he constructed a temple for the Lord spiritually and worshipped Him there. *Nēsā Nāyaṉār* was a weaver and a votary of *Śiva* who served the *bhaktas* by weaving cloths for them. In this way every *Nāyaṉār* spiritually sought God or *Śiva*, irrespective of birth or status and saw Him directly".[111]

This truth will be brought out in our study of *Paramaṉaiyē Pāṭuvār* whom we take to be mystic poets.

Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari speaks of *Nampi Ārūrar* (*Sundaramūrti Svāmi*) as a mystic in the following passage:

111. *Mystics and Mysticism, pp.* 232-34.

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"*Sundarar* or *Sundaramūrti Svāmi* was born as a *Brahmi* in South Arcot district in the 9th century *A.D.* His life is a typical instance of the Lord of Love seeking the sinner. The saint became infatuated with love to God who was Himself *pittā* or *pēraruḷāḷā* or Giver of Grace. He was once blessed with a vision of *Naṭarāja* dancing His cosmic dance in ecstasy in his heart. The joy felt by the saint was momentary and he yearned for reunion, and burst into the inspiring *hymns* of *Tēvāram*. His pilgrimage to different shrines was really a pilgrimage from worldliness to *Kailāsa*. He felt that even if *Śiva* forsook him, he would cling to Him and yearn for Him like the calf for the cow. He realized his utter nothingness and felt that he was His in every way. He calls the Lord the deliciousness in the fruit, the light in the eye, the melody in the song, and the healing balm to the *Śiva*-sick souls and infinite bliss. *Śiva* is in all beings as their indwelling mercy. He says that *Śiva* in His love for man accepts even insincere praise and prayer as sincere and deep devotion. God, to him, is the fount of Grace and He saves the sinner in spite of his sins. The purgative stage (*vairāgya*) of mysticism is graphically pictured in *Sundarar's Tēvāram* where he speaks of the transitory and trivial nature of sense-pleasures. The *jīva*, we are told, is entangled in the causality of *karma* and is caught up in the whirlpool of *samsāra* in which every pleasure ends in pain and earthly life is steeped in sin and sorrow and ill-health; birth and death follow each other in cyclic succession. Earthly life is unreal and the body turns to dust. Life is from dust and goes to dust.[112] Contrition is the only remedy for the sins of life and true repentance is based on firm faith in Śiva as the saviour of souls. Even punishment for sins is due to redemptive love, for *Śiva* is Sweetness and Love. Sense-pleasures are but partial expressions of Divine bliss. Suffering from the delusions of life and steeped in sensuality and sin and thinking of all the released saints that preceded him like *Appar* and *Sambandar*, he sought His feet and finally attained *mukti*. With devotion on account of love for love's sake, *Sundarar*, like *Tirumaṅgai Āzhvār*, sends messages of love to the Lord and finally the response comes and *Śiva* and the saint are united for ever in eternal bliss. *Sundarar* felt certain that there was no more birth or death for him".[113]

112. *Tēvāram*, 7: 78: 1.
113. *Mystics* and *Mysticism*, pp. 246-247.

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CHAPTER III

TAMILIANS AND RELIGION

I

WORSHIP THROUGH POETRY:

We have seen so far that the groups of saints mentioned in the 10th verse of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* are not foreign to the ideas expressed by *Ārūrar* in his verses eleswhere. We have not discussed at length the conception of '*Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār*' and '*Appālum aṭiccārntār*'. '*Appālum aṭiccārntār*' is the universal vision of *Ārūrar* and we shall bring out the significancc of this conception at the end of this part of our study. '*Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār*' as already hinted, are the mystic saints who have sung *Tēvāram* and we have suggested that *Ārūrar* is one of them. These have sung in *Tamiḻ* and these poets have looked upon *Tamiḻ* as the very form of the Lord. The later generations have considered these songs as the *Tamiḻ Vēdas* and the verses as *Tamiḻ mantras*. This theory of the *mantras* and poetry has to be here studied for our understanding the mystic poets. This will also explain why the saints of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* are all coming from the country where this *Tamiḻ* language is spoken. From this nationalism we proceed to the universalism of *Appālum aṭiccārntār*.[1] Certain problems relating to *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* are discussed as a preliminary to the study of the conception of *Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār*, in this chapter. In the last chapter of this part we discuss *Ārūrar's* toleration even with reference to his hostile sects of *Jains* and *Buddhists*.

II

NATIONALISM AND UNIVERSALISM:

The question when this *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* was sung *Ārūrar* had to be raised by us at various places during our discussion of the lives of the saints included in that list. According to *Periyapurāṇam*, it was sung after the marriage with *Paravai*. This composition was due to the position taken by *Viṟaṉmiṇṭar* who con-

1. *Ch.*, 5.

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cluded that even the Lord, that favoured one who did not honour the *Bhaktas* was to be blamed. *Ārūrar* was praying to God that he should be given the necessary capacity for singing the greatness of the *Bhaktas* and He answered his prayer suggesting to him the first half of the first line of this *hymn*. In a few editions of *Periyapurāṇam*, some additional verses are found in this connection where it is stated that *Ārūrar* coming from the house of *Paravai* in his libertine form went straight to worship the Lord, whereupon *Viṟaṉmiṇṭar* condemned *Ārūrar* who was, therefore, overcome by grief and who could not find the Lord inside the temple, but afterwards, the Lord advised him to sing this *hymn*. The *Sanskrit* and *Kannada* traditions, as already noted often refer to this libertine form and the *Telugu Basava Purāṇa* by *Sōmanātha* refers to this incident in these very terms. This trend in such descriptions is found in some mediaeval pseudo *Siddha* works which in exaggerating the intrinsic purity of *jīvanmuktas* assert that they as *svēcchācārins* may be appearing for all outward purposes as libertines—almost suggesting that they may be consciously so In their enthusiasm for reform and revolt these assertions are made which may suggest that they are heretics—not bound by ordinary laws of conduct reminding us of the western Anti-nomian doctrine and practices where harlotry and other carnal vices are not considered sinful for the spiritual man because the spirit in him which is God is not affected by the flesh and cannot sin and because the man who is nothing cannot sin so long as the spirit which is God is in him. This cannot be the correct view. But as most of the editions of *Periyapurāṇam* do not contain these seventeen verses they must be taken to be interpolations based on the *Telugu* and *Kannada* traditions. *Ārūrar* teaches us that there is a God who transcends natute, that *Dharma* governs all men, that there is sin and that the acts of libertines are impurities leading to Hell, for there is suffering and enjoyment, not only in this life, but also in our after life; when the *jīvanmukta* transcends ordinary morality, he reaches the stage of perfect goodness which is beyond our conceptions of good and evil; it is supra moral and not immoral.

III

SAINTS GREAT, NOT BY MIRACLES ALONE:

But this is not the problem facing us. We found that the saints who ought to be taken as contemporaries of *Ārūrar* came to

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be known to *Ārūrar* only after this *hymn* was sung. *Kōṭpuli*, *Kaḻaṟiṟṟaṟivār* and *Ēyarkōṉ* may be mentioned in this connection. Especially with reference to *Ēyarkoṉ*, the miraculous events took place long after this *Tiruttoṇṭattokai hymn* was sung. It may be contended that it is not the miracles but their greatness in the *Śaivite* world that appealed to *Ārūrar* and that these saints were famous even at the time of the marriage with *Paravai*.

IV

ARE ALL THE SAINTS OF TIRUTTONTATTOKAI, CONTEMPORARIES?

Another problem arises on account of the statements made in *Periyapurāṇam*. While *Ārūrar* was coming to *Tiruvārūr* temple, he saw all the followers of *Śiva* of this world assembled within the grove — *Tēvāciriyaṉ*.[2] "When is the Lord to make me their slave?" — so prayed *Ārūrar* and the Lord explained to him the greatness of these saints and asked him to take refuge in them.[3] He saw the great assembly at a distance and worshipped them many a time and began singing the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* repeating the name of every one of these saints.[4] This description in *Periyapurāṇam* suggests that all the saints mentioned in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* were physically present on the occasion of its composition. This will make all of them contemporaries.

But it would be impossible for the 3,000 *Brahmins* of *Tillai* to have assembled there along with the other saints. It may be suggested that a few of their representatives were present in the grove (*Tēvāciriyaṉ*). We had already pointed out that *Caṇḍēśvara* and *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* seemed to have become traditions by the time of this *hymn*. It may be contended in answer to this argument that there was a confusion in the mind of the people, a confusion which led to the identification of a later *Caṇḍēśvara* and *Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ* with their namesakes of a more ancient period. Even if there was any such confusion, it could have been only because these two saints were not contemporaries of the three *Tēvāram* poets.

Whether all these saints were contemporaries or not, one conclusion is clear that *Nampiyāṇṭār* and *Cēkkiḻār*, if not *Nampiyārūrar* looked upon them as forming one group. In the '*Appālum*

2. *Taṭut.*, 189.
3. *Ibid.*, 196.
4. *Ibid.*, 201.

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aṭiccārntār' purāṇam, Cēkkiḻār distinguishes this group of saints from all other groups living before or after this group. If all of them are not contemporaries they must be taken to have lived in one particular period, probably the 6th and 7th centuries of the *Christian Era* responsible for the restoration of *Śaivism* to its old glory. This conclusion seems to be irresistible as these saints lived in the memories of the people of *Ārūrar's* age.

V

SAIVA SANGHA:

In this connection, the traditions about the *Jain Saṅgha*, the *Buddhist Saṅgha* and the great *Tamiḻ Saṅgha* come to our mind. The nama *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* is also very suggestive. '*Tokai*' has been used by *Campantar* himself as the name of *Tamiḻ Caṅkam* — "*Arraṉṟi antaṇ Maturait tokai yākkiṇāṉum*".[5] Then, *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* will mean this *Śaiva Saṅgha* or the assembly of *Śaiva* followers or saints. Perhaps one such assembly existed at *Tiruvārūr*.

The name *Tēvāciriyaṉ* for the grove or the *maṇṭapa* of the saints is also significant. *Tēvāciriyaṉ* means a divine teacher; a fitting name for the place where these teachers of *Śaivism* assembled from generation to generation up to the time of *Nampiyārūrar*. Probably *Viraṉmiṇṭar* was the latest of the leaders of this assembly. Or, *Tēvāciriyaṉ* may mean the *Ācāryas* or teachers who had attained divinity as *jīvanmuktas* or *vidēhamuktas*. In any case, it is clear from the reference in *Periyapurāṇam* that this group forms a unique one, separated from others as belonging to a particular period of time and a particular place. This line of argument may lead one to conclude that all these saints could not have been removed from each other by any great length of time perhaps more than a century.

VI

AGA OF TAMIL REVIVAL:

It is in this connection the fact that all these saints blong to *Tāmiḻ* country becomes important. The *Pallava* period was a great age of *Sanskrit* revival in the *Tamiḻ* country. But that is only one half of the story. The saints like *Ārūrar* have been successfully attempting at *Tamilising* the people, the kings, and their tradition. The great transformation effected by *Ārūrar* in his treatment of

5. 5: 54: 11.

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Purāṇic stories had already been studied in detail.[6] The kings themselves trying to identify themselves with *Tamiḻ* by assuming *Tamiḻ* titles and assimilating the *Tamiḻ* tradition with their history had been already pointed out. It is in this light that we have to study *Ārūrar's* poems.

VII

VISION OF UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD IN TIRUTTONTATTOKAI:

A study of the *Tiruttoṇṭattokai hymn*[7] is very interesting. The *hymn* begins with the *Brahmin* saints of *Citamparam*, who, along with the *Naṭarāja* temple there, should have become so prominent as to occupy the first place during the age of *Ārūrar*. The next name mentioned is the saint from a community of potters. This juxtaposition of a potter with the *Brahmins* shows that the poet is going beyond caste-ridden society to give us a vision of the universal brother-hood — the *Toṇṭakkulam* of *Periyāḻvār*.[8] The following table will show the caste-war distribution of the saints of this *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. Every one of the innumerable castes of South India could feel honoured by their contribution of at least one saint to the growth of this brotherhood.

Tillaivāḻ Antaṇar	*Brahmins*
Tirunīlakaṇṭar	Potter
Iyaṟpakai	Merchant
Ilaiyāṉkuṭi Māṟar	*Vēḷāḷa*
Meypporuḷ	King
Viraṉmiṇṭar	*Vēḷāḷa*
Amarnīti	Merchant
Eṟipattar	Warrior?
Ēṉātināṭar	*Īla*
Kaṇṇappar	*Vēṭar* (Hunter)
Kuṅkiliyakkalayar	*Brahmin*
Māṉakkañcāṟar	*Vēḷāḷa*
Arivāṭṭāyar	*Vēḷāḷa*
Ānāyar	*Āyar* (Cowherd)
Mūrti	Merchant
Muruka	*Brahmin*
Uruttirapacupati	*Brahmin*
Tirunāḷaippōvār	*Pulaiyar*
Tirukkuṟippuṭtoṇṭar	Washerman
Caṇṭīcar	*Brahmin*
Tirunāvukkaracar	*Vēḷāḷa*
Kulacciṟaiyār	?
Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpar	King?

6 *Vol.*, II. 7. 7: 39. 8. *Tiruppallāṇṭu, v.*, 5.

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Pēyār (Kāraikkālammaiyār)	Merchant
Appūti	*Brahmin*
Nīlanakkar	*Brahmin*
Naminanti	*Brahmin*
Campantar	*Brahmin*
Eyarkōṉkalikkāma	*Vēḷāḷa*
Tirumūlar	*Yōgin* (Cowherd?)
Taṇṭi	?
Mūrkka	*Vēḷāḷa*
Cōmācimāṟar	*Brahmin*
Cākkiyar	*Vēḷāḷa*
Cirappuli	*Brahmin*
Ciṟuttoṇṭar	*Māmātiraiyār*
Kaḷaṟiṟaṟivār	King
Kaṇanātar	*Brahmin*
Kūṟṟuva	King
Poyyaṭimai Illār	Scholar?
Pukaḻccōḻar	King
Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar	King
Atipattar	Fisherman
Kalikkampar	Merchant
Kaliyar	*Cekkār* (Oilmonger)
Cakti	*Vēḷāḷa*
Aiyaṭikaḷkāṭavarkōṉ	King
Kaṇampullar	?
Kāri	Scholar?
Niṉṟacīrneṭumāṟar	King
Vāyilār	*Vēḷāḷa*
Muṉaiyaṭuvār	*Vēḷāḷa*
Kaḷaṟciṅkar	King
Iṭaṅkaḻi	*Vēḷāḷa*
Ceruttuṇai	*Vēḷāḷa*
Pukaḻttuṇai	*Brahmin (Ādiśaivar)*
Kōṭpuli	*Vēḷāḷa*
Pattarāiyppaṇivār	?
Paramaṉaiyē Pāṭuvār	?
Cittattaiccivaṉpālēvaippār	*Yōgin*
Tiruvārūrp piṟantār	?
Muppōtum Tirumēṉi Tiṇṭuvār	*Brahmins*
Muḻunīṟupūciya Muṉivar	?
Appālum aṭiccārntār	?
Pūcalār	*Brahmin*
Maṅkaiyarkkaraci	Queen
Nēca	*Cāliyar* (Weaver)
Kōcceṅkatcōḻa	King
Tirunīlakaṇṭayāḻppāṇar	*Pāṇar*
Caṭaiyar	*Brahmin*
Icaijñāniyār	*Brahmin*
Nampi Ārūrar	*Brahmin*

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VIII

THE TIRUTTONTATTOKAI SAINTS AND THE TAMILNAD:

This fact of these saints of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* being *Tamilians* has not been sufficiently emphasized till now. *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* was sung in the temples and we have specific reference to an inscription of *Rājēndra Cōḷa.*[9] *Nampiyāṇṭār Nampi* has sung a separate verse for each one of these *bhaktas* and *Cēkkiḻār's Periya-purāṇam* gives the stories of these *toṇṭars* with all epic grandeur. His *Purāṇam*, therefore, has become in a way the national epic of the *Tamiḻ Land.* The incidents themselves are of no immense. significance. It is the spirit that actuated the *bhaktas* that is really divine. Therefore, these srories have a psychological significance tracing the spiritual development of these *bhaktas.* The following table giving the places of birth of these *bhaktas* shows that all of them belong to the *Tamiḻ* land.

Name	Country	Village
Tillaivāḻ Antaṇar	*Cōḷa*	*Tillai-Citamparam*
Tirunīlakaṇṭar	do.	do.
Iyaṟpakai	do.	*Pukār*
Māṟa	do.	*Iḷaiyāṉkuṭippati*
Viṟaṉ miṇṭar	*Cōḷa*	*Ceṅkuṉṟam*
Meypporuḷ	*Cēti*	*Tirukkōvalūr*
Amarnīti	*Cōḷa*	*Paḷaiyāṟai*
Eṟipattar	do.	*Karuvūr*
Ēṉātinātar	do.	*Eyiṉaṉūr*
Kaṇṇappar	*Toṇṭai*	*Tirukkāḷatti*
Kuṅkiliyakkalayar	*Cōḷa*	*Tirukkatavūr*
Māṉakkañcāṟar	—	*Kañcāṟūr*
Arivāṭṭāyar	*Cōḷa*	*Kaṇamaṅkalam*
Aṉāyar	*Mēlmānāṭu*	*Maṅkalam*
Mūrti	*Pāṇṭi*	*Maturai*
Muruka	*Cōḷa*	*Tiruppukalūr*
Uruttirappacupati	do.	*Tiruttalaiyūr*
Tirunāḷaippōvār	*Mēṟkānāṭu*	*Āṭaṉūr*
Tirukkuṟipputtoṇṭar	*Toṇṭai*	*Kāñcīpuram*
Caṇṭīcar	*Cōḷa*	*Tiruccēyñalūr*
Tirunāvukkaracar	*Tirumuṉaippāṭi*	*Tiruvāmūr*
Kulacciṟaiyār	*Pāṇṭi*	*Maṇamēṟkuṭi*
Perumiḷalaikkuṟumpar	*Miḷalai*	*Tirumiḷaḷai*
Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār	*Cōḷa*	*Kāraikkāl*
Appūti	do.	*Tiṅkaḷūr*

9. *S.I.I., Vol. IV, No.* 223.

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Name	Country	Village
Nīlanakkar	do.	Cāttamaṅkai
Naminanti	do.	Ēmappērūr
Campantar	do.	Cīkāḻi
Eyarkōṉkalikkāma	do.	Perumaṅkalam
Tirumūlar	do.	Cāttaṉūr
Taṇṭi	do.	Tiruvārūr
Mūrkka	Tōṇṭai	Tiruvērkāṭu
Cōmācimāṟar	Cōḻa	Tiruvampar
Cākkiyar	?	Caṅkamaṅkai
Ciṟappuli	Cōḻa	Ākkūr
Ciruttoṇṭar	do.	Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi
Kaḻaṟiṟṟarivār	Malaināṭu	Makōtai
Kaṇaṇātar	Cōḻa	Cīkāḻi
Kūṟṟuva	—	Kaḻantai
Poyyatimai Illār	Pāṇṭi	Maturai
Pukaḻccōḻar	Cōḻa	Uṟaiyūr
Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyar	Tirumuṉaippāṭi	Tirumuṉaippāti
Atipattar	Cōḻa	Nākappaṭṭiṉam
Kalikkampar	—	Peṇṇākaṭam
Kaliyar	Toṇṭai	Tiruvoṟṟiyūr
Cakti	Cōḻa	Variñcaiyūr
Aiyaṭikaḻkāṭavarkōṉ	Toṇṭai	Kāñcipuram
Kaṇampullar	—	Irukkuvēḻūr
Kāri	Cōḻa	Tirukkaṭavūr
Niṉṟacīrneṭumāṟar	Pāṇṭi	Maturai
Vāyilār	Toṇṭai	Mayilāppūr
Muṉaiyaṭuvār	Cōḻa	Niṭūr
Kaḻaṟciṅkar	Toṇṭai	—
Iṭaṅkaḻi	Kōṉāṭu	Koṭumpāḻūr
Ceruttuṇaiyār	Cōḻa	Tañcai
Pukaḻttuṇai	—	Ceruviliputtūr
Kōṭpuli	—	Nāṭṭiyattāṉkuti
Pattarāippaṇivār		
Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvar		
Cittattaic civaṉpālē vaippār		
Tiruvārūrppiṟantār	Cōḻa	Tiruvārūr
Muppōtum tirumēṉi tiṇṭuvār		
Muḻunīṟupūciya muṉivar		
Appālum aṭiccārntār		
Pūcalār	—	Niṉṟavūr
Maṅkaiyarkkaraci	Pāṇṭi	Maturai
Nēca	—	Kampili
Kōcceṅkaṭ Cōḻa	Cōḻa	—
Tirunīlakaṇṭa yāḻppāṇar		Erukkattamapuliyūr
Caṭaiyaṉār	Tirumuṉaippāti	Tirunāvalūr
Icaiñāṉiyār	do.	do.
Nampi Ārūrar	do.	do.

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Our poet refers to the native places of some of the Saints:

Māraṉ	*Iḷaiyāṉkuṭi*
Viraṉmiṇṭar	*Kuṟṟai*
Kalayaṉ	*Kaṭavūr*
Kañcāraṉ	*Kañcāṟu*
Āṉāyar	*Puṉalmaṅkai*
Perumiḻalaikkuṟumpar	*Perumiḻalai*
Nīlanakkar	*Cāttamaṅkai*
Cōmācimāṟar	*Ampar*
Ciṟuttoṇṭar	*Ceṅkāṭṭaṅkuṭi*
Kaṇanātar	*Kāḻi*
Kūṟṟuva	*Kaḷantai*
Pukaḻccōḻa	*Karuvūr*
Atipattar	*Nākai*
Cakti	*Variñcai*
Niṉṟacīrneṭumāra	*Nelvēliveṉṟār*
Vāyilār	*Mayilai*
Ceruttuṇai	*Taṇcai*
Pūcalār	*Niṉṟavūr*

IX

KAMPILI IN TAMILNAD:

There are two saints who may appear to be an exception to the generalization that all the saints of the *hymn* are from the *Tamiḻ* land. The one is *Tirumūlar*. The later day tradition states that he came from the Northern country. *Ārūrar* is silent about this. But even according to the later day tradition, the saint entered the body of a *Tamilian* cowherd and, therefore, he is no exception to our generalization.

The other saint is *Nēca Nāyaṉār*. But we will be finding '*Kampili*' as the birth place of *Nēca Nāyaṉār*. This city lies on the bank of *Tuṅgabhadra*. This, therefore, gives us a clue to the conception of *Tamiḻ* land of the time of the *Smṛtis*. The *Smṛtis* speak of *Kṛṣṇā* as the *Southern* boundary of the *Andhras* and, therefore, there is no wonder in *Nampi Ārūrar* thinking of all lands south of *Tuṅgabhadra* forming part of the *Tamiḻ* country and the attempts, of the *Pallavas* and the later *Cōḻas*, were aimed at reaching that northern border. It is unfortunate that when discussing the limits of the *Tamiḻ* country this aspect of the question is often forgotten. The *Pallavas* had their northern capital at *Dāṉyakaṭaka* and *Kulōttuṅka* the Great, came from the *Vēṅki* country. Therefore, in their times, it was but natural, that the *Tamiḻ*

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country should have been thought as reaching *Tuṅgabhadra*, if not *Kṛṣṇā*. *Kampili* is not given as the city of *Nēca Nāyaṉār* by *Ārūrar* himself. The city is, however, mentioned by *Appar* as an important holy place containing a *Śiva* temple.

X

SAINTS OUTSIDE TAMILNAD:

It is significant that in this list of *Toṇṭars*, *Nampi Ārūrar* does not mention *Mārkkaṇṭar*, *Paracurāmar*, *Cūtar*, *Pārtha* and *Bhagīratha*, whom in other places he had mentioned with the feeling of great reverence. In the light of our statement about the birth place of *Bhaktas* included in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* the reason for the non-inclusion is very clear.

In the following *hymns*, he refers to some of the saints found in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* along with *Mārkkaṇṭar*, *Cūtar*, *Paracurāmar*, *Pārtha*, *Bhagīratha*, etc. Therefore, *Nampi Ārūrar* had no objection to combine these sets of saints. Only the scheme of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* as giving a list of saints of *Tamiḻ* land prevents *Nampi Ārūrar* in including the names of these saints whom *Nampi Ārūrar* had confessed had inspired him to take refuge in the Lord.

Pukaḻttuṇai Nāyaṉār	7:9: 6; 7:19: 11
Taṇṭi (*Caṇḍēśvara*)	7:17: 4; 7:55: 3
Caṇṭi, Tirunāvukkaraiyar & Kaṇṇappar	7:65: 2
Caṇṭi & Kaṇṇappar	7:88: 6
Ñāṉacampantar	7:62: 8
Ñāṉacampantar & Nāviṉukkaracar	7:67: 5; 7:78: 10
Ñāṉacampantar, Nāviṉukkaraiyaṉ Ñāḻaippōvāṉ, Cūtaṉ, Cākkiyaṉ, Cilanti, Kaṇṇappaṉ and *Kaṇampullaṉ*	7:55: 4
Pārttan & Pakīrataṉ	7:55: 7
Kōcceṅkaṇāṉ	7:65: 1
Vicayaṉ	7:66: 4; 7:53: 8; 7:57: 6
Caṇṭi, Tirnāvukkaraiyaṉ & Kaṇṇappaṉ	7:65: 2
Taṇṭi & Eyarkōṉ	7:55: 3
Antaṇāḻaṉ (*Mārkkaṇṭaṉ*)	7:55: 1
Muṉivar (*Mārkkaṇṭaṉ*)	7:63: 4
Pārttaṉār	7:56: 2; 7:76: 3
Paracurāmaṉ	7:65: 3
Piṭavūrāṉ	7:96: 6
Naraciṅkamuṉaiyaraiyaṉ	7:17: 11
Curapi (*Surabhi*)	7:65: 4

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XI

TAMIL COUNTRY DEAR TO SIVA:

Ārūrar feels that the *Tamiḻ* country is dear to *Śiva*. The later day poets had emphasized this greatness of *Tamiḻ* land by associating with *Naṭarāja* and *Dakṣiṇāmurti* who are always turning to the south, that is according to them to the southern parts of the *Tamiḻ* country. *Ārūrar* is very definite about *Śiva* favouring the *Tamiḻ* or the south country: "*Teṉṉāṉaik kuṭapāliṉ vaṭapāliṉ kuṇapāl cērāta cintaiyāṉ*"[10]—'He is the Lord of the south and his mind never turns to the west or the north or the east'. Our poet feels that *Śiva* is behind the *Tamilians* and their rulers. "*Niṟaikkoṇṭa cintaiyāl Nelvēli veṉṟa Niṉṟacīr Neṭumāraṉ*"[11] refers to the victory of the *Pāṇṭiya* because *Ārūrar* probably feels that it was a victory brought out by *Śiva's* blessing on the king, a victory for the *Tamilians* as against the foreigners who threatened the freedom of the *Tamiḻ* country. It is in this light we have to understand *Ārūrar's* reference to *Pallavas* — "*Pallavarkkut tiṟaikoṭā maṉṉavarai maṟukkam ceyyum...Perumāṉ*"[12] and his joy in referring to *Kaḻarciṅkaṉ* as "*Kaṭal cūḻnta ulakelām kākkiṉṟa perumāṉ*".[13] Perhaps we have to interpret with reference to various chieftains and kings in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* as so many references to the great men who saved the *Tamiḻ* country of *Śaivism*. "*Kūṭāmaṉṉaraik kūṭṭattu veṉṟa Kōṭpuli*"[14] and such other references are significant from this point of view. It is, therefore, no wonder that he has grouped together the *Śaivite* saints of *Tamiḻ* had fresh in the memory of his age as something unique in his *Tiruttoṇṭattokai*. It is in this light that we must read the blissful references to the various places, rivers and mountains of *Tamiḻ* land occurring in his *hymn*, descriptions which probably showed the way to the later day poets singing *Nāṭṭuppaṭalam*, *Nakarappaṭalam* and *Āṟṟuppaṭalam*. Therefore, his descriptions of nature of *Tamiḻ* land is important from this point of view apart from its supreme poetic worth. *Ārūrar*'s conception of *Tamiḻ* as the very form of God may be discussed in relation to the theory of *Mantra* ond Poetry and generally of Art.

10. 7: 38: 8.
11. 7: 39: 8.
12. 7: 90: 4.
13. 7: 39: 9.
14. 7: 15: 10.

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CHAPTER IV

TAMIL AND RELIGION

I

THE UNIVERSE: THE SABDAPRAPANCA AND THE ARTHAPRAPANCA:

The *Āgamas* speak of *mantras*. According to the *Āgamas* and *Tantras*, the *Śabda Brahman* is in the form of the *Kuṇḍalini Śakti* in the *Mūlādhāra*. The *Parā Vāk* resides there. This develops into *mātrikas* which *Woodroffe* translates as 'Little mothers', the subtle forms of the gross letters (*Varṇa*). The letters represent certain subtle creative forces. The garland of bones is explained as this garland of subtle letters (*Varṇamālā*). The *varṇas* (letters) make up the *padas* (words) and *vākyas* (sentences) which are the three of the six *adhvās* or ways of reaching *Śakti*, if they are experienced as pure forms of *Citśakti* (*Adhva śōdhana*). The *Parā* sound in the *Mūlādhāra* becomes the *paśyantī* (*śabda* of general movement) at the *Maṇipūraka* where it is connected with the mind. At *Anāhata* or heart, it becomes *Madhyama* associated with *Buddhi-tattva*. The breath coming out through the throat and mouth gives us the final gross sound — *Vaikharī* — as heard by our ear. The *mantras* are combinations of the *mātrikas*, the very forms of the God worshipped.

The whole Universe is divided into the *Śabda prapañca*, the world of words and the *Artha prapañca*, the world of matter. When *Śiva* so desires, the creation starts. A stress is formed in the *Matrix* or *Māyā* in the *citākāśa*. Vibrations mean some sound or other, heard or unheard, considering them independent of the effect it produces in its causal aspect. *Śabda* is any kind of motion, physical or mental, for one cosmic movement produces both the mind and its object which two may be termed the name or *śabda* on the one hand; form or object on the other hand. The varieties of forms in this Universe are due to a variety of vibrations. Therefore, every particular thing or form in the world has its own peculiar vibration and, therefore, a peculiar and innate sound of its own. This sound represents its proper name. Its physical form represents its matter. This proper name or its innate sound

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or *mantra* is heard only by *yōgis* and *ṛṣis* whose spiritual development gives them the capacity to realize and hear that *mantra* or proper name and the music of the spheres. All the other names in current usage are but the corruptions of these proper names; and sound can revivify even these corruptions. In this theory, the word or name is as important as the thing itself. The word gives us the control over the thing. The word as vibrations represents the very energy or the *śakti* of the thing. The whole Universe as representing the names and forms is the display of the divine dance of the Lord, a concrete externalization of His Grace. The *Āgamas* speak of the word of the energy form and the material form as the indivisible divine pair of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī*, our divine parents. *Kāḷidāsa*, in his famous epic *Raghuvamsa*, in his opening invocation to *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* indissolubly united as *Vāk* and *Artha*, gives expression to this great *Āgamic* truth.

Nampi Ārūrar also refers to these two kinds of Universe, of words and matter. The *Vēdas*, as the embodiment of great truth, reveal themselves through these two forms. The inner truth of these two forms is realized by those who have attained realization at the feet of the Lord. The various arts and philosophies are in essence the display of these two kinds of Universe and in that sense the incarnation of the Lord. The great dance of *Śiva* reveals itself in the various forms of this Universe. *Nampi Ārūrar* also speaks in terms of words and matter: "*Collai Nampi Poruḷāy niṉṟa Nampi*" — 'O, Prince! You are the words; You are the Prince standing firm as the significance of the words or the things of the word';[1] "*Corporuḷāyc curuṅkā maṟai nāṉkiṉaiyum ōtiyaṉ*"[2] 'You have become the words and things expounded in the expanding four *Vēdas*. (This may also be interpreted to mean that the *Vēdas* are in the form of words and things). "The loving *Brahmins* of *Naṟaiyūr* realize completely the significance of words and things" — "*Puriyum maṟaiyōr niṟaicoṟ poruḷkaḷ teriyum Naṟaiyūr*";[3] "*Colluvār coṟporuḷavai nī*"[4] — 'You are the words and the matter spoken of'; "*Corpāla poruṭpāla curuti oru nāṉkum tōttiramum palacollit tutittiṟaitaṉ tiṟattē kaṟpārum kēṭpārumāy eṅkum naṉkār kalaipayiḷ antaṇar vāḻum Kalayanallūr kāṇē*"[5]—

1. 7: 63: 8.
2. 7: 97: 1.
3. 7: 93: 8.
4. 7: 4: 7.
5. 7: 16: 5.

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"The *Brahmins* living in *Kalayanallūr* learn the various excellent arts everywhere, they learn and they listen to the various aspects of the Lord, praising Him and reciting various *hymns* and the four *Vēdas* of words and matter',

II

THE INNER MEANING OF REAL EDUCATION:

Nampi Ārūrar here explains the inner meaning of real education. The *hymns* as contrasted with the *Vēdas* probably refer to the *Tamiḻ hymns*. The spoken sound or speech is a manifestation of the naming or thought which is similar in all races of men. It is mental operation; it can be so intensified as to itself, be creative when the words born of them in the minds and mouths of the saints become divine (*mantra caitanya*). It becomes the art of divine poetry or divine music. Here, art becomes worship capable of creating the *mantra caitanya*—"*Arccaṉai pāṭṭē ākum*".[6] Art is here related to the divine experience. And the *Tamiḻ hymns*, if our interpretation in correct express equally with the *Vēdas* the wide expanse of word and matter. The inward nature of art is further emphasized by *Nampi Ārūrar*—"*Kalaikkelām Poruḷāy uṭaṉ kūṭip pārkkiṉṟa uyirkkup parintāṉ*"[7]—'He is the very means ing of all the arts; He becomes one with the soul and He is all love to the soul which sees and learns'. The experience of art and life takes place within the frame-work of time, though in itself it is beyond time; and this miracle is due to the fact that God Himself is day and night measuring time—"*Pakalum kaṅkulum āki niṉṟāṉ*."[8] But these experiences are made possible through the sense organs. These sense organs are but matter whilst the experience realized is divine. This is indeed a miracle and it is made possible because these sense organs are but the forms of God. "He is the tasting tongue, the discriminating ear and the seeing eye and is the very taste experienced by all these and also the objects of these sensations, the roaming seas and mountains. It is all the work of His Grace. He is the rain that pours down from the top of the dark mountain".[9] *Nampi Ārūrar* thus explains the experience of art as the experience of God. The same

6. *Periyapurāṇam, Taṭut.*, 70.
7. 7: 59: 3.
8. 7: 59: 3.
9. 7: 50: 3.

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idea is emphasized in another place — "*Colluvār corporuḷavai nī eṉpaṉ nāṉ nākkum ceviyum kaṇṇum nī eṉpaṉ nāṉ*".[10]

The theory underlying this conception of words and their meaning is hinted at by *Appar* in *Kīḻvēḷūr Tiruttāṇṭakam*: "*Corpāvum poruḷ terintu tūymai nōkkit tūṅkātār maṉattiruḷai vāṅkātāṉ*"[11]— 'The word as sounds spread; through them the meaning is learnt; the pure (*Tūymai* is defined as the state of being without any desire or hankering. This '*tūymai*' is said to arise when the Truth is contemplated on and according to *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*, "*Tūymai eṉpatu avā iṉmai maṟṟatu vāaymai vēṇṭa varum*"—*Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 368) is seen and realized. There is then the calm of a sleep, a *samādhi* or mystic experience of calm bliss where the ego is completely lost. From the mind of such, the darkness is withdrawn. That is how the Lord arranges these things'. The words (poetry) seem to have an incantation value. The conscious and unconscious become one and are transcended in the *supra* conscious when the darkness and dim vision disappear giving place for the clear mystic vision.

The truth is not a matter of propositions of dry logic and conflicting philosophies; as the real, it has to be experienced and realized. The distinction which the Catholics make between *Animus* and *Anima* is important as suggesting real value of poetry as *anima* or mystic realization of the Absolute as a finer kind of music as Socrates puts it, as distinguished from *animus* the logical understanding of the philosophical abstraction; *animus* is said to function in the sphere of clear abstract reasoning and *anima* in deeper and richer field of knowledge or rather intuitional awareness as for instance our poet.

III

OUR POET'S PHILOSOPHY OF ART:

We had suggested in our study of the *hymn* on *Ōṇakāntaṉ taḷi*[12] that our poet was giving his philosophy of Art or '*Kalai*' in one of the verses therein.[12a] We have interpreted that verse as referring to the six passions of man: *Kāma*, *Krōdha*, *Lōbha*,

10. 7: 4: 7.
11. *Ap.*, 281: 2.
12. 7: 5.
12a. 7: 5: 8.

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Mada, *Mōha*, and *Mātsara*. They are referred to as having been established in the scheme of the Universe for '*Kalai*' or Art. These are the most powerful emotions and when they are sublimated they become poetic sentiments, *rasas* or '*cuvai*' or '*meyppāṭu*' which are said to form the very life of poetry or art. Art according to *Aristotle's theory of Catharsis* or purging[13] evokes these emotions but in such a way that the artist and critic become masters of these emotions rather than their slaves, with the result that their minds remain purified, being purged of all the riotous effects of these emotions. At the end there is a calmness or peace which is after all the real bliss. It is this sublimation of the passions which our poet speaks of as '*Ulaiyamaittal*',[14] *i.e.*, preparing for their enjoyment even as the cook prepares for the feast of rice by starting the oven. The fire of the oven here reminds us of the *tapas* involved in the creation of art—the *tapas* which transforms these diabolical emotions into divine art. Art was looked upon by a few schools of *Jains* as something worldly. Music, for instance, was identified with erotic love; a great artist like *Tiruttakka Tēvar* describes *Kāmam* as '*Viṇaiccelvam*', 'as the wealth of music or lyre'.[15] But *Campantar* and *Ārūrar* have experienced God Himself as a form of Art and they identify God with Art. Music, thus spiritualized according to *Campantar* removes the emotions like anger or *krōdha*[16]—"*Ēḻu icaikkiḻaviyāl veñciṉamoḻittavar*". Like *Tyāgarāja* and *Purandara Das*, *Ārūrar* also has realized the spiritual heights to which Art takes us.

The spiritualized music leads to God. What Prof. Srinivasachariar says about *Tyāgarāja* applies to *Ārūrar* as well but unfortunately we know nothing about the music of his compositions or of his age. *Ārūrar's* age was an age of renaissance in music as is proved by *Kuṭumiyāmalai* musical inscription of *Mahēndravarmaṉ* and *Tēvāram* is probably the product of this renaissance.

Prof. Srinivasachariar writes:

"Music aids *mukti* as *Brahmin* is *rasā* or songs vibrating through the universe and it has its fruition in *yōga* and *bhōga*. The mind is spontaneously centred in Divine Love and joy wells up from within. The beauty of *Tyāgarāja's* (*Ārūrar's*) music lies

13. *Arist. Poet.*, 6.
14. 7: 5: 8.
15. *Cintāmaṇi*, 411.
16. 3: 78: 10.

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in the concretising of the rare *rāgas* into *kīrtanas* and lyric music and in the marvellous development of the *saṅgatis* or musical notes of scales with shades of sweetness swelling from within. The rhythm of *rāgas* is different from that of words, as the inner music vanishes the moment it is dissected by grammar and logic. Every *rāga* has its specific mood and the *rāgas* sung by him exhaust almost the whole *gamut* of emotions. In his songs he saw *Rāma* (*Śiva*) face to face, spoke to Him heart to heart and passed through all *bhāvas* and he felt it his mission to spread the spell of *Rāmanāma* (*Śivanāma*). The mystic would sometimes enter into the bridal mood like that of *Sītā* (the lady love) and express his moods of separation, remorse and assault. When the mystic mood ripened he entered into *sānnyāsa* and soon after into the security of *tanmaya* and *sāyujya*. He became a mellowed philosopher as age advanced and his *bhakti* for *Rāma* (*Śiva*) transcended prayer and praise. In sweetness of diction, beauty of *bhāva*, free flow of imagination, in the blending of music and musing and finally in the rich variety of mystic experience musically inspired, he stands in *South India* unmatched in the realm of (modern) musical mysticism".[17]

It is in this view, that we can understand our poet speaking of dance, music and poetry as modes of worship and as forms of the Lord. In this connection, we may remember *Nāṉacampantar* speaking of '*Pāṭal neṟi*' and '*Āṭal neṟi*',[18] 'The path of Poetry or music' and 'the Path of Dance' in the some way in which others speak of *Karma mārga*, *Jñāna mārga* and *Bhakti mārga*. Even the forms of the temples and the images as works of art are the various forms of beauty in which the Lord incarnates as it were, Beauty being the Absolute. Thus Art itself becomes purified and deified in our poet's aesthetics. Temple cult thus receives a new interpretation in this theory of Art. It looks as through we can group all kinds of worship around this theory of Art divine.

IV

BHAKTI OR ANPU, THE RESULTANT EXPERIENCE OF ALL ARTS:

In another place, *Nampi Ārūrar* speaks of *Śiva* as the significance of all arts. "*Palkalaipporuḷē*";[19] "*Nirampu palkalaiyiṉ*

17. *Mystics and Mysticism, pp.* 280-281.
18. 2: 44: 5.
19. 7: 69: 10.

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poruḷālē pōṟṟit taṉkaḷāl toḻumavaṉ"[19a] — 'The *Bhakta* takes refuge in His feet realizing the truth of the various arts so full of His Grace praising Him with the words of those arts'. Education is thus deified and he speaks of the Lord as one who is worshipped by the educated — "*Kaṟṟavar paravappaṭuvāṉ*".[20] The darkness of this Universe is cleared by that light which is no other than God. It is a pure light, the light of Grace, piercing through the darkness enshrouding the Universe of sound and the Universe of matter: "*Coṟpatapporuḷ iruḷaṟuttaruḷum tūya cōti*".[21] This idea we explained with the help of *Appar's Tiruttāṇṭakam.* 'Those who realize God as the greatest Good, speak that the Lord resides in all their words' — "*Naṟpatam eṉṟuṇarvār coṟpatamār Civaṉ*".[22] 'They read and realize the truth. whey think of your greatness; their hearts melt. They give expression to the music of their hearts in poetry. There I realize you' — "*Ōtaluṇarntaṭiyār uṉperumaikku niṉain tuḷḷurukā viracum ōcaiyaip pāṭalum nī ātal uṇarntu ... atiyēṉ*",[23]

God is, therefore, knowledge, the resultant experience of all education and art. He is, therefore, addressed as '*Aṟivē*'.[24] Usually this knowledge or *Jñānam* is considered under two heads: (1) the *Parajñāna*, the supreme direct knowledge or divine experience; (2) the *Aparajñāna*, the lower knowledge or the in direct knowledge about the Lord and the direct knowledge of other things. *Cēkkiḻār* speaks of them as, "*Civañāṉam*" and "*Kalaiñāṉam*".[25] *Nampi Ārūrar* shows the way to sublimate even the lower knowledge into the supreme knowledge. As the *Upaniṣads* often say, "When the mud, the root cause is known, all the mud vessels are known; when God is known, everything also is known". Knowledge at that stage ceases to be mere knowledge but experience '*Arivu*'; there is blissful '*Aṉpu*'. The great *Advaitist Madhusūdana Sarasvatī* identifies both *Bhakti* and *Biahmavidyā* in his *Bhaktirasāyana.* That is *Prabhakti* or *Sādhya Bhakti, Bhakti* as the end and goal and not *Bhakti* as the means to that goal. It is from this point of view that *Tirumantiram* identifies

19a. 7: 62: 6.
20. 7: 61: 11.
21. 7: 68: 6.
22. 7: 84: 3.
23. 7: 84: 2.
24. 7: 6: 4; 7: 24: 9, *etc.*
25. *Campantar Purāṇam* 70.

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'*Aṉpu*' with *Śivam*'.[26] *Kaṇṇappar*, the hunter saint, who never went to any school for education, is praised by *Nampi Ārūrar* as "*Kalai malinta cīr Nampi Kaṇṇappar*"[27]—"the prince of that greatness full of arts". Now this greatness can only be the greatness of this *Bhakti* or Love which according to *Nampi Ārūrar* is equivalent to the resultant of all arts.

V

BHAVANA:

The distinction between the world of sound and the world of matter, the *śabda prapañca* and the *artha prapāñca*, was already referred to. God is sometimes contemplated as *Śabdabrahma*. All the sounds of words are ultimately from *Paranāda*, becoming grosser and grosser through *Paśyantī*, *Madhyama* and *Vaikharī* stages. The *yōgis* are said to her and experience these various stages of this evolution. *Ārūrar* speaks of the Lord as He who has become the sound through the *Nāda* becoming evolved more and more: '*Nātamikuttu ōcaiyatāṉavaṉ*'.[28] *Ārūrar* makes more direct refrence to this *yōga* path in his *hymn* No. 45, verse No. 9:

"*Tēṭuvaṉ tēṭuvaṉ cemmalarp pātaṅkal nāṭoṟum*
Nāṭuvaṉ nāṭuvaṉ nāpikku mēlēyōr nālviral
Māṭuvaṉ maṭuvaṉ vaṉkai piṭittu makiḻntuḷē
Āṭuvaṉ āṭuvaṉ Āmāttūrem aṭikaṭkē"

But *Ārūrar's* approach is really *Jñānayōga*. The *Upaniṣads* speak of the *Brahmabhāvana* or the contemplation on the self as the *Brahman*. One need not at this stage go into the complicated question whether this *Advaitic* relationship is monism or non-dualism. *Śaivites* also speak of the '*Śivōham bhāvanā*'. According to *Parimēlaḻakar*, it is the '*vāymai*' referred to in *Tirukkuṟaḷ* by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* in his famous couplet, *Tūymai eṉpatu avāviṉmai maṟṟatu vāymai vēṇṭa varum*.[29] *Ārūrar* speaks of God as '*Nāṉāya paraṉ*,[30] "The Lord who is I' but there are moments when he is not so sure of this firm grasp of the Lord when he feels the miseries of the world—"*Vaḻittalaip paṭuvāṉ muyalkiṉṟēṉ*

26. 270.
27. 7: 39: 2.
28. 7: 84: 9.
29. *Kuṟal*, 364.
30. 7: 38; 4.

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uṉṉaippōl eṉṉaip pāvikka māṭṭēṉ"[31]—'I attempt to follow the path but I cannot contemplate on the self as Yourself'. This refers to the '*Brahmaivāham Bhāvanā*' or the '*Śivōham Bhāvanā*'—the subjective experience of the teaching contained in the *Mahāvākya*—'*Tattvamasi*'.

VI

PRANAVOPASANA

Mantras like *Gāyatrī* may be in the form of prayers and the poems of saints are such *mantras*. There are two other *mantras*, which are referred to by *Ārūrar*. Of them, one is the *Praṇava* or the '*Ōm*'. These *mantras*, unlike prayers, are the *mantra caitanya* forms of God worshipped. By uttering them, the worshipper attempts at becoming one with the energy of *mantra caitanya*. Supernatural powers are thus developed but our saints are concerned with *Brahmānubhava*, becoming one with the Absolute. It is this higher or *Paracaitanya* that becomes the meaning, significance and reality of these *mantras*. The *Praṇavōpāsanā* is one of the well known methods of contemplation of God. The various meanings of *Praṇava* are collected in the book, *Tēvāram Vēdasāram*, at page 76. *Praṇavam* is said to represent the *Brahman* and the Soul. It is explained as a *mantra* representing the all pervasive form of the Lord and His various emanations. It is also explained as a '*yantra*' in the form of *Śivaliṅga*. It again signifies the *Pañcabrahma mantras*, which form the five faces of the Lord: *Isāna*, *Tatpuruṣa*, *Aghōra*, *Vāmadēva*, and *Sadyōjāta*. *Praṇava* signifies this Universe as the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* says, "*Ōm iti idam sarvam*".[32] *Praṇava* is also said to be the form of the master or *guru* whilst the *śiṣya* becomes the body of the *guru*. *Nampi Ārūrar* refers to the sacred bull on which *Śiva* rides, being in the form of this *Praṇava*—a concrete representation of that truth God is *Paśupati*: '*Ōvaṇamēḻ erutu*'.[33] *Nampi Ārūrar* also sings thus: "*Ūṉaṅkat tuyirppāy ulakellām Ōṅkārat turuvāki niṉṟāṉ*"[34]—'He became the life inside all bodies and all over the world. He stood in the form *Ōm*'. This may refer to the statement of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*: "*Ōm iti idam sarvam Śivam*"

31. 7: 54: 5.
32. 1: 8.
33. 7: 5: 10.
34. 7: 67: 1.

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or the other statement of the *Upaniṣad* that the *Brahmam* as *Praṇava* represents both the inner and the outer principles.

VII

PANCAKSARA:

The other *mantra* is the *Pañcākṣara*, sacred for the *Śaivites*. It consists of five letters: *Na*, *Ma*, *Śi*, *Va*, *Ya*. The famous *Pāṇṭikkoṭumuṭi hymn* gives expression to *Nampi Ārūrar's* experience of the contemplation of this *mantra*. This contemplation, or rather the experience has become a habit with our saint, "*Uṉai nāṉ maṟakkiṉum cōllum nā Namaccivāyavē*"[35] — 'I may forget you, but my tongue will utter this *mantra Namaccivāya*'. He assures the Lord that he has no other attachment but the feet of the Lord which he always contemplates on. The very thought of this *Pañcākṣara*, he asserts, has brought him the birthless state.[36] The day when he leaves off this contemplation is looked upon by him as the day of his death.[37]

The *mantra Namasśivāya*' means, 'I am not mine; I am *Śivā's*. It may, to start with, represent a prayer but it becomes the very name and form of the spiritual realization as the aspirant reaches higher and higher spiritual spheres.[38] It expresses complete self-surrender unto the Lord and it is this feeling of loving effacement of ego that is important. The five letters signify the five great principles, *Śi*, the Lord; *Va*, His Grace; *Ya*, the Soul; *Na*, the Divine power of illusion and *Ma*, the *Mala* or impurities. The soul gets rid of the *Mala*, when by the Grace of God, illusion disappears and the soul turns heavenward. Then follows the stage of complete self-surrender when egotism vanishes and the soul is lost in the Grace of the Lord. When this experience develops, even the distinction between the Grace and the Lord disappears and the undivided divine experience alone remains, the very breath of the follower and its sound resembling '*Śi* and '*Ōm*' reminding him at every stage of this great experience. Taken thus representing these five principles, *Pañcākṣara* may be looked upon as five words and *Ārūrar* looks upon this *mantra* as '*Añcupatam*'[39]

35. 7: 48.
36. 7: 48: 1.
37. 7: 48: 3.
38. See *Tiruvaruṭpayaṉ — 9th chapter.*
39. 7: 83: 1.

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which is thought of thrice a day, at dawn, at dusk and at mid-day. It is true that Indian grammars will justify calling a letter, a word.[40]

It is not clear whether the '*Añcupatam*' may not be interpreted as the *Pañcabrahma mantras*. But the tradition interprets this *Añcupatam* as '*Pañcākṣara*'. The *Śivāgamas* lay the great emphasis on the *Pāñcabrahma mantras* and the *Ṣaḍaṇgamantras*. *Mantras* are said to end in seven different ways: *Namah*, *Vaṣat*, *Vouṣat*, *Svāhā Svatāḥ*, *Hum* and *Paṭ*. *Ārūrar* speaks of the Lord as the one who is found of the seven letters and these are interpreted as referring to these seven suffixes or endings of the *mantras* — "*Eṭṭukantār ticai*; *ēḻukantār eḻuttu*".[41] It is also possible to interpret these seven letters as referring to the seven symbols of the seven *Śṛtis* — *Śa*, *Ga*, *Mā*, *Pa*, *Da* and *Ni*.

VIII

MANTRAS, THE MUSIC OF THE LOVING SOUL, INDEPENDENT OF THE LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES:

According to some, the *mantras* which represent the correct sound of the vibrations can only be *Sanskrit mantras*, and on this score worship is often insisted and being carried on in the *Sanskrit* language; but as already pointed out, *Nampi Ārūrar* contemplates the worship with the *Vēdic hymns* as well as '*Tōttiram*' or *Tamiḻ hymns*. But the subtle *mantras* or '*Bījas*' belong to no particular language and, therefore, may be taken to belong to all the languages. The saints by their *mantra caitanya* can deify any sound or series of sounds which they utter or express into the truth of their spiritual experience; their verses from the vibrations of their process of spiritual experience. The *mantras* and *hymns* are not the vibrations of matter or *matrix* but the music of the loving soul: "*Uḷḷurukā viracum ōcai*",[42] something spiritual and significant in our approach to the Lord. The *Tamilian* heart sings the *Tamil* music and the *Tamiḻ* poetry and when it is born of true love and knowledge, *Tamiḻ* poetry is equally divine. This is indeed a new and original way of discussing the great problem. The *Lalitā Sahasranāma* mentions our divine Mother as *Bhāṣā Rūpiṇī* (She who is in the form of *Bhāṣā*, the spoken language).

40. See '*Cakarakkiḷavi*' — *Tol.*, 62.
41. 7: 19: 8.
42. 7: 84: 2.

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But *Tamilians* have always been looking upon their language as equally divine; they went a step further in identifying it with God.

Ñāṉacampantar, it is from this point of view, speaks of worshippers praising the Lord in all the languages:

> *"Kallāl niḻalmēya kaṟaicēr kaṇṭāveṉṟu*
> *Ellā moḻiyālum imaiyōr toḻutu ētta".*[43]

The importance is that *Campantar* speaks of the *Dēvas* praising the Lord in all the languages. As already pointed out, *Nampi Ārūrar* was interested in *Tamilizing* the onward march of the new culture of the *Pallava* age. He is, therefore, identifying the *Tamiḻ* language itself with God. The distinction between the *Śabda Prapañca* and the *Artha Prapañca* should be held in our mind when we read some of his verses. "The Lord is the eye of the world; He is the very idea of the seven worlds and He has become all of these *Artha Prapañca*" — *"Kaṇṇāy ēḻ ulakum karuttāya aruttamumāy"*.[44] The question arises what is the form of the *Śabda Prapañca* in this divine display. It is very significant that *Nampi Ārūrar* should identify this with sweet *Tamiḻ* full of music: *"Paṇṇār iṉ Tamiḻāy"*[45]—continues our saint. Of course the Lord is beyond the *Śabda* and *Artha Prapañca*: *"Paramāya parañcuṭarē"*.[46]

The great saints *Appar* and *Ñāṉacampantar* are great in the eyes of *Nampi Ārūrar* because they popularized and spread that *Tamiḻ* language and its culture: *"Nāḷum iṉṉicaiyāl Tamiḻ parappum Ñāṉacampantaṉ"*;[47] *"Iruntu nīr Tamiḻōṭicai kēṭkum iccayāl kācu nittam nalkiṉīr"*[48]—Theirs was a divine service. God was so fond of their *Tamiḻ* poems that according to *Nampi Ārūrar*, He gave gold to those two saints. Hence *Ārūrar* says, *"Nallicai Ñāṉacampantaṉum Nāviṉukkaracarum pāṭiya naṟṟamiḻ mālai colliyavē colli ēttukappāṉ"*,[49] that he is pleased to repeat (the same garland of good *Tamiḻ* sung by *Ñāṉacampantaṉ* of good music and *Nāviṉukkaracar*.

43. 1: 85: 1.
44. 7: 24: 5.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*
47. 7: 62: 8.
48. 7: 88: 8.
49. 7; 67: 5.

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The attributes of *Tamiḻ* show *Nampi Ārūrar's* great reverence for *Tamiḻ*: "*Vaṇṭamiḻ*"[50]—Munificent *Tamiḻ*; "*Narramiḻ*"[51]—The good *Tamiḻ*; "*Taṇṭamiḻ*".[52] The cool refreshing *Tamiḻ*; "*Poyyāttamiḻ*"[53]—The never lying *Tamiḻ*; "*Centamiḻ*"[54]—The upright *Tamiḻ*; "*Aruntamiḻ*"[55]—The rare *Tamiḻ*; "*Nalattamiḻ*"[56]—The *Tamiḻ* of quality, beauty, bliss or excellence; "*Pāvaṇattamiḻ*"[57]—The *Tamiḻ* of the form of Poetry; "*Iṉtamiḻ*"[58]—The sweet *Tamiḻ*; "*Uru Tamiḻ*"[59]—The abundant *Tamiḻ*. *Nampi Ārūrar* refers to the contemplation on the Lord as the *Tamilian* as something unique and important: "*Tamiḻāṉ eṉṟu pāvikka valla eṅkaḷūr*".[60] It is the music of this language, as the very music of the loving heart which makes the *Bhaktas* dance that appeals to our saint. "*Paṇṇiṭait tamiḻ oppāy*"[61]—'You are like the *Tamiḻ* in music'; "*Vaṇṭamiḻ vallavarkaḷ ēḻicai ēḻnarampiṉ ōcai*"[62]—'You are the very music of the seven strings of the harp or *yāḻ* of those experts in munificent *Tamiḻ*'.

IX

GOD, THE PATRON OF TAMIL SCHOLARS, MUSIC AND DANCE:

The Lord is not only the *Tamilian* but the father of *Tamiḻ* scholars—"*Taṇṭamiḻ nūṟpulavāṇarkkōr ammāṉ*".[63] The Lord is the music inside the song—'*Pāṭṭakatticai āki niṉṟaṉ*'.[64] These scholars of the South are full of knowledge of the arts. The Lord removes their miseries: "*Kalaimalinta teṉpulavar karṟōṛtam iṭar tīrkkum...ilai malinta maḻuvāṉ*".[65]

50. 7: 83: 6.
51. 7: 3: 10; 7: 67: 5.
52. 7: 4: 10; 7: 84: 10; 7: 96: 6.
53. 7: 13: 11.
54. 7: 26: 10; 7: 36: 4; 7: 67: 11.
55. 7: 9: 11; 7: 72: 11.
56. 7: 18: 10.
57. 7: 5: 10.
58. 7: 100: 10.
59. 7: 19. 11.
60. 7: 31: 6.
61. 7: 29: 6.
62. 7: 83: 6.
63. 7: 96: 6.
64. 7: 62: 3.
65. 7: 30: 11.

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They praise Him with the ever new garland of words — "*Viruntāya colmālai koṇṭētti*".[66] It is because poetry is the music of the heart that the Lord sympathized even that cruel *Rāvaṇa* and blessed him when he began to sing out of his heart: "*Pāṭṭukku aṟu iraṅkiya veṉṟiyiṉāṉ*".[67] One wonders whether *Rāvaṇa* sang in *Tamiḻ*. This sympathy is what probably *Appar* will call '*Dayā-mūla danmam*'[68] and this resonance to music and song *Ārūrar* sings and describes as the great victory of the Lord — "*Pāṭaliṉ icai muralap paṉṉāḷum pāvittup pāṭiyāṭik kaṇṭārtam kaṇkuḷirum*"[69] — 'The loving heart of the *Bhaktas* contemplate on his beautiful form for many days and express the music of the heart in songs and in dance whilst the musical instruments slowly hum and resound. They see the vision of the Lord as they had contemplated and their eyes are happy with this sight. How sweet is he when we think of Him?'

X

GOD, THE GREAT MUSICIAN, POET AND DANCER:

The Lord Himself is a great musician, poet and dancer, and the damsels of *Dārurkavana*, when He comes a-begging at their doors as the great beauty of the forest, playfully enquire of Him whether He is an adept in dance and music and song.[70] One may wonder which language is referred to. But we must remember that this is a repetition of a question which they had put to Him in a previous verse.[71] They are complaining of the Lord stealing away their heart and their bangles: "*Kuravam nāṟiya kuḻaliṉār vaḷai kolvatē toḻilāki nīr iravum immaṉai aṟitirē*";[72] "*Centamiḻttiṟam vallirō ceṅkaṇ aravam muṉkaiyil āṭavē vantu niṟkum iteṉkolō?*"[73] He comes to them singing *Tamiḻ* and they ask him, "Are you an expert in chaste *Tamiḻ* music"?[74]

66. 7: 30: 4.
67. 7: 62: 9.
68. 233: 6.
69. 7: 30: 10.
70. 7: 36: 7.
71. 7: 36: 4.
72. 7: 36: 6.
73. 7: 36: 4.
74. *Tamiḻ* music differentiates between '*Paṇ*', the *sampūrṇa rāgas* where occur all the seven *śṛtis* and '*Tiṟam*' or melodies deficient in one or more of the *śṛtis*.

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Love seems to be the very life of *Caṅkam* poetry. In another passage *Nampi Ārūrar* refers to the parrots understanding the *Tamiḻ* language great for its fivefold divisions of erotic poetry almost willing to fly and carry the message of the love sick one — "*Tiṇaikoḷ centamiḻ paiṅkiḷi teriyum*".[75] "*Tamiḻ* seems to make even the cruel serpent dance in love in the hand of the Lord. Therefore, these damsels exclaim, "Are you an adept in the musical tunes of pure *Tamiḻ*?" "*Centamiḻittiṟam vallīrō ceṅkaṇ aravam muṉkaiyil āṭavē vantu niṟkum iteṉkolō*?".[76] Therefore, *Nampi Ārūrar* thinks of the Lord as great *Tamiḻ* dancer and *Tamiḻ* poet. Was not the Lord, one of the poets of the *Caṅkam* age as *Appar* significantly points out — "*Naṉpāṭṭup pulavaṉāyccaṅkam ēṟi*".[77] No wonder *Ārūrar* sings of the praises of the Lord in *Tamiḻ* — "*Tiruppukaḻ viruppāl paṉṉalam Tamiḻāl pāṭuvēṯ karuḷāy*"[78] — "Bless me who sings your praises with all love in the *Tamiḻ* language of many beauties", and the Lord is there as the very nugget of gold to such scholars — "*Poṉṉāṉē pulavarkku*".[79] In another place he asks, "*Pāṭum pulavarkkaruḷum poruḷeṉ*?"[80] — 'What is that you will give unto the scholars who sing of you?' One wonders whether *Ārūrar* is not including himself amongst the *pulavars*. Even at the distant *Kētāram* in the north, far away from the *Tamiḻ* land, he hears the *Tamiḻ* sound and music. Through the old bamboos, rushes the wind and it looks as though the *mṛdaṅgam* (drum) is played on; it reminds him of the musical *Tamiḻ* songs sung in *Tamiḻ* tunes"[81] and he is there reminded of the two great saints *Nāvukkaracar* and *Ñāṉacampantar*.[82]

XI

TAMIL IDENTIFIED WITH THE FORM OF THE LORD:

Our poet identifies *Tamiḻ* itself with the form of the Lord. The divisions of the *Tamiḻ* grammatical studies are the study of letters, study of words and the study of the subject matter. This is something peculiar to *Tamiḻ* and it is very significant that *Ārūrar*

75. 7: 65: 2.
76. 7: 36: 4.
77. *Ap.*, 290: 3.
78. 7: 69: 4.
79. 7: 96: 2.
80. 7: 4: 5.
81. 7: 78: 7.
82. 7: 78: 10.

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thinks upon these different branches of study as the three great eyes of *Śiva* — "*Eḻuttoṭu coṟporuḷ ellām uṉ kaṇṭāṉē*";[83] "You are the great thought" — "*Eṇṭāṉē* — thus *Ārūrar* begins and goes to explain thereafter how this thought takes the verbal form. He thinks of the *Tamiḻ* language alone and it is because of this he thinks of *ēḻuttu*', '*col*', *poruḷ*' as the eyes of the Lord. We had seen him referring to *Tamiḻ* as "*Tiṇai koḷ centamiḻ*"[84] the '*tiṇai*' being the very subject-matter of the study of *Poruḷ*.

"*Iḻaikkum eḻuttukku uyirē ottiyāl*"[85] — 'You are that vowel unto the letters written'. He sings in another place about '*ēḻuttu*': "*Akaram mutaliṉ eḻuttāki niṉṟāy*".[86] This description is somewhat perplexing. Possibly, it is expressing the idea conveyed by the first couplet of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*: "*Akara mutala eḻuttellām*" — "The vowel referred to is '*A*' which as mere *nāda* involved in the very opening of the mouth lies at the basis of every letter or sound as is explained by *Parimēlaḻakar*[87] and *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar*.[88] It is true '*eḻuttu*' may even mean a picture or painting as is proved by the existence of the phrase, "*Eḻuttunilai maṇṭapam*"[89] meaning the hall of painting; and in that case *Nampi Ārūrar* must be thinking of the Lord as the breath which will vivify a work of fine art.

XII

NAMPI ARURAR, A PARAMANAIYE PATUVAR, A MYSTIC POET:

All these songs are the outpourings of the hearts of *Bhaktas* the expression of their mystic experience, therefore it is divine poetry expressing the finest blossom of *Jñānamārga* — "*Poyyā nāvataṉāl pukaḻvārkaḷ maṉattiṉuḷḷē meyyē niṉṟeriyum viḷakkē yotta tēvar pirāṉ*"[90] — 'Their tongues never utter any falsehood and they praise you. In the inner recess of their mind you stand firm and shine like a great lamp of truth'. "*Ōtaluṇarntaṭiyār uṉ perumaikku niṉain tuḷḷurukā viracum ōcaiyaip pāṭlum nī*'[91] may also be referred to.

83. 7: 96: 7.
84. 7: 65: 2.
85. 7: 4: 4.
86. 7: 3: 7.
87. Commentary on *Kuṟaḷ No.* 1.
88. Commentary on *Tol., No.* 46.
89. *Paripāṭal*, 19: 53.
90. 7: 23: 9.
91. 7: 84: 2.

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All these make it clear that when *Nampi Ārūrar* sings of *Tamiḻ* songs, he is having in mind the songs of those whom he had described in *Tiruttoṇṭattokai — Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār*. Therefore, *Ārūrar* himself has to be looked upon as a *Paramaṉaiyē Pāṭuvār* — a mystic poet. This part of our study has really revealed *Ārūrar's* worship and religion as Art-mysticism. Has not *Cēkkiḻār* said that the Lord Himself told *Ārūrar*, "*Arccaṉai pāṭṭē ākum*"?[92] We have already seen Prof. Srinivasachariyar speaking *Nampi Ārūrar* as a mystic poet and we have quoted his version fully about our poet.[93]

92. *Taṭut.*, 70.
93. *Mystics and Mysticism, pp.* 169-70 & *pp.* 246-247.

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CHAPTER V

UNIVERSALISM

I

APPALUM ATIGCARNTAR:

This insistence on *Tamiḻ* and the *Tamiḻ* group of saints does not signify any parochialism because as already explained our poet *Nampi Ārūrar* hastens to conclude, "*Appālum aṭiccārntār aṭiyārkkum aṭiyēṉ*"[1]—'I am the servant of those living beyond the region of the *Tamiḻ* land, beyond the present time, those who had lived in the past and those who live in the future'.

One verse in the *Tirukkēṭāram hymn* is significant from this point of view—"*Taḷicālaikaḷ tavamāvatu tammaip peril aṉṟē*"[2] He seems to condemn in this verse the narrow parochialism, reminding us of the fundamental unity of India. 'The choultries and *mutts* become places of spiritual development of *Tapas* only when one gets absolute self control'.[3] The words '*tammaipperil*' reminds us of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* phrase, '*Taṉṉuyir tāṉ aṟapperṟāṉ*'.[4] He refers to the cult of holy waters and pilgrimages. He mentions *Kurukkēttiram* (*Gurukṣētra*), *Kōtāviri* (*Godavari*) and *Kumari* (Cape Comorin) to which people then flocked for bathing in the holy waters. But our poet along with *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*[5] feels that bathing and thereby cleaning the outer body alone are not enough. The mind has to be purified in these holy places: "*Kuḷiyīruḷam Kurukkettiram, Kōtāviri, Kumari*"[6]—'You have to bathe your mind at *Kurukkēttiram, Kōtāviri* and *Kumari*'.

The pilgrimage to *Śrīparvatam* involves a purification. It is not the outward sight of *Śrīparvatam* but its inward contemplation and the resulting purification, that are more important. 'This

1. 7: 39: 10.
2. 7: 78: 6.
3. 7: 78: 6.
4. *Kuṟaḷ*, 268.
5. *Kuṟaḷ*, 298.
6. 7: 78: 6.

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great truth about *Śrī Parvatam*, you do not clearly realize'—"*Teliyīruḷam Śrī Parppatam*"[7]—thus he admonishes the pilgrims.

"This great country, from the south to the north, containing these holy places, forms a cultural and spiritual unity to be experienced through realization not to be merely known and to be travelled through. The parrot there pierces through the plantain fruit from south to north and eats it as a symbol of this relization and experience of unity of the land from north to south. With this experience in mind you should utter the word *Kētāram*, but alas! you do not"[8]—he sings. It this wider outlook that inspired our poet to sing of *Śrī Parvatam* and *Tirukkētāram* in the north and *Tirukkētīccaram* in the south (in Ceylon).

II

ARURAR AND THE FEDERATION OF LIVING BEINGS:

It is not merely a federation of men of all times and climes that *Nampi Ārūrar* is contemplating but a federation of living beings as was made clear by our reference to the federation of love involved in the folk-lore of this country and glorified by *Nampi Ārūrar* in his poetry. In that famous verse describing *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*,[9] he brings the tiger, the serpent and the lion to *listen* to the message of the *Śaivite* God along with *ṛṣis* and *Dēvas*.

The *Jains* emphasize the principle of *ahiṁsā* or kindness to all living beings including the plants and invisible germs. This is the great principle given expression to by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* in his memorable words, "Knowing one's own sufferings, how does one inflict suffering on other living beings?"[10] The word used for the living being covers all the varieties contemplated by the *Jains*. But the *Jaina* philosophy will restrict the attainment of salvation only to the human beings, and *Digambara Jains* will restrict it further to the masculine human beings. It is this *Jain* theory that is referred to by *Iḷampūraṇar* when he explains the special significance of the *Tamiḻ* alphabet ending in '*ṉ*' which is important as the masculine suffix denoting the masculine human form which alone is capable of attaing salvation.[11] But the more kindly

7. 7: 78: 6.
8. 7: 78: 6.
9. 7: 65: 6.
10. *Kuṟaḷ*, 318.
11. Commentary on *Tol.*, 1.

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heart of the ordinary people lived and moved amongst the beasts, birds and trees as though amidst brothers and sisters like *St. Francis* of *Assisi*, speaking with them and understanding their heart, thanging every one of them for the help so kindly and ungrudgingly given by them. They looked upon some of them as divine messengers—the serpent was deified; the bull was deified and so were many trees. Coming to be born in the midst of their innocent folks of *Tamiḻ* Land, the trees and rocks appeared as great *ṛṣis* lost in their contemplation. It is from this point of view that *Ārūrar* feels that the serpents, the tigers and the lions of the forest and the mountain, where *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* preached, also listened to His message.

A later day philosopher of *Śaiva Śiddhānta, Umāpati Śivam* is said to have given salvation to a thorny plant and also to an outcast '*Peṟṟāṉ Cāmpāṉ*' and thus this belief in the possibility of attaining salvation by all living beings without any more births had become the bedrock of *Śaivism* in South India. This is to a great extent due to the message of *Nampi Ārūrar* contained in the verse referred to above. The *Purāṇas* have elaborated this message by narrating stories of pigs and birds attaining salvation.[12] Therefore, though *Nampi Ārūrar* was a *Tamilian* through and through believing in the greatness and divinity of *Tamiḻ* poetry and culture he never ceased to be a citizen of the loving federation of living beings.

III

ARURAR'S MYSTIC AND UNIVERSAL VISION:

Tiruttoṇṭattokai is therefore a vision of *Ārūrar*. It is a mystic and universal vision. The History is there; the particular individual and their peculiar modes of worship from the basis but this basis rises to the spiritual greatness of poetic truth and a mystic vision of universal significance. The whole universe is brought within its scope and transcended. All the contradictions and conflicts are dissolved in this vision of self sacrifice and love. This universal outlook of the mystic should not be spoken of as mere toleration. A short note on this universal outlook may help us to realize fully its significances.

12. See *Tiruviḻaiyāṭal Purāṇam—Paṉṟikku mulai koṭutta paṭalam, Karikkuruvikku upatēcitta paṭalam, Nāraikku mutti koṭutta paṭalam.*

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IV

UNIVERSAL OUTLOOK:

Experience of God is claimed by the mystics of the world all over as real. They speak almost with one voice. This experience, or soul-sight of God or the Absolute, is not a mere feeling or thought or desire or will; it is real, objective, illuminating, elevating and blissful. The means to attain this goal is a great thirst for God, where, as Prof. Srinivasachariyar beautifully puts it, 'God-hunger of the soul is answered by the soul hunger of God'.[13] There, God is seen in all, all in God. This experience is not a passing whim or fancy, but is the very life of God in the love of the soul, which expresses itself in the service to all beings. The Absolute is the ground and basis, the '*Sat*' without a second: "*Ēkam ēva advitīyam Brahma*" is the *Upaniṣad*. But it is also the Great Dancer in the heart of the soul, seen also as the incarnation of love, in art-form pervading presence of God lost in His all pervasive love. The Absolute of Philosophy is the God of Religion and the Great *Dharma* of Ethics and the Beauty of Aesthetics.

If this were so, the question arises why should there be the conflicts of Philosophies, the wars of Religions. Experience is one and this mystic experience is beyond words. One has, therefore, to express it through symbols and metaphors. Here begins the source of all disputes which are to a certain extent verbal. "*Ēkam Sat Viprāḥ Bahudā vadanti*" — 'The Real is One; the Seers speak of it variously' — That is the great truth of *Ṛg Vēda* which characterizes the Indian thoughts from that time to the present. The mystics, therefore, never differ, though their followers and interpreters do. "The true mystics of all ages and climes claim to have had a direct experience of God and proclaim in their joy 'Come and see' and invite humanity to have similar experiences. They are free from the barriers that divide one man from another and therefore extend their spiritual hospitality to others".[14]

Thus do they promote the fraternity of faith. There is a catholicity of universal brotherhood which is not tolerance, experience, expediency, ecclecticism, condescension or compromise. "The theological method of *pūrvapakṣa* and *siddhānta* or the

13. *Mystics and Mysticism—pp.* 87, 127, 401.
14. *Mystics and Mysticism—p.* 428.

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establishment of one's view by the disjunctive elimination of the views of others may be logically justified but is alien to the synthetic temper of mysticism which is grounded in love, sustained by love and realized through love".[15]

"Mysticism insists on the idea of every *jīva* as the son of God as its inner source and sustenance. Every man can seek God and see Him spiritually in his own way, provided the quest satisfies the tests of moral purity and he invites others to share his experience. Though the experience of God is one, its expressions vary owing to the psychological differences of the mystics due to their birth and training and, therefore, homogencity and regimentality have no place in mysticism. The starting points alone are different but the goal arrived at by spiritual induction is the same. Likewise, sects and religions may vary but the God of sects and religions is the same as He is their inner Soul. Unity in variety is thus the master thought of mystic experience and it removes the evils of regimentation arising from standardizing spirituality. Reality is posited as one and the *siddhānta* deduced from it is true; but at the same time it is inductively realized as one in spite of psychological variations due to the temperaments of the mystics as *adhikārins*. Thus mysticism is shown to be one though the mystics describe it in various ways; light is white but it is multi-coloured. This view promotes freedom and catholicity and avoids the pitfalls of individualism and ecclesiasticism.[16]

V

MYSTICISM OF ARURAR:

This catholicity is the very life of the mysticism of *Ārūrar*. The vision he makes us see by his beautiful phrase, "*Appālum aṭiccārntār*" is a vision of the brother-hood of universe enveloped in divine love and living in the loving service of the Lord. It is an eternal brotherhood transcending the past, the present and the future, wherein are found all the great souls thirsting for God of all times and of all climes. The *Tiruppuṉkūr hymn*[17] praises another vision this time of the soul hunger of God embracing in His universal love all kinds of living beings whatever their faults may be deifying and making all one with him.[17a] In this

15. *Mystics and Mysticism, p.* 420.
16. *Mystics and Mysticism—pp.* 427-428.
17. 7: 55.
17a. 7: 55: 4.

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very *hymn* he speaks of the various religions.[18] The religions were in his days divided into categories of six—"*Aṟuvakaic camayam*".[19] It has come to mean, in a generic sense all the religions, and to the later day *Tamilians* the six *Akaccamayams* (*Śaivam*, *Pācupatam*, *Māviratam*, *Kāḷāmukam*, *Vāmam* and *Vairavam*), excluding the *Akappuṟaccamayam*, *Puṟaccamayam*, and *Puṟappuṟaccamayam*. *Ārūrar* speaks here of the Lord blessing with His rare Grace the respective followers of these religions of great knowledge, in their respective spheres.[20] Here is no condemnation of any religion. On the other hand, our poet addresses God as the Prince of all religions—"*Samayaṅkaḷiṉ Nampi*".[21] He becomes the refuge of all kinds of worshippers. Our poet describes *Śiva* as the very forms worshipped by other religions. He is the king of the *Dēvas*; He is *Viṣṇu* and He is *Brahma*.[22] Whoever amongst *Dēvas*, *Ṛṣis*, Kings—and there is an infinite number of them—stand everywhere—anywhere they may be—and praise Him, He blesses them all with what all they desire. Thus He has become the refuge of all those coming to Him. He is all forms of Mercy to these—the Ocean of *Kaṟpaka*, our Lord.[23] He is all kinds of prayers and songs, all varied ways of approach, the ancient and the Good.[24] *Hinduism* knows of the Creator, the Protector and the Destroyer and *Ārūrar* asserts all the three are His forms.[25] "He is of the colour of the gem; He is of the form transcending these and He is of many many beautiful forms"[26]—says our poet. Therefore, our poet begs the people of the world to contemplate and praise Him as it suits them,[27] according to the nature of this world.[28] Our poet assures them all freedom from death which is the characteristic feature of Salvation. Those who contemplate on Him in many ways—they escape from the clutches of the miseries of death.[29]

18. 7: 55: 9.
19. 7: 55: 9.
20. 7: 55: 9.
21. 7: 63: 6.
22. 7: 40: 1.
23. 7: 67: 8.
24. 7: 75: 1
25. 7: 84: 7.
26. 7: 2: 8.
27. 7: 33: 2, 3, 7.
28. 7: 33: 10.
29. 7: 52: 1.

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VI

MYSTICISM, A SYNTHETIC PHILOSOPHY, AND ITS VALUE:

This aspect of mysticism—its synthesis of all conflicting philosophies and, therefore, its value are beautifully expressed by Prof. Srinivasa Achariar, in his valuable book "*Mystics and Mysticism*".

"*Mysticism* is synthetic philosophy *par excellence* and the supreme religion of love. It is the meeting ground between science and philosophy as the method of both is the same, namely, pursuit of truth without any prejudice. The opposition between faith (*śruti*) and reason (*yukti*) is overcome by the test of spiritual realisation (*anubhava*). The truth that the Absolute of philosophy or *Brahman* is the personal God of religion or *Bhagavān* reconciles the extremes of monism and theism. It removes the antithesis between metaphysics, psychology, and religion by insisting on the unity between existence and value, by the affirmation that God, the Infinite, is the ground of finite existence and the goal of experience. Psychology starts with the study of the empirical self or the *jīva* and ends with the knowledge of the *ātman* which is distinct from the *jīva* fettered by *karmas* and the *guṇas* of *prakṛti*. Mysticism is a theoretical speculation as well as a practical way of life and thus satisfies philosophic speculation and the spiritual ends of ethics and religion. Mysticism is divine dynamics and is more than theoretics. The contradiction between ethics as a pursuit of goodness and religion as the attainment of God is overcome by the basic assumption of ethical religion that God or the All-Self is the endeavour as well as the end. There is really no disparity between the logical ideal of truth, the ethical ideal of goodness and the aesthetic ideal of beauty as they are eternally self-realized in God as the home of the eternal values".[30]

"The philosophy of mysticism harmonizes the claims of revelation, reason and intuition and thus avoids the pitfalls of dogmatism, intellectualism and subjectivism by its fundamental postulate, that Reality is realizable by all. Truth is true for ever and true for all and *Brahman* or God is the *sat* without a second though its seers may express it in different ways. Revelation is a body of spiritual verities spiritually verifiable by all and is not to be identified with any historic revelation, prophet or book. Though

30. *Mystics and Mysticism, pp.* 418-419.

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verifiability by personal experience is the highest test of religion, it is not its sole test as it may lapse into subjectivism or pragmatism. Reason mediates between revelation and intuition and when it is well disciplined, it can correct the evils of mere faith leading to fanaticism and mere intuition lapsing into subjectivism. But reason or *tarka* by itself has no finality as the logical or analytical intellect can only dissect Reality and not intuit it as a whole or Soul. The philosophy of mysticism ultimately takes its stand on or refuge into the Truth that Reality as *Brahman* or God reveals Himself to the mystic who seeks Him with all his heart and soul. In this way revelation, reason and intuition are ultimately one and all the *pramāṇas* are reconciled in the supreme test of Reality as realisation".[30a]

"Mysticism expounds the nature of God or *Brahman* as the inner ground of all beings and the ultimate goal of life and therefore, it unifies existence and value. God is the Being of all beings beyond changing nature or *acit* and the empirical self or *jīva* subject to ignorance, evil and misery and is, therefore, the ultimate *sat*. He is also the supreme end of life satisfying the logical needs of truth, the ethical needs of goodness and the aesthetic needs of beauty as He is Himself *satyam*, *jñānam* and *sundaram*. These values are eternal and ultimately one as they are all housed in the Absolute. The mind functions in the three ways of thinking, willing and feeling and the *jīva* or *ātman* having *jñātṛtva*, *kartṛtva*, and *bhōktṛtvā* is intellectual, volitional and emotional. They are the expressions of the self-consciousness of the self and when it is fully expressed in *mukti* or the unitive state Beyond, it is infinite. In this way, in *Brahman*, existence and value are one; He is the ground of all existents and their final goal. By attaining *Brahman*, everything is attained as He pervades all things as their inner Self and is their endeavour and end. As existence and value are integral, *Brahman* or God is and has truth, goodness and beauty and the mystic can realize God as the home of all values. This view renders mysticism all-comprehensive and inclusive".[31]

These passages may help us to understand and appreciate the universal outlook of *Ārūrar* and the value of this outlook. He has referred in loving terms of the various kinds of worship; for, to the mystic, "*Karma*, *jñāna* and *bhakti* are not mutually

30a. *Mystics and Mysticism*, *pp.* 424-425.
31. *Mystics and Mysticism*, *pp.* 425-426.

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exclusive as they all lead to the same goal and the contemplative, the worker and the devotee may start differently, but they all meet in God who is Light, Life and Love. As every mystic seeks and sees God and transmits his experience to others, there is no conflict between individualism and socialism. Finally *Brahman* is beyond space-time and finite-infinite and therefore the mystic attains the security and stability of eternal bliss by ascending to the Absolute and becoming one with Him. He transcends the world of space-time but does not deny it and, therefore, what is yonder does not negate what is here. It is a fulfilment of the herenow and not its negation".[32]

VII

THE JAINS AND THE BUDDHISTS:

Ārūrar's description of the *Jains* and the *Buddhists* may at first sight appear to be contradicting our theory of his catholicity and universal outlook. It must be remembered that the remarks of the *Tēvārām* Saints do not apply to all the *Jains* and *Buddhists* in general. The importance of one great verse of *Ñāṉacampantar* has not yet been fully realized. In his *Nākaikkārōṇam hymn* (84). in the usual 10th verse, which always refers to the *Buddhists* and *Jains*; *Campantar* speaks of the Lord blessing His followers whilst he distinguishes among others, which, in the context of the 10th verse usually referring to the *Buddhists* and *Jains* should refer to these sects—three kinds of people, *viz.*, (1) the good people who expound *Dharma*; (2) the bad people who indulge in backbiting and (3) the others who being neither good nor bad spread scandals: "*Nallār aram collap pollār pūram kūra allār alar tūrra aṭiyārkkaruḷ ceyvāṉ*".[33] Therefore, it is clear *Ñāṉacampantar* himself recognizes that there are good and great men, amongst the followers of *Buddhism* and *Jainism*, who went about expounding *Dharma* and they cannot be the objects of *Campantar's* criticism which can, therefore, refer only to those who back-bite and who spread scandal about *Śaivites* in particular.

Ārūrar's poems justify this conclusion of ours; for, his gravamen of the charge against these sects is, that they abuse and scandalize the *Śaivites* and the Lord. Descriptions of *Jains* and *Buddhists* which appear to us as very ungenerous, should, there-

32. *Mystics and Mysticism, pp.* 419-420.
33. 1: 84: 10.

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fore, be taken to apply to this kind of people amongst them and not to all the *Jains* and *Buddhists* in general. The critics amongst these sects, in the eyes of our poet, were not even sincere, their minds being clouded by their prejudice, hatred and jealousy, they themselves indulging in force and mean subterfuges. Our poet speaks of their '*miṇṭāṭutal*',[34] their way of rule or might, '*kuṇṭāṭutal*,[35] their revelling in *meanness*: '*kuṇṭu*' may also mean their stoutness. These critics of *Śaivism* were ostensibly ascetics, pretending to perform *Tapas*, but really slaves of their tongue; for, they where stout and sturdy, characterized by their '*mōṭu*'[36] or belly, always hankering after rich food with '*kāṭi*'[37] or ghee.[38] Some of them where also ignorant. Therefore, our poet speaks of their '*kariya maṉam*',[39] '*mūṭam*',[40] '*poyccamaṇ*'[41] and describes their enjoying their nakedness.[42] The real *Tapasvins* lost all their attachment to the world and gave up everything, becoming, unconscious of even their nakedness. But such were not those people whom our saints criticized. Therefore, our poet often refers to them as '*Camaṇāṭiyum*',[43] relishing in their nakedness. Our poet like *Campantar* in describing these sects emphasize the fact that they were contradicting each other by their very appearance: the *Jain* ascetics appearing naked;[44] the *Buddhists* appearing clothed:[45] the former eating whilst standing;[46] the latter eating whilst sitting.[47] In one place the description of the *Buddhists* occurs as '*Uṭaiyuṭaiya*',[48] those who are clothed but it is sometimes read '*Muṭaiyuṭaiya*' when it will mean, those who are addicted to flesh eating or having the odour flesh on their body. The *Buddhists* are against the slaughter of animals but latterly they found no objection in eating flesh obtained otherwise. As against them, the *Jains*

34. 7: 82: 9.
35. 7: 15: 9; 7: 30: 10; 7: 82: 9.
36. 7: 90: 9.
37. 7: 44: 9.
38. *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*, *l.*, 57.
39. 7: 44: 9.
40. 7: 90: 9.
41. 7: 63: 9.
42. 7: 22: 9; 7: 33: 9.
43. 7: 71: 9.
44. 7: 71: 9.
45. 7: 71: 9.
46. 7: 57: 10.
47. 7: 57: 10.
48. 7: 90: 9.

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refuse to eat even the flesh obtained otherwise and *Ārūrar* calls them '*Viṭakkiṉai oḻittavar*'. The intolerance of the people is brought out by the story of *Taṇṭiyaṭikaḷ* but there the spiritual greatness of *Taṇṭi* converted his erstwhile persecutors. Our poet refers to this incident.[49]

If the Lord is everywhere and within the heart of every one, He has to be in the heart of these people as well, becoming that way their great truth and our poet gives expression to this fundamental principle of mysticism. In this view of our poet's remarks there is really no hatred against the *Jains* and *Buddhists* as such, but against certain fanatics who are to be found in any religion, especially in a religion which has gained power and which is feeling that it is losing that power.

VIII

REFERENCES TO JAINS AND BUDDHISTS IN ARURAR'S WORK:

References to these sects in *Ārūrar* may now be studied.

i. "*Kuṇṭāṭum Camaṇarum Cākkiyarum puṟaṅkūṟum Kokuṭikkōyil*".[50]

'The Lord of the jasmine temple whom *Camaṇars* (*Jains*) and *Cākkiyars* (*Buddhists*) who revel in their depth of meanness, backbite and slander'.

ii. The very word used by *Campantar*, '*Puṟaṅkūṟal*' is found in *Ārūrar's* criticism as well in the above passage and here they said to hurl abuses upon the Lord:

"*Namaṇananantiyum Karumavīraṉum Tarumacēṉaṉum eṉṟivar*
Kumaṇamāmalaik kuṉṟupōlniṉṟu taṅkaḷkūraiyoṉ riṉṟiyē
Ñamaṇañāñaṇa ñāṇañōṇameṉ rōtiyāraiyum nāṇilā
Amaṇarāṟ paḻip puṭaiyarō namak kaṭika ḻākiya aṭikaḷē".[51]

'Is our Lord, the One, full of abuses hurled by the Jains?' In this verse our poet refers by names to certain leaders of this kind of critics amongst the *Jains*, *viz.*, *Namaṇa Nanti*, *Karumavīraṉ* and *Tarumacēṉaṉ*. It is curious that the name *Tarumacēṉaṉ* is referred to as one of the leaders of *Jains* by *Campantar*.[51a] This *Taruma-*

49. 7: 72: 10.
50. 7: 30: 10.
51. 7: 33: 9.
51.a 7: 39: 4.

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cēṉaṉ must be different from *Appar*, who went under that name whilst he was a *Jain*. Their sturdy and proud forms are also referred to as appearing like '*Kumaṇa māmalaik kuṉṟu*' ('*Kumaṇa māmalai*' is not clear; it may be the hill belonging to *Kumaṇaṉ* of the *Caṅkam* age, *viz.*, *Mutira malai*. '*Kumaṇam*' may mean 'bad smell' probably due to the *Jains*, not bathing, and perspiring whilst standing in the sun; or, it may mean the smell of the earth as referring to that of the mountain). Our poet refers here also to their nakedness and their shamelessness. He parodies not the idea behind the *mantras*, but the nasal sound of their *prākṛt mantras* which signify their taking refuge in *Arhat*, *Siddha*, *Sādhu* and *Dharma*. This parody is based on the purist view of our poet on languages. The *Tēvāram* writers insisted on preserving the languages in their pure state. They, for instance *Campantar*, looked upon *prākṛtam* or *pākatam* as the corruption of *Sanskrit*: '*Saṅgada buṅgam*'.[52] The '*maṇipravāḷa* style' in which the *Jains* and *Buddhists* indulged was anathema to the *Tēvāram* poets; for, in that mixture of languages they found neither the sweetness of *Tamiḻ* nor the majesty of *Sanskrit* — "*Āriyattoṭu Centamiḻp payaṉ arikilā antakar*".[53]

iii. "*Kariya maṉaccamaṇ kāṭiyāṭu kaḻukkaḷāl*
Eriya vacavuṇum taṉmaiyō?"[54]

The critics referred to here are said to be with a dark mind, *i.e.*, a mind clouded by prejudice and hatred. The Lord is abused by them out of their fire of jealousy. "Should the Lord be a prey to these eagles? Our poet seems to suggest that our Lord takes pleasure in such abuses out of His overflowing Grace and love and he enjoys this as being one of His characteristic features. This is once again a great truth of mysticism. But the description '*kāṭiyāṭu kaḻu*', 'the eagles almost bathing in ghee' seems to be rather hard on the critics and this is probably due to the contrast which the poet wants to emphasize between the sincere love of the Lord and the cruelty of the pretenders.

iv. "*Iruntuṇ Tērarum niṉṟuṇ Camaṇum ēcaniṉṟavaṉ*".[55]

52. 3: 39: 2.
53. 3: 39: 4.
54. 7: 44: 9
55. 7: 57: 10.

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Here again the ridicule by those who hanker after food is underlined. The contrast between these warring sects is characterized by their very outward acts—one, sitting and eating and the other standing and eating. Our poet is simply echoing the very phrases of *Campantar*: "*Niṉṟuṇ Camaṇar iruntuṇ Tērar*".[56]

v. "*Poyccamaṇ poruḷākai īṇṭu Nampi*".[57]

'Our Lord, the great Prince, who gathers the truth of the false pretenders.' These refer only to the *Jains* but it was already pointed out not to be devout followers of that religion but to the fanatic pretenders. Even unto them He becomes a Reality.

vi. "*Naṉmai oṉṟilāt Tēraṟpuṉ Camaṇām*
Camayamākiya tavattiṉār avattat taṉmai viṭṭoḻi naṉmaiyai vēṇṭil
.....*Śivakkoḻuṇṭiṉaic*
ceṉṟaṭai maṉaṇē".[58]

'The *Tērars* or *Buddhists* who have not any goodness about them and those Jains who are mean, have renunciation of *Tapas* for their religion and they are themselves in the form of ascetics. But their characteristic feature is their falsehood (what a calamity!). If you leave this out and aspire for the good, O, my mind! go and reach the sprout of *Śiva*' Here again the attributes '*naṉmai oṉṟilā*', '*puṉ*' are restrictive rather than descriptive in their scope.

vii. "*Kuṇṭāṭiyum Camaṇāṭiyum kuṟṟuṭukkaiyar tāmum*
Kaṇṭārkaṇṭa kāraṇammavai karutātu kaitoḻumiṉ".[59]

'Those who indulge in mean acts, those who indulge in nakedness and those who have short dress or clothes—these have seen or realized certain truth as the great cause of causes. Do not think of them. Go and worship the Lord'. The causes referred to, may be the explanations which they give for various forms of *Śiva*, explanations which amount to scandalizing *Śaivism*. Or, it may mean the great truths of their religion explaining the cause of all the miseries of the world, and the causes which effect freedom. Their theory of *Karma* has no place for God's *Kṛpā*, and it may be

56. 1: 71: 10.
57. 7: 63: 9.
58. 7: 64: 9.
59. 7: 71: 9.

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because of this our poet is begging of the *Śaivites* not to take their philosophy of heart. But in view of the other references to these critics it is better to take this also as referring to their scandals on *Śaivism*.

viii. "*Kuṇṭikaip, paṭappiṉil viṭakkiṉai oḻittavar*
Kaṇṭavar kaṇṭaṭi vīḻntavar kaṉaikaḻal
Taṇṭuṭait taṇṭita ṉiṉamuṭai aravuṭaṉ
Eṇṭicaik korucuṭar iṭam valampuramē".[60]

This verse has been discussed in our study of the *hymn* on *Valampuram*.[60a] Our poet describes the *Jains* as carrying water pots — a characteristic feature of the *Jain* ascetics. He also refers to their refusing to touch flesh. These praises have probably an underground satire as referring to the persecutors of a poor blind innocent soul (*Taṇṭi*). These persecutors were ultimately converted by *Taṇṭi*.

ix. "*Kuṇṭāṭiya Camaṇātarkaḷ kuṭaic Cākkiyar aṟiyā*
Miṇṭāṭiya vatuceytatu vāṉāl varu vitiyē".[61]

Here also our poet refers to the leaders '*Nātarkaḷ*' of *Jainism*. These are not righteous leaders but those who revel in mean acts. The *Cākkiyars* or *Buddhists* are described as carrying umbrellas. These sects in their ignorance abuse the Lord and follow the path of might or rowdyism. They reap the fruit by themselves becoming embodiment of rowdyism and the very form of all their abuse. This is but the rule — the law of Nature that always comes to work. Our poet seems to suggest that by the working of this law of nature which always comes to be fulfilled, these pretenders who abuse the Lord of the *Śaivite* followers, always thus meditating as it were, on this abuse, become themselves what they have been abusing. Here again the reference can only be to the false fanatics and not to the true devotees.

x. "*Mōṭuṭaiya Camaṇarkkum muṭaiyuṭaiya Cākkiyarkkum mūṭam vaitta*
Pīṭuṭaiya puliyūrc cirṟampalattem perumāṉaip peṟṟām aṉṟē".[62]

60. 7: 72: 10.
60a. *Vol. III.*
61. 7: 82: 9.
62. 7: 90: 9.

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'The Lord who has established ignorance for the (false) *Jains* characterized by their protruding bellies and the (false) *Cākkiyar* or the *Buddhists* with their clothes or flesh'. This reference is obviously to the pretenders.

xi. *"Kuṇṭaraik kūṟaiyiṉṟit tiriyum Camaṇ Cākkiyappēy*
Miṇṭaraik kaṇṭataṇmai viravākiya teṉṉaikolō".[63]

'How is this that our Lord is one in the very outward form in which we see them with the *Kuṇṭar*, the mean, *Miṇṭar*, the arrogant, these diabolical people who roam about without clothes?' This is the mystic experience of seeing the Lord everywhere. The charge against them is that they are arrogant and mean, always wandering about like ghosts (and slandering the *Śaivites*). This verse expresses the wonder of the mystic experience of seeing the Lord in the very forms which the *Śaivites* usually hated as diabolical, mean and arrogant.

63. 7: 99: 10.

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Section B

PHILOSOPHY

General Introduction

The philosophy of *Ārūrar* remains to be studied. The last portion of our study on Religion has shown his universal outlook. *Ārūrar* is not a philosopher explaining his metaphysical theories. He is a mystic poet and we have to weave his philosophy out of his poems. Is it necessary that we should forget the thrills of his poetry in order to understand his philosophy? Perhaps not. His poetry gives us a glimpse into the mystic experience he had and into the trials he had to undergo to attain this experience. Therefore, we study him as a mystic poet and philosopher.

The world is there, and we are experiencing this world as spiritual individuals, *jīvas*, or souls. God is spoken of as the very basis of all these, the world and the souls, as their Organizer and as their Saviour. First, therefore, we take up Nature and gather together the views of *Ārūrar* on this. His Nature-mysticism is an exposition of his mystic experience and an elucidation of his philosophy of history and creation.

In the next part, we discuss the spiritual progress of the soul in terms of purgation, illumination, and love. The *sādhanas*, the theory of *karma*, the doctrine of Grace are all examined in the light of *Ārūrar's* poems.

In the third part, God as the final goal and as the highest spiritual experience, is explained in terms of the Erotic or Bridal mysticism of *Ārūrar* as revealed by the *Bhikṣāṭana hymns* and the great '*akapporuḷ*' *hymn* and in terms of his description of the final goal. In this part, we examine whether *Ārūrar* has given free vent to emotionalism and we find that the '*Cit*' (knowledge) aspect of God is emphasized even in his erotic mysticism or the mysticism of love even as the idea of service has been emphasized in the previous portion of our study. We conclude that he refuses to be labelled as a mere mystic, and his poems like the *Upaniṣads*, are there to be claimed by all the conflicting philosophies as peculiarly their own.

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Part I

NATURE

Introduction

In this part, we discuss *Ārūrar's* conception of Nature or Universe or *Māyā* and *Pāśam*. According to our scheme, we first attempt to understand the views of the other mystics of the world to better understand the views of *Ārūrar* who is also a mystic. *Ārūrar's* views of Nature, its beauty and the *Aṣṭamūrta* form of God are then emphasized. Next is considered the philosophy of History and Time with reference to *Ārūrar*'s poems which reveal that the whole process of creation and history is the divine drama of the Soul becoming God. In this connection, our poet's views on life and its miseries and happiness are also examined.

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CHAPTER I

NATURE MYSTICISM

I

NATURE AND MYSTICS:

Every experience involves subject-object relation. The subject is usually generalized as the spirit or the soul. The object is generalized as Nature or Universe or *Prakṛti*. The basis or '*ādhāra*' of these, sometimes called their Ruler, is God or the Absolute, decribed under various names such as *Brahmam*, *Śiva*, *etc.* Nature which is called *Prakṛti* in Indian Philosophy includes not only what the Westerners call matter but also mind and the individualizing egoism or '*ahaṅkāra*'. Spirit is pure knowledge and is beyond this matter and is called the *Ātman*, which is itself further differentiated from the *Paramātman* or the Lord. Every Philosophy therefore, has to deal with the nature of these three categories and their inter-relationship.

Every Philosophy starts with the fact of this world, but the philosophies differ when they being to explain the relationship of this world with the *Ātman* and the *Paramātman*. Mystics experience God in or through Nature and to all of them, it does not appear as opposed to God; they experience even there a unity through union. As *Ārūrar* describes the Lord, He is the *Sakṣin* or the Subject and the Object: "*Muṉṉilaiyāy muḻutulakum āya Perumāṉ*".[1] These mystics, when they begin to express this inexpressible experience, necessarily have recourse to metaphors, allegories and parables. In that way, their language becomes poetic. Nature mysticism thus becomes one with Poetic or Artistic or Aesthetic mysticism.

With their vision and faculty divine, they intuit God and commune with the Ocean's liquid mass, the solid frame of earth and the shining clouds. It is said of Amiel, the mystic, that he had such overpowering intuitions of Nature, such grand and spacious immortal cosmogonic reveries, reaching the stars and owning such

1. 7: 40: 5.

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instants of mystic experience as moments divine and ecstatic, in which his thoughts flew from world to world. The saints of *Tēvāram* have had such experiences which they have given utterance to in their exquisite poetry.

II

MYSTICS OF OTHER LAND:

1. *Plato*

The experience of other mystics may help us to better understand *Ārūrar's* Nature Poetry. Some speak of Nature as a dim shadow of the Absolute, whilst others see God's reflection in the mirror of Nature. According to Plato's simile of caves, we are all in the world of shadows being within the cave (the *baddha* — fettered stage), where we experience only the appearance and not the reality which we can directly experience once we get out of this cave. This reminds us of the *Vēdāntic* truth that *Brahman*, the *noumenon*, appears as the *phenomenon*. According to him the mystics build a ladder from Earth to Heaven, from sense perception to Soul-sight, from the beautiful forms of the world to the beatific idea of God.[2]

In his dialogues, Plato makes *Phaedrus* speak to *Socrates*:

"These are the lesser mysteries of love, into which even you, Socrates, may enter; to the greater and more hidden ones which are the crown of these, and to which, if you pursue them in a right spirit, they will lead, I know not whether you will be able to attain. But I will do my utmost to inform you, and do you follow if you can. For, he who would proceed aright in this matter should begin in youth to visit beautiful forms; and first, if he be guided by his instructor aright, to love one such form only — out of that he should create fair thoughts; and soon he will of himself perceive that the beauty of one form is akin to the beauty of another; and then if beauty of form in general is his pursuit, how foolish would he be not to recognize that the beauty in every form is one and the same! And when he perceives this he will abate his violent love of the one, which he will despise and deem a small thing, and will become a lover of all beautiful forms; in the next stage he will consider that the

2. Idea is real according to *Plato*: 427 *B.C.* to 347 *B.C.*

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beauty of the mind is more honourable than the beauty of the outward form. So that if a virtuous soul have but a little comeliness, he will be content to love and tend him, and will search out and bring to the bright thoughts which may improve the young, until he is compelled to contemplate and see the beauty of them all is of one family, and that personal beauty is a trifle; and after laws and institutions he will go on to the sciences that he may see their beauty, being not like servant in love with the beauty of one youth or man, or institution, himself a slave, mean and narrow-minded; but drawing towards and contemplating the vast sea of beauty, he will create many fair and noble thoughts and notions in boundless love of wisdom, until on that shore he grows and waxes strong, and at last the vision is revealed to him of a single science, which is the science of beauty everywhere. To this I will proceed; please to give me your very best attention:

"He who has been instructed thus far in the things of love, and who has learned to see the beautiful in due order and succession, when he comes toward the end will suddenly perceive a nature of wondrous beauty (and this, Socrates, is the final cause of all our former toils) — a nature which in the first place is everlasting not growing and decaying, or waxing and waning; secondly, not fair in one point of view and foul in another, or at one time or in one relation or at one place fair, at another time or in another relation or at another place foul, as if fair to some and foul to others, or in the likeness of a face or hands or any other part of the bodily frame, or in any form of speech or knowledge, or existing in any other being, as for example, in an animal, or in heaven, or in earth, or in any other place; but beauty absolute, separate, simple, and everlasting, which without diminution and without increase, or any change, is imparted to the ever-growing and perishing beauties of all other things. He who from these ascending under the influence of true love, begins to perceive that beauty is not far from the end. And the true order of going, or being led by another, to the things of love, is to begin from the beauties of earth and mount upwards for the sake of that other beauty, using these as steps only and from one going on to two, and from two to all fair forms, and from fair forms to fair practices, and from fair practices to fair notions, until from fair notions he arrives at the notion of absolute beauty, and at last knows what the essence of beauty is. This, my dear Socrates", said the stranger of Mantineis, "is that life above all others which

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man should live, in the contemplation of beauty absolute; a beauty which if you once behold, you would see not to be after the measure of gold, and garments, and fair boys and youths, whose presence now entrances you; and you and many a one would be content to live seeing them only and conversing with them without meat or drink, if that were possible — you only want to look at them and to be with them. But what if man had eyes to see the true beauty — the divine beauty, I mean, pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pullutions of morality and all the colours and vanities of human life thither looking, and holding converse with the true beauty simply and divine? Remember how in that communion only, beholding beauty with the eye of the mind, he will be enabled to bring forth, not images of beauty, but realities (for he has no hold not of an image but of a reality), and bringing forth and nourishing true virtue to become the friend of God and be immortal, if mortal man may. Would that be an ignoble life?"[3]

2. *Plotinus*

Plotinus (204 A.D. — 270 A.D.) who is the next great mystic of the West speaks of men and things radiating or emanating from the Lord, and His Divine Trinity of the (1) nous (or the One), (2) the One-Many and (3) the One and Many,[4] reminds us of *Śaiva Siddhāntins'* *Śiva*, (1) transcending the world, (2) being one with the world and (3) being in the company of the world — "*Tāṉāy vērāy uṭaṉāy*";[5] "*Avaiyē tāṉēyāy*".[6] According to him, matter is the principle of externality and the world we perceive with our senses is the shadow of the spiritual world. Nature is not the illusion but the sleeping spirit. According to Plotinus, Art or Poetry, which is not mere imitation but creative imagination, passes beyond the shadow and intuits the real or prime or divine beauty, what the German philosopher Schelling (1775-1859 A.D.) calls the artistic intuition of Cosmic Beauty.

3. *English Mystics*

English Mystics are characterized by their worship of Nature. To William Blake (1757-1827 A.D.) the earth is a distorted

3. *Dialogues of Plato by B. Jowett, Vol. I, pp.* 580-82
4. *Christian Mysticism by W: R. Inge,* p. 95, year 1899.
5. *Campantar,* 1: 11: 2.
6. *Śivajñānabōdham-sūtram,* 2.

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shadow of Spiritual Reality and he is certain that the Eternal is in everything. The eyes of man, according to him, can therefore, open into Eternity and his imagination can expand into Infinity, the multiple vision leading ultimately to that of oneness of Divinity, seeing a world in a grain of sand, a Heaven in a wild flower holding Infinity in the palm of his hand and Eternity in an hour.

4. *Sufism*

This reminds us of Jami, a Persian Sufi Mystic (1414-1492 A.D.) who thinks:

"Each species of matter did He constitute
A mirror, causing each to reflect
A Beauty of His visage; From the rose
Flashed forth His Beauty and the nightingale
Beholding it loved madly. From that fire
The candle drew the lustre which beguiles
The moth to destruction".

"All that is not one must ever
Suffer with the wound of absence
And whoever in Love's city
Enters, finds but room for one
And but in oneness union".

Sufis believe that *Allah* brought forth this world as an image of Himself out of love and the Sufi Mystic Hallaj (854-922 A.D.) was blessed with the cosmic vision of God in all forms as the All-Self, whilst Ibn-al-Farid beheld the Lord in every charm and Grace and loveliness of life.

5. *Spinoza*

Spinoza, the ethico-religious philosopher, saw all things in God,[7] and God in all things being their essence,[8] for to him all things were God under the form of eternity.

6. *Taoism*

The Chinese Taoism (570 B.C.) asserts that Reality 'Tao' animates and nourishes all beings.

7. *Ethic of Benedict De Spinoza, Duckworth & Co.*, 1899, *I Part., prop. XV.*
8. *Ibid., prop. XXV.*

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III

IMMANENCE:

William Blake (1757-1827 A.D.) is only echoing the mystic Bohme (1575-1624 A.D.) who speaks of our seeing a flower, to whom the world is but a mirror of the Deity where the soul could converse with the Lord therein whilst even a flower in the wall will reveal God in all His glory like the lilies in the starry heavens.

Tennyson also experiences the same truth when he sings:

"Flower in the crannied wall
I pluck you out the crannies
Hold you here, root and all in my hand
Little flower, but if I could understand
What you are, root and all and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

Nature mysticism inspires, thus, *Bhakta* to experience and enjoy the beauty of God objectively in all things and in the end he realizes the mystery of this Absolute beauty remaining already enthroned in the heart as the Lord of Love. Tagore, it is said, had a vision of the world bathed in the radiance of beauty, beauty which according to him links Heaven and Earth when the song of the singer was not distinct from Him who was *Rasa* itself in the drama of love and spiritual wedding.[9]

But this Nature mysticism ought not to be confounded with Pantheism and some forms of Nature mysticism which remain restricted to Nature alone without ever thinking of the spirit or God who whilst immanent in Nature transcends it as well. Cosmic consciousness is the consciousness of the Cosmos in its entirety but it is not a mere addition or summation of all things of this world. Cosmos is the eternal expression of the dynamic love of the Lord. Creation is the process of the Formless God revealing to us in varied forms. The one becomes many out of love. He who is beyond space time is now in the spatial order. This is to help the soul clothed in space and time to unveil itself and intuit its true divine nature, to kiss it away as it were unto divinity. *Ārūrar* puts it, "Passing through this embodied stage the soul transcends this body to a

9. See *'The Philosophy of Tagore' by B. G. Ray.*

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higher disembodied spiritual sphere".[10] The intuition of the mystic is not ordinary perception of the eyes of the physical body '*Cākṣusa dṛṣṭi*' or a dialectic knowledge or '*Tarka dṛṣṭi*'. It is the perception of the divine inner eye or '*Divyacakṣus*' and, therefore, it is a divine vision or '*Divyadṛṣṭi*'. It is the perfect experience or the *Pūrṇānubhava*.[11]

Something of this subjective feeling is found described by Wordsworth:

"Far and wide the clouds were touched,
And in their silent faces could he read
Unutterable love. Sound needed none,
Nor any voice of joy; his spirit drank
The spectacle; sensation, soul, and form,
All melted into him; they swallowed up
His animal being; in them did he live;
And by them did he live; they were his life.
In such access of mind, in such high hour
Of visitation from the living God,
Thought was not; in enjoyment it expired.
No thanks he breathed, he proffered no request:
Rapt into still communion that transcends
The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
His mind was a thanksgiving to the power
That made him: It was blessedness and love!"

"Therefore am I still
A lover of the meadows and the woods,
And mountains; and of all that we behold
From this green earth; of all the mighty world
Of eye, and ear,—both what they half create,
And what perceive; well pleased to recognize
In nature and the language of the sense
The anchor of my purest thoughts, the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of my heart, and soul
Of all my moral being.

a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,

10. 7: 10: 6.
11. See, *Mystics and Mysticism*, pp. 48-49.

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And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things".

"Until the breath of this corporal frame
And even the motion of our human blood
Almost suspended, we are laid asleep
In body, and become a living soul:
While with an eye made quiet by the power
Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,
We see into the life of things".

Shelley addressing the skylark expresses his experience thus:

"My spirit like a charmed bark doth swim
Upon the liquid waves of thy sweet singing,
Far, far away into the regions dim
Of rapture, as a boat with swift sails singing,
Her way adown some many-winding river,
Speeds through dark forests o'er the water swinging".

To the mystic, the universe appears animated by God. The whole Cosmos appears as His *Rūpa*. The Universe as form of God was revealed to *Arjuna* by *Kṛṣṇa* and the *Tamilians* can read in their own language the description of *Murukaṉ* appearing in this *Viśvarūpa* before *Cūrapaṉmaṉ* as described in the *Tamiḻ Kanta-purāṇam*. Sometimes it is terrifying, sublime, and majestic as it was to *Arjuna*. But to these mystics all this is the play, the drama of that love enshrined in their heart. It is the beauty of the Universe, '*Bhuvana Sundara*' and the *Bhāgavata* calls it or the '*Trailōkya Sundara*' as the *Tamilian Śaivites* will have it. "The world is the vessel of the lamp; the sea is the oil; the sun is the flame": Thus appears the Universe as the divine Light to *Poykai Āḻvār*:

"*Vaiyam takaḷiyā vārkaṭalē neyyāka*
Veyya katirōṉ viḷakkāka".[12]

IV

BODY AS TEMPLE: SOCIAL SERVICE:

The objective world does not exhaust Nature. Nature appearing as the objective world is not only all that we see outside us,

12. *First Tiruvantāti*, 1.

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it includes our body also. Even this becomes deified as the temple of the Lord and some speak of even this becoming ultimately divine. The others moving with their bodies on this earth also form part of this world and Nature, and they are the walking temples: '*Naṭamāṭum kōilkaḷ*'.

"The heart-beat in the mystic is in tune with the heart-beat of the world owing to spiritual community and the immanence of God in each person. Like the germ-cell in the body, the soul is the epitome of the universe as an inter-related living whole".[13] It is the microcosm of the Cosmos macrocosm.

As in the '*Aṇḍam*' (macrocosm), so in the '*Piṇḍam*' (microcosm) the Lord is reflected in the mirror of our soul; nay, he is '*Antaryāmin*', the inner soul; as such, He is the Reality of reality, the Life of life; the great Light as the *Upaniṣad* puts it from which the lesser lights get their illumination. The light of *Aṇḍam* is found in the light of the *Piṇḍam*. '*Aṉpu*' or love is the vessel, '*ārvam*' or '*prēma*' or the hankering after the Lord is the oil and the blissful heart is the wick and *Jñāna* is the flame:— thus the Lord appears to *Pūtattāḻvār* as the inner light:

"*Aṉpē takaḷiyā āravamē neyyāka*
Iṉpuruku cintai itutiriyā — Naṉpuruki
Ñāṉac cuṭarviḷak kēṟṟiṉēṉ Nāraṇaṟku
Ñāṉat tamiḻ purinta nāṉ".[14]

These two lights — outer and inner — reveal the hidden Lord, God as the "*Sarvabhūta sthitha ātma*", the soul in all things. Every soul appears as the temple of the Lord demanding our worship and service. Therefore, the life of the mystic is the life of social service, '*Lōkasaṅgraha*' working for the universal salvation.

Svāmi Vivēkānanda begged of Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa to bless him with the never-ending *samādhi* and the master was sorry that his disciple, a vast receptacle of light, should think of remaining for ever absorbed in personal joy. He assured his loving *śiṣya* that the latter would realize the unique divinity of all beings; and Svāmi Vivēkānanda, thus transformed, came to assert that the only God in whom he believed as the sum total of all souls and proclaimed: "Above all I believe in my God the wicked, my God, the miserable,

13. *Mystics and Mysticism, p.* 57.
14. *Second Tiruvantati,* 1.

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my God the poor of all races". Has not the *Buddha* said, "All those sins of the world, let them fall on me; let the world be saved?" Has not Rāmānuja welcomed hell for himself if the world could be saved through him? Is this not the charecteristic feature of all the saints of *Tiruttoṇṭattokai* as described by *Cēkkiḻār*:

"*Kūṭum aṉpiṉil kumpiṭalē aṉṟi*
Vīṭum vēṇṭā viraliṉ viḷaūkiṉār?"

The Western mystics also saw in every living being the expression of God and the whole world as a family even as the Hindus did, speaking of the family as '*Vāsudaiva kuṭumbakam*'.

Blake's poem 'Tiger tiger' is known to every child reading English and there he sees the creator even in the cruel animal of the forest. St. Francis of Assisi saw God in the leper and kissed him. He spoke of the brother the Sun, the sister the Moon, the mother the Earth, and he moved in the world, practising ths presence of God, holding even the wolf as his blood brother. The Tamilians proclaimed from early times, "*Yātum ūrē, yāvarum kēḷir*" — 'All places are our abodes and all men are our relations'.

V

NATURE AS THE FORM OF THE LORD:

The *Tēvāram*, both of Campantar and *Ārūrar*, abounds in the description of Nature, its cities, rivers and mountains these saints visited. Very often a large part of these verses is found to be such description and this has surprised many readers. The places they visited are equally holy and divine as the temples. Therefore, the description of Nature is one way of describing the Lord.

Appar's statements throw a flood of light on this problem "*Tāṉalātu ulakamillai, cakamalātu aṭimaiyillai*"[15] - 'There is no world apart from Him; apart from this world He has no service'. In another place he sings, "*Cakamalātu aṭimaiyillai; tāṉalāl tuṇaiyumillai*"[16] — 'Apart from this world He has no service; He has no companion except Himself'. His third statement is much more important and significant: "*Umaiyalātu uruvam illai; ulakalātu uṭaiyatu illai*"[17] — 'He has no form but that of *Umā*; He has no

15. 4: 40: 1.
16. 4: 40: 8.
17. 4: 40: 9.

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garment apart from this world'. The One without a second who remains formless to start with becomes two, assuming in addition the form of the Mother Goddess who is none else than His own Grace or '*Citśakti*'. The world which is also called His *Śakti* — His *Parigraha Śakti* — is evolved as the scene of divine service and this world is nothing but Him. This world is the beautiful garment of God. In another verse of his, the beautiful rising full moon as representing the object of the sense — of sight, the spotless music of the harp as representing the object of a sensation of hearing, the zephyr casting the fragrance of flowers which forms the object of the sensation of smell, the bulging out fruits ripening in Summer representing the object of the sensation of touch and the cool and refreshing water of the lotus pond wherein hum the bees as representing the object of the sensation of touch — these are the only comparisons which *Appar* could think of for describing divine bliss. Thus it is clear, the world is divine — the veritable Mother Goddess in the eyes of these poets. Thus God Himself in this form becomes the means of attaining Him as goal at the end, as the *Vaiṣṇavites* say He is both the '*upāya*' and the '*upēya*'.

The *Aṣṭamūrtas* or the eight forms of *Śiva* have been often mentioned by *Ārūrar*. In one place he calls the Lord '*Aṭṭaṉ*'[18] These eight are arranged in their order of progressive evolution, (1) the five elements: ether, air, fire, water and earth; (2) the Sun and the Moon (probably as representing time) and the sacrificer or the soul. The Lord becomes everything. He has become the flesh or the body, the life or the soul and the organic relationship of the body and soul. He has thus become the whole world: the Heavens above, the Earth below, with the oceans and the mountains.[19] "He is the unique one in all the four directions. 'He is myself'. He is the air, the fire, the sea, the crest of the mountain".[20] "He is the knowledge, standing as the five elements".[21] He is the world and the Heavens, the day or the central axis of the world, the snow clad mountain, the sea, the water, the fire, the long travelling wind, the wide expanse of space and the shadow or the reflection — '*niḻal*': There is another reading '*nilaṉ*' meaning

18. 7: 80: 8.
19. 7: 1: 7.
20. 7: 38: 4.
21. 7: 27: 8.

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earth.[22] (This probably suggests that all these evolved forms are the shadow or reflection of His reality). He appears all pervasive in the mind of those who contemplate on Him appearing there as the wind, the fire, the Sun and the Moon.[23] He has become the flesh, the refuge of the soul, the wide space, the sky where the clouds shower the rains, the intellect and the fate and the followers, therefore, think of Him variously.[24] He is the encircling light, the water, the earth, the fire, the air, the ether, the sun, the seven tunes of the *Tamils* and the sound of the seven strings of the harp and the ruler of the seven worlds.[25] He is the Lord, the sound evolved from '*nāda*', the flame of knowledge as the life of this body and crops. He lives in the heart of His followers.[26] He is the word and the meaning, the moon in the sky, the pure flame, the wind, the fire and the earth, the great dancer of the forest.[27] He becomes the lightning and there He stands as fire.[28] "You have entered the body and become its life and you have become the three lights".[29]

He rains, becoming the large clouds; He is the meaning of all arts; He sympathizes and commingles with the soul which perceives; He stands as the day and the night; He is the ear that listens discerningly. He is the taste and the tongue that tastes; He is the eye that sees and the roaring sea and the mountain.[30] We have explained this as giving expression to the unity of divine experience and everything realized as the loving Lord.[31] The same idea is expressed in another verse: "I assert you are the creation, destruction and sustenance. I assert you are the word and its meaning which people speak. I assert you are the tongue, the ear and the eye".[32] The commingling is referred to as '*uṭanātal*':[33]

> "*Eṅkēṉum iruntuṉ aṭiyēṉ uṉai niṉaintāl*
> *Aṅkē vanteṉṉōṭum uṭaṉāki niṉṟaruḷi*

22. 7: 2: 10.
23. 7: 30: 2.
24. 7: 82: 1.
25. 7: 83: 6.
26. 7: 84: 9.
27. 7: 84: 3.
28. 7: 86: 6.
29. 7: 88: 3.
30: 7: 59: 3.
31. *Vol. II.*
32. 7: 4: 7.
33. 7: 23: 2.

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Iṅkē eṉṉiṉaiyai aṟuttiṭ ṭeṉṉaiyāḷum
Kaṅkā nāyakaṉē kaḻippālai mēyāṉē".[34]

He is the eye of those who want to see Him.[35] "You are the creation and you are its withdrawal".[36] "You have created all the worlds".[37] "He is possessed of all the worlds".[38]

VI

THE DRAMA OF SOUL MAKING:

All this Drama of creation is in the interest of deifying the suffering soul by making it go through the several grades of experience:

"*Coṉṉa ittoḻikaḷ eṉṉa kāraṇam tōṟṟa eṉṉil*
Muṉṉavaṉ viḷaiyāṭṭeṉṟu moḻitalum āmuyirkku
Maṉṉiya puttimutti vaḷaṅkavum aruḷāṉmuṉṉē
Tuṉṉiya malaṅkaḷ ellām tuṭaippatum collalāmē".[39]

The process of sublimation or transmutation is often referred to by *Ārūrar*: "The *māyam* is shown and then the birth, and then the mind which does not forget Him. Next is shown the body (which taking advantage of all this helps us to reach the Lord)".[40] "He has become our head, eyes; ears, nose, mouth and body and thus He has removed the cruel *karma*".[41] "To be relieved of the fetters of *karma*, He removes the expanse of the terrific ocean of birth. Out of the power of His touch or meeting, He yokes us to His service. The wealth of *tapas* is thus amassed. He becomes easy of reach to be contemplated upon by His followers. He opens the gate of *Śivalōka* of His feet. So He is within the mind of those worshipping Him".[42] Another verse explains this further: "He destroys the delusion of a mind; He resides within the mind as the intelligence. He creates the magic of the body. He destroys(?) becoming the wind and the fire; for offering rest, He brings on diseases. He destroys cruel *karma* in the twinkling

34. 7: 23: 2.
35. 7: 45: 7.
36. 7: 56: 4.
37. 7: 23: 8.
38. 7: 98: 3.
39. *Civañāṉacittiyār-Cupakkam*, *Cūt.*, 1: 36.
40. 7: 95: 7.
41. 7: 62: 9.
42. 7: 67: 7.

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of an eye".[43] "The bondage and freedom are of your making".[44] "Many of your followers and others, you lead astray".[45] "He has the one idea of protecting the world as its very apple of the eye".[46] "He is the treasure of all living beings and their light".[47] "He is the light of all living beings of the world".[48] "He oozes and sprouts as the nectar specially belonging to all the living beings".[49] "He has entered the mind and has not known going out".[50] "He is the life inside our body and outside there, the world in the fleshy parts. He becomes the very breath, but stands all through the universe in the form of '*Ōm*' ".[51] In another place, the poet expresses the truth almost echoing the Upaniṣad. "He who cannot be thought of even by our mind, the Lord of Heavens, the Great who loves the '*pañchagavya*, He becomes an atom and assumes the form of fire-spark and enters, compressed into this body spreading Himself all over. He is my wealth".[52] "He is all pervasive as the fragrance in the flower".[53] "He becomes the life and significance of everything without whom everything becomes bitter and a lifeless painting and a drawing board: "You are the life unto the paintings and the basis or the leaf on which the painting is drawn (the painting is the world as the creative art). You appear as its exact facsimile (This is according to the reading, "*Iṇaiyē ottiyāl*"; according to the other reading "*Uṉaiyē ottiyāl*" — 'You are like unto yourself'). To the suffering soul He is like the cloud, bringing life and happiness to the famishing crops".[54] He gives us a much more intimate relationship, the relation of the lover and the loved. Because of the immensity of this creation, he speaks in terms of the male elephant and the female elephant.[55] "He comes, the unique Lord, commingling in our speech as the roaring ocean and the mountain, from the depth of the one to

43. 7: 56: 8.
44. 7: 88: 4.
45. 7: 29: 9.
46. 7: 52: 6.
47. 7: 83: 7.
48. 7: 59: 7.
49. 7: 63: 4.
50. 7: 21: 1.
51. 7: 67: 1.
52. 7: 97: 3.
53. 7: 68: 3.
54. 7: 4: 4.
55. 7: 4: 9.

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the height of the other, and as time, every part of it from morning to evening".[56]

VII

NATURE—TERRIFIC AND AUSPICIOUS:

Ārūrar refers to the *Viśvarūpa* as well. In that form the dome of the universe is the crown of His head—"*Aṇṭa kapālam cennni*".[57] "The *pūrāṇic* forms sometimes represent this terrific form. Therefore, the exclamation, 'We are are afraid of serving you, who go beyond this universe and stay there away from the Beyond".[58] But all that is the speech of the loving damsel enjoying it all, as the Beauty of her Beloved.

Nature has two sides, the terrific and the auspicious, which according to *Bhandārkar*, develops into the worship of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*. He hastens to add that gradually also He has become auspicious, *Rudra* being Himself *Śiva*. The word *Śiva* is important, meaning as it does, the auspicious. The terrific aspect of the Lord becomes the lovely form of the Absolute. It becomes the form of universal love. From the very beginning, *Rudra* is the Lord of the sinners and the down-fallen. He lovingly carries all that is discarded by the world, as ugly useless, terrific and fierce, the bones, the serpent, the wild flowers, the fire, the tiger, and the elephant and the ghosts. Who else will love them if not He, the lover and the Lord? To the mystics, these become the ornaments and the companion of the Lord:

> "*Ēṉakkom pummiḻa vāmaiyum pūṇṭaṅkō rēṟumēṟik*
> *Kāṉakkāṭ tiṟṟoṇṭar kaṇṭaṉa colliyuṅ kāmuṟavē*
> *Māṉaittō loṉṟai yuṭuttup pulittōl piyaṟkumiṭṭu*
> *Ṟāṉaittōl pōrppa tarintōmēl nāmivark kaṭpatōmē*".[59]

"He adorns Himself with the teeth of the boar and tortoise, rides on the bull in the forest, with the skin of the deer, tiger and the elephant and his *bhaktas* seeing these speak as they like intoxicated with divine love"

56. 7: 73: 1.
57. 7: 22: 2.
58. 7: 2: 2.
59. 7: 18: 4.

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VIII

TRANSCENDENCE:

The Lord is thus inside the world becoming the world itself but He is beyond it all. The story of *Viṣṇu* and *Brahma* not knowing the beginning or the end of the pillar of fire appearing before them emphasizes this great truth.

Ārūrar is not a mere Nature mystic. He intuits God in Nature and as transcending Nature. The Lord is not only in the Universe;[60] He is the nectar dancing in joy beyond the Universe of all Universes.[61] He is also beyond the Universe transcending it.[62] The Universe is but matter and He spiritualizes it. He is the One great Light of all eight points of the compass.[63] He has vivified the body; He has entered the flesh and become the life.[64] Thus He is the kith and kin of all.[65]

IX

NATURE AND WORSHIP:

We have referred to the '*Aṣṭamūrta*' of our God which our poet mentions often.[66] The conception of this *Aṣṭamūrta* is according to *Tamiḻ* epic *Maṇimēkalai*, the quintessence of *Śaivism*;[66a] therefore, this becomes important in our study of *Ārūrar's Śaivism*. Nature is the form of the Lord to be worshipped: "*Tāṉalātu ulakamillai*"[67] is indeed true. The kingdom of God is not only inside our soul but also there before us in the form of this world wherein we play on the lap of Mother *Umā*. The Lord teaches us as this great Mother: "*Kaṟpaṉai kaṟpitta kaṭavuḷ.*"[68] Thanks to His Grace, we begin to contemplate and imagine His form as best as we can and though all these symbols and images are as nothing compared to Him, He at once enters and expands in the mind thus contemplating on Him — "*Pāvippār maṉam pāvikkoṇṭāṉ*".[69]

60. 7: 10: 10.
61. 7: 12: 2,
62. 7: 2: 2.
63. 7: 72: 10.
64. 7: 88: 3.
65. 7: 97: 1.
66. 7: 1: 7; 7: 9: 3; 7: 16: 7; 7: 27: 8; 7: 28: 6; 7: 30: 2; 7: 30: 3; 7: 40: 4; 7 47: 8; 7: 59: 2; 7: 62: 6; 7: 68: 3; 7: 80: 8; 7: 83: 5; 7: 86: 6; 7: 96: 8.
66a. *Ch.* 29, *ll.* 89-95.
67. *Ap.*, 40: 1.
68. 7: 58: 2.
69. 7: 57: 2.

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Nature is looked upon as the very form of Godhead worshipped by our poet. *Cīparppatam* mountain is to *Ārūrar* the very Lord and our poet describes the mountain in his *hymn*[70] therefore without speaking of the Lord. Our poet is speaking also of *Veḷḷaṭai*[71] in similar terms. The description of the mountain scenes of *Cīparppatam* assumes therefore a great significance.

Śāṇḍilya Sūtra compares the creation proceeding from God with the creation of poetry or any work of art proceeding from the imagination of the poet or artist. This gives us a better understanding of the poetry of our saint. We have a picture of idealized or deified love, the very essence of Godhead. This world is a world of love, the happy family of all beings, the very heaven on earth and this reminds us of the social aspect of *Ārūrar's* religion where the soul is another form of God. A verse in *Śaivasamayaneri* explains why we would love our neighbours as ourselves: "Every living being is the form of the Lord. Realizing this, love all living beings. The love of men or followers of the Lord, is more important than the love of the Lord. This is what is called the cult of *Aṭiyārs* or *Bhaktas*. The heart of *Ārūrar* beats in unison with the hearts of the suffering humanity. This is the motive force of the various *hymns* addressed to the world at large. We have noticed that the pure soul of his, oftentimes so identifies with the sinners and the deluded, that he feels their faults are his, and cries to the Lord in repentance for all.

To our poet, Nature is the beautiful form of the Lord. This has been explained in detail in our study of the mystic value of the *hymns*. We saw *Appar* asserting that God has no form other than that of the Mother Goddess *Umā*, which we know is the embodiment of *Aruḷ* or Grace and that God has no garment other than this world which therefore is the form of the Mother or Grace.[72] *Ārūrar* continuing this tradition speaks of God adorning Himself with '*Aruḷ*' of no misery — "*Allalil aruḷē puṉaivāṉ*".[73] (There is another reading '*purivāṉ*' instead of '*puṉaivāṉ*'). He is the very form of this universe — '*aṇḍā*'.[74] He is the male and

70. *No.* 79.
71. 7; 29.
72. 7: 40: 9.
73. 7: 56: 3.
74. 7: 3: 8.

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the female and all forms.[75] He is himself the father and mother of all the living beings and He is their chief.[76] He has become Himself all the forms.[77] He is the male, the female and the neuter, but His form is not born.[78] Sometimes, as we have often pointed out, our poet sees the Lord as the pure form reflected in nature. At other times, nature appears to our poet as worshipping the Lord very much like himself. We know of his vision of the world as a *Gurukula*. He sees the same picture in nature where the rivers, mountains, trees, animals, elephants, monkeys and bees circumambulate, worship and sing the glories of the Lord and where the parrots recite the *Vēdas*. Even inanimate works of men like ships worship Him. In all these places, one feels, that he is identifying himself with these comrades in worship, of whom he seems to be proud. The children, the crabs and the bees all round, all remind him of the glory of the Lord as much as the majestic sea and the terrific flood. Art also becomes a part of nature and he sees the beauty of the Lord in the *gōpurams* adorning themselves with the crescent moon attaining, as it were, *Sārūpya*. Music, dance and poetry are all forms of the Lord who is Himself an artist.

X

UNIVERSALISM:

The universal love of our poet may be better understood by our realizing the wide scope of his poetic interest which sees Beauty everywhere. A list of the *flora* and *fauna* of his poetry will help us here. The various kinds of bamboos, the sugar-cane, the various kinds of paddy and grains, the cocoanut, the arecanut, the palmyra and the varieties of the plantains are often fouud mentioned along with the aloe, the sandal, the mango, the *vēṅkai* the *kōṅku*, the *puṉṉai*, the *ñāḻal*, various kinds of the jack tree, the *marā*, the *vaṉṉi*, the *kaḷḷi*, the *marutam*, the *ātti* and the *takaram*. *Ēlam* (cardamom), *ilavaṅkam* (clove), *takkōlam*, *iñci* (ginger), *miḷaku* and *kaṟi* (pepper varieties) are his favourites as much as the *kaṇṭal muṇṭal* and the *muñci* grass. Some of these are food like paddy, others are famous for their fragrance, still others for

75. 7: 3: 9.
76. 7: 53: 3; 7: 75: 4.
77. 7: 40: 9.
78. 7: 28: 6.

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the shade, many more for their fruits, a few others for their flowers and a fewer still for their spices.

The heaven of poets is the heaven of flowers and our poet refers to the blooming *kōṅku, vēṅkai; puṉṉai, kurā, makiḻ* (*vakuḷam*), *kullai, kuruntam, koṉṟai cerunti, mallikai, mullai, mavval, mātavi, kurukkatti, ceṇpakam* and the varieties of the sword flower, *tāḻai kaitai* and *kētakai*, sometimes losing himself in the contemplation of the beauty of the metamorphoses of their bud into flower and fruit.

The beautiful water flowers of all varieties whose distinctions the later generations have forgotten occupy in our poet the unique position of beauty — *karuṅkuvaḷai, ceṇkuvaḷai, kaḻunīr ceṇkaḻunīr, kāvi, neytal, nīlam, centāmarai, puṇṭarīkam, kamalam, aravintam, paṅkayam, muṇṭakam, alli* (*āmpal, pāṉal*).

The floods of the *Kāviri, Maṇṇi, Koḷḷiṭam Pālāṟu Ciṟṟāṟu, Muttāṟu* and *Nīvā* rush down to carry spices, fruits, fragrant wood, yak tail, and elephant tusk, precious stones, pearls, coral and gold with bees, conches and fish to enrich the country.

The favourite birds of our poet are not only the *koel* the peacock, the dove, the parrot, but also the owl, the crow, the wild cock and generally all the birds, the *kuruvi*. The water birds have the beauty of their own and our poet refers to *kuruku, veṇkuruku, nārai, aṉṉam* and *aṉṟil* (is it a water bird?) which abound in the fertile lands enriched by the floods.

Amongst the insects the bee is the highly popular one with our poets, more attractive to them than the birds. The six-legged (*aṟupatam*) which is the characteristic feature of all insects, is reserved for the bees by the poets and people of this country. The loving eye of the poet distinguishes a variety among these — *vaṇṭu, tēṉvaṇṭu ñimiṟu, curumpu, ali* and he notes their life of love with reference to *kāḻai vaṇṭu* and *peṭai vaṇṭu* and loses his heart in their hum and dance round the nectar of flowers (*āṭal aḻi*). Even the tiny fly does not escape the keen and loving attention of our poet (*īntu*). The monkeys — our poet mentions a variety of them, *mucu, mucukkalai, kuraṅku, kulaikkuruṅku kaṭuvaṉ manti* and enjoys their life of love and looks upon their pranks as a dance — the dark buffalo, the crow, and the bull, the loving couple of elephants the must elephant, and the varieties of deer — *pulvāy, kalai, puḷḷimāṉ, marai*, the boar — occupy the happy land of our

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poet. He mentions the *āḷi*, perhaps in the sense of a lion; for, otherwise it is a fabulous animal. The floods carry though not the yak, its tail. The fox intensifies the desolation of the graveyard.

The fish, moving, jumping and darting in the rushing flood and in the sleeping ponds are glimpses of divine beauty to the poet; *vāḷai*, *ceṅkayal* are his favourites with the *varāl* (the *vari varāl*) *cēl*, *keṇṭai* and *malaṅku* (serpent fish) occupying the next place in his heart. The '*curā*' or the shark is also mentioned; so is *makaram*. It is not clear whether it means the crocodile or the shark itself or the fabulous *makaram* so beautifully conceived and chiselled out by the sculptors of the time of *Ārūrar*. The crabs, their movement, their appearance and their variety, *naṇṭu*, *puḻḻi naḻḻi* and *alavaṉ* have all attracted his attention along with the sacred conches *ippi*, *caṅku*, *mukaram*, *valampuri*, *calañcalam*, pearls, *taraḷam*, *muttam*, *nittilam*, and coral-reefs described as coral creepers (*pavaḷakkoṭi*) are all carried in the floods, with gold and gems together with peacock feathers and yak tails and elephant tusks.

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CHAPTER II

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE DRAMA OF CREATION

I

THEORIES ON TIME:

The world is space-time-cause. *Tolkāppiyam* speaks of the world as the basis for all acts, being characterized by space and time.[1] Space makes possible co-existence; and time introduces sequence wherein our feeling of uniformity of nature takes this sequence for consequence or cause and effect. The whole drama thus starts. The great magician, or Lord, God, wonderfully becomes all these and the actor and the background. He is not these but He has become all of them. He is the '*adhiṣṭāna*' or the basis and the words '*āki*'[2] and '*āy*'[3] bring out this truth. Amongst the many things the Lord becomes, we have found mentioned the Sun and the Moon. These, as universal clocks, measure time — time cannot be measured otherwise because it cannot be spread out as space. Therefore, resort is made to signs or marks in space like the moving Sun, like the hands of the clock (This is what the old *Tamiḻ* commentators term '*cārttiyaḷattal*'). He is also the alternating day and night, the darkness and the light, the smaller units of time. measuring time as well as the lives of the living beings, cooking, to use the phrase of the *Upaniṣad*, everything and making possible the history of the universe.

'*Maitrīyupaniṣad*' speaks of the two forms of the *Brahman*, the time and the timeless; that which begins with the Sun, and that which is prior to the Sun; that which has parts and that which has no parts.[4] It is the timeless that has become the time. Our poet speaks of the Lord as standing as the time and the Sun.[5] It either means that He is the time and its measurer or better that He is the eternal time, the '*akṣayakāla*' of the *Gītā*[6] and the

1. 3: 1: 14.
2. 7: 19: 9.
3. 7: 40: 2.
4. *vi*. 15.
5. 7: 19: 9.
6. 10: 33.

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fleeting time represented by the Sun with whom begins time of parts.

Varied are the theories about time. Physical time of the mathematicians is relative and differs according to the velocity of the particular system of reference in the space time continuum. The psychological time, which is also that of the grammarian, speaks of the past, the present and the future. To some, the past is real and to others the future alone is real, while to the third the present alone exists. Psychological time as duration is relative to our mental condition appearing long in retrospect if it had been pleasant, short in retrospect if it had been unpleasant. As for the philosophers' conception of time they never agree. Kant and others speak of time as the pure form of our sensuous intuition. To Bergson, time is not the spatialized time we talk of, but the *la-duree*, a ceaseless flow — the integral unity, the only real, the Becoming of all things. To Alexander, time is the mind of space and space is the body of time and the Deity has to emerge out of the womb of these. To Bradley, it is an appearance, though it must somehow belong to the Absolute. He points out the perpetual puzzle of time: "If you take time as a relation between units without duration, then the whole time has no duration, and is not time at all. But, if you give duration to the whole time, then at once the units themselves are found to possess it; and they thus cease to be units. Time in fact is 'before' and 'after' in one; and without this diversity it is not time. But these differences cannot be asserted of the unity; and on the other hand and failing that, time is helplessly dissolved".[7] This reminds us of the Theory of Indetermination in the Modern Physics of the Atom.

To the *Buddhists*, time is a form contributed by the mind and not a constituent of the world. To the *Nyāya-Vaisēṣika* schools, it is real being, one of the *dravyas*. If it is this insoluble puzzle which makes Alice observe, "I think you might do something better with the Time than waste it asking riddles with no answers".

To the mystics, it is the *Māyā* of the Lord. To them *Māyā* is not illusion but the inexpressible art and play of the

7. *Appearance and Reality, p.* 39.

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'*Citśakti*', all intended to save the soul, to attract and educate it so as to become one with the Lord. In view of this perpetual puzzle of time, it is looked upon sometimes as the great magician, or the *Brahman*, to be contemplated upon for achieving salvation and freedom from Time and therefore the *Maitrī Upaniṣad* assures us "*Yah kālam Brahma iti upasīta, kālah tasya atidūram apasarati*" — 'From him who worships time as *Brahman* time runs away too far'.

There is a school of thought amongst Indian Philosophers; they are the '*Kālavādins*' who took upon the Absolute as time and this school is found explained in the *Tamiḻ* Anthology *Peruntiraṭṭu* under *Kālavādam*. This is criticized in the *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad* itself. Therefore *Upaniṣad Vidyā* of contemplating on Time as a symbol of *Brahman* is different from this *Kālavāda*.

II

THE AGAMIC THEORY:

Ārūrar in addition to the reference to the *Vēdas* which must include in the context, the *Upaniṣads*, speaks also of *Āgamas* referring to God as He who blesses the followers of *Āgamic* conduct. "*Ammāṉē ākamacilark karuḷ nalkum tammāṉē*".[8] Therefore, the *Āgamic* theory of time may be referred to here. There are two schools of *Āgamic* thought: one, which looks upon this universe as being evolved as the play of His '*Citśaktī*' and which therefore ultimately believes in monism; the other which looks upon the universe as being evolved out of *Māyā* which is considered a separate category as real as God Himself. But, both of them agree in the main about the various stages of this evolution. God thinks of evolution and there develops a stress within the matrix or *Māyā* which begins thereby to vibrate. Evolution thus starts; knowledge, will or desire and activity arise and there come the first five stages, according to the different proportions of these *śaktīs*. These five are beyond time and therefore called eternal.[9] These are the *Śuddha* or pure *tattvas*. The 24 *tattvas* of the *Sāṅkhyas* are the impure *tattvas* forming the end of this evolution. In between these two, the pure and the impure, occur the seven *tattvas*, called *Śuddhāśuddha* (Pure-impure) *tattvas*. These

8. 7: 96: 6.
9. *Śivajñāna Cittiyar, Sūt.* 1: 66.

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seven and the other 24 are not called eternal for they are all in time. Of these seven, the first to be evolved is Time itself. Next comes '*Niyati*' or order to determine activity; it introduces the uniformity of Nature, the causal law. *Kāla*, which is next evolved, removes the darkness of *Āṇava* in which the soul is enshrouded revealing thereby the latter's power of activity. *Vidyātattva*, evolved next, reveals the soul's power of knowledge. *Rāgatattva*, which follows, kindles in the souls a desire for enjoyment, according to their respective *karma*. When this scheme is thus prepared the soul is generally ready for its entrance into specific bodies to start on its individual history when the 24 *aśuddha tattvas* are evolved for building up its body. *Arūrar* speaks of 96 elements, which are the finished products which make up this body.[10] The 96 elements or *tattvas* are: *Āṉma tattvam* — 24; *Nāḍi* — 10; *Avastā* — 5; *Malaṁ* — 3; *Guṇam* — 3; *Maṇḍalam* — 3; *Piṇi* — 3; *Vikāram* — 8; *Ādhāram* — 6; *Dhātu* — 7; *Marapu* — 10; *Kōcam* 5; *Vāyil* — 9.

III

ARURAR ON TIME:

Therefore, when the world is mentioned by our poet who may be taken to have known this *Āgamic* scheme, we may take it as referring to the frame work of this space, time and causality all referring to the wonderful play of magician, the Lord. Our poet often speaks of '*Māyam*', when referring to the Universe and its life; the life is '*māyam*'.[11] '*Māyam*' is not mere illusion though our poet uses it in that sense as well, but more often it probably refers to the magic of the Lord, the creative genius working wonders. Therefore, in other places, our poet addresses the Lord as '*Arputaṉ*'.[11a] *Māyaṉ* has been used for describing *Viṣṇu*. Even as *Kṛṣṇa* is spoken of as the 'Cheat', *Śiva* also is addressed by our poet as '*Paṭiraṉ*' — the Cheat.[12] It is the wonder where contradictions are resolved; that is the wonder of wonders. Even *Śaṅkara* accepts the universe as real as against the *Buddhists* but according to him it is relatively real being transcended rather than negatived by the Absolute. *Śaṅkara* even speaks of the Lord

10. 7: 8: 3.
11. 7: 56: 8; 7: 78: 1; 7: 95: 7.
11a. 7: 20: 3.
12. 7: 86: 7.

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appearing as though a man for blessing the world: "*Dēhavān iva jāta iva sa Lōkānugraham kurvaṉ lakṣyatē*" in explaining the conception of incarnation in his commentary on the *Gītā*.

Our poet refers to the Lord being the Time,[13] both as Before and After-relation and as Past, Present and Future. He is Tomorrow, Today and Yesterday,[14] the day and night,[15] the daylight and darkness.[16] The Lord is not within Time. Therefore, there is no Before or After, no beginning or no end,[17] or to say the same thing, "He is the Before and the After".[18] He has become the Beginning and the End.[19] These terms '*Muṉ*, *Piṉ*' may refer to space and time. He is one whole infinite — *Ananta*. It is impossible to know His beginning.[20] He transcends all causes. He is the beginning, the womb of all.[21] He is the beginning of everything,[22] but His beginning is not known. He never dies or He is never born, and He never grows old[23] unlike others placed on this sharp edge of the sword of fire called Day, cutting and cooking them all. The Lord is beyond Time and that is the significance of the *purāṇic* story of the Lord as *Kālakāla* destroying *Kāla* or Death for the sake of *Mārkkaṇḍa*. Our poet suggests that the Lord will do the same for all his followers.[24] The conception of *Kālakāla*, according to the *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad* reveals the delusion of those men who think of Time as the cause of creation. This *Upaniṣad* explains the theory that the entire world is eternally enveloped by *Śiva* who is *Kālakāla* and who is of the nature of consciousness.[25]

The *Maitrī Upaniṣad* refers to an ancient old verse:

"Tis Time that cooks created things,
All things, indeed, in the Great Soul (*mahātmaṉ*)

13. 7: 19: 9.
14. 7: 40: 3.
15. 7: 2: 10.
16. 7: 59: 10; 7: 59: 3.
17. 7: 44: 7
18. 7: 77: 6.
19. 7: 92: 4.
20. 7: 57: 3.
21. 7: 12: 3.
22. 7: 64: 3.
23. 7: 18: 1.
24. 7: 55: 1.
25. vi. 1, 2.

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In what, however, Time is cooked —
Who knows that, he the *Vēda* knows."[26]

Time itself is cooked and swallowed away. The *Kathōpaniṣad* speaks of the creation becoming the food of the *Brahman* where *Kāla* is the '*upasēcana*'. The Lord for saving the soul appears within the frame of space and time and He is realized by the soul in and through time through all forms of God in which He is incarnating Himself as Beauty in Nature and Art and as *Guru* in Man, He being always inside the sacred temple of the hearts of the souls even as He is inside all Nature. The whole evolution is sometimes explained as the significance of the story of *Dasāvatāra* and *Māṇikkavācakar* speaks of the soul taking the forms of various living beings described by our modern evolutionists.[27] But *Ārūrar* in speaking of the *Aṣṭamūrta* is really speaking of every soul being the Temple of God, *Brahmapuri* and not of any particular history.

IV

PURPOSE OF CREATION:

The purpose of this divine play of creation where the formless assumes form is as already stated the salvation of the soul. We have referred to this, from the point of the Lord entering the soul to save it.[28] We can now refer to the creation in its march, through time, to the timeless salvation. Out of pity for the souls tossed about in the ocean of *karma*, the Lord has blessed them with salvation and increase[28a] (which remind us of the '*srēyas* and *prēyas*' of the *Upaniṣads*). The soul has to go through the various experiences of the world to be purified for ultimately hankering after the Lord. As already pointed out, "the Lord exhibits His magic, making us realize our birth when He inspires us to experience the mind which never forgets Him, for all of which He gives us this body, so that those who contemplate on Him with their mind, as the One ever remaining in their eye, may see Him He has entered this world as one inside this earth".[29] Beautiful nature, wherein the *purāṇic* Lord of mystic glory presides enabling the soul to attain salvation is described in a verse by our poet

26. *R. E. Hume, op. cit., p.* 434.
27. *Tiruvācakam: Civapurāṇam—ll,* 26-31.
28. 7: 21: 3.
28a. Promotion — '*Vīṭupēṟu* and *ākkam*' — 7: 38: 7.
29. 7: 95: 7.

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wherein he rolls together the beautiful nature, the *purāṇic* personality of the Lord and the historic march towards salvation. "It is the beautiful spot where the *koel* sings in the midst of creepers; it is the beautiful spot where the peacocks dance; it is the beautiful spot of the Lord who had swallowed the poison; it is the beautiful spot where the *karmas* cease; it is the beautiful spot where the wealth of *mōkṣa* is gained; it is the beautiful spot of the damsel of Grace".[30] Our poet describes the way of the Lord in another verse: "He blesses us with gold and reality. He makes us enjoy the happiness of the world and the bliss of salvation (*tiru*). Then he pardons the excesses. He makes us submit to Him so that all the sins may fly away. Ah! He is one who cannot be known categorically. But He is our Father".[31] The poet therefore asserts, "He is concentrating Himself determined to give salvation"—"*Muttikku oṉṟiṉāṉ*".[32]

Our poet speaks of the Lord as '*Ūḻi*'[33] or the aeons, the Lord becoming the aeons.[34] The significance of this conception of aeons is very well brought out in the following passage:

"It is remarkable that in an age when the rest of the world had made little history, the seers of India could imagine long stretches of time, extending over millions of years. The theory of the four ages (*catur-yuga*) does not mean that the time-process is cyclical, but rather that it is like a spiral. Nor does it mean that the four *yugas* should necessarily succeed one another. All the ages are all the time there. And, the progress of the world implies that *Kali*, *Dvāpara*, and the *Trēta* should to a greater and greater extent, get sublimated in *Kṛta-yuga*. *Kṛta* in the terminology of the game of dice is the highest throw which includes all the others. *Kṛta-yuga*, also called *Satya-yuga*, thus means the whole age, of which the others are but parts and distortions. It is towards this age that the entire creation is moving. It is the age of Truth, Peace, and Harmony. I think that the world is moving towards peace, *i.e.*, *Ahimsā*. The way of violence has been tried for ages and has been found wanting": Thus wrote *Mahaṭma Gandhi* declaring his faith in cosmic progress.

30. 7: 10: 3.
31. 7: 59: 1.
32. 7: 62: 5.
33. 7: 50: 6.
34. 7: 40: 2.

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He had also the vision to see that India has a major contribution to make towards world-welfare, and led her through the gates of freedom by the novel strategy of peace and love. "I do believe", he said, "that if India has patience enough to go through the fire of suffering, and to resist any unlawful encroachment upon its own civilization which, imperfect though it undoubtedly is, has hitherto stood the ravages of time, she can make a lasting contribution to the peace and solid progress of the world". Now that India has, under the guidance of the *Mahatma*, passed through the fire of suffering, the stage is set for her to march along the road to world-perfection. She has a primary part to play in the great cosmic drama of Time whose sole purpose is to unveil the face of Eternity, to usher in the *satyayuga*.[35]

The truth of this statement about this cosmic drama of the alchemy of soul-making is well brought out by the following line of *Ārūrar*: "This is the beautiful spot where He is contemplated with a firm resolve for many aeons for achieving salvation".[36]

It is significant that the poet speaks of the Lord becoming aeons being at the same time our kith and kin: "*Uṟavum ūḻiyum āya Perumāṉ*".[37] These words suggest that all this march of aeons is for the benefit of us all so that we may become one with Him and His eternal bliss.

V

THE MOMENTARY AND THE ETERNITY — PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY:

Our poet speaks at times of his experience of the Lord as occurring on one particular day. The experience which occurs is eternal though the realization, because of the exigencies of our speech, is to be referred within the time order without which no worldly speech is possible. That is the case with all mystics. Vaughan is describing his experience of eternity in the following lines:

"I saw Eternity the other night,
Like a great ring of pure and endless light,
All calm, as it was bright;

35. Time and the Timeless by Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, 'Principal Miller Lectures', 1953, pp. 82-84.
36. 7: 10: 10.
37. 7: 50; 6.

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All round beneath it, Time in hours, days, years,
Driven by the spheres
Like a vast shadow moved; in which the world
And all her train were hurled."

Here he remembers it as an occurrence of the other night even as our poet speaks of it as occurring on one particular day.[38] Therefore, the Nobel Poet Laureate T. S. Eliot speaks thus:

"To apprehend
The point of intersection of the timeless
With time is an occupation for the saint."

That moment of intersection is really eternal, though it has to be expressed to us in our language as a point of time. Our poet speaks of the Lord as the eternity of the music of the harp thus helping us to realize the eternity or the Timeless though experienced in this world as point of time even as we experience the eternal music or art in a moment and lose ourselves in eternity.[39]

The significance of this conception of time or the Philosophy of history is brought out in the passages given in the note below:

NOTE:

Eternal Life:

"The rapture of unitive life here is momentary and is only a foretaste of the eternal bliss Beyond. Time is a rapid succession of events, physical and psychical, and is a fleeting flux without any fixity or stability. It is particular and perishing as the past is past and the present glides away and the future is yet to be. Time as an endless series is self-contradictory as it implies continuity and discontinuity. The past, the present and the future are disparate as the past is only retrospected, the present is actual and the future is anticipated and yet the past flows into the present and the present glides into the future without any break or bar. Endless duration is thus self-discrepant and it is the bad infinite. Some say that space-time is real and that the self and deity emerge later on. Others divinize time. It is not the specious present or *totem simul* or the willed change. Time is not being

38. 7: 2: 5; 7: 17: 9.
39. 7: 6. 7.

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and becoming since static existence is as unthinkable as perpetual or infinite motion. History as a connected record of events in time given in sense-perception is midway between sense-perception which deals with particular events and philosophy which deals with truth which is true at all times and in all places and to all persons. While some think apocalyptically of continuous progress, the good time that is coming and the golden age of the advent of God's kingdom in the future, others refer to the golden age in the past. Still others are pessimistic as they refer to a gradual deterioration of life or regress and impending gloom. Still others feel that the world is like a dog's curly tail which neither progresses nor declines and think of cycles. Still others think that the universe contains many possibilities and the present order is the one actualized by the creative will of God as His play. But the mystic experience is different from all these diagrams and dialectic descriptions of the mere speculative philosopher. The mystic's intuition of *Brahman* exceeds the limitations of space-time-cause and the map-making intellect and it is immutable and eternal. The *pariṇāmic* process of *prakṛti* and the contractions of *karma* are transfigured and transcended in the Eternal. But *prakṛti* and the Self are not destroyed or devoured by the *Ablsolue*. They are not sterilized or sublated as, to the mystic seer, time is a moving image of eternity or, as the eternal, in and beyond the temporal. *Brahman* is the home of the eternal perfections of truth, goodness and beauty and the mystic ascends gloriously by the straight and shining pathway of the gods to the Absolute or *Brahman* beyond. He goes from the temporal to the eternal, from darkness to light and from the immanent and infinite to the transcendental beyond all language and thought and enjoys the integral experience of *Brahman* (*paripūrṇa Brahmānubhava*). The attainment of the Absolute is the one aim of all mystics and it has its fruition in realizing *Brahman* in all beings and all beings in *Brahman* as the twin experiences of spirituality and service".[40]

The Philosophy of History:

"The philosophy of history brings out the possibility of universal salvation or *sarva mukti* and thus offers a corrective to subjectivism which may arise from immanental mysticism. The meaning of history is gradually unfolded as the revelation of the

40. *Mystics and Mysticism*, pp. 413-415.

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eternal in the temporal. History chronicles, events given in sense-perception in the order in which they occur. In the scientific sense, sequence is explained as consequence and facts are explained in terms of cause and effect in a connected way as *karma*. But this view is mechanical as it does not reveal the inner purpose of historic events. History needs God as Providence who brings good out of evil and there is one increasing purpose running through the ages. But progress is often followed by regress and the natural order often conflicts with the moral order. Besides, God does not depend on man for the furtherance of His purpose. History is said to be stained with the blood of martyrs and the tragedies of unmerited suffering and there seems to be so much caprice and cruelty in the world that they shake one's faith in Providence and in the triumph of virtue. A higher view of history is that it refers to *Iśvara* as the moral Ruler who metes out justice impartially to everyone according to the merits of the *karma* of individuals. *Karma* has a twofold meaning, scientific and moral; in the former sense, it is the law of causality on the moral level; *Iśvara* metes out justice impartially to everyone according to his deserts, and the *jīva* alone is responsible for his deeds. In a higher sense, God's righteousness is rooted in redemption and *karma* has its fulfilment in *kṛpa* or Divine mercy. But it is difficult to decide whether Grace is the result of *karma* or is unconditioned and spontaneous. History finally marks the progress of soul-making by Divine Love and then the soul reunites with God and is made godly, leading to *sarvamukti* or universal salvability. The philosophy of history is the revelation of the Eternal in the temporal in the interests of the moulding of the mystic. To the mystic, becoming rests on the bosom of being in the Ocean Pacific of the All Self or *Vāsudēva*. As Milton says, Eternity greets our bliss with an individual kiss and by contacting God it is eternalized and no longer returns to mortality. Thus history starts with the temporal, then expounds the eternal in the temporal and is fulfilled in the vision of the eternal beyond the temporal".[41]

VI

THE GOLDEN AGE — PAST OR FUTURE:

In dealing with this question of time we may refer to the people who emphasize the importance of the Past. They swear

41. *Mystics and Mysticism*, pp. 373-375.

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by the ancient tradition or '*Sampradāya*'. In so far as this school insists on the social side of the religious experience, it has a value provided it does not forget that salvation or *mōkṣa* it is beyond time from which there can be no return to the order of time. Our poet does not break away from the past tradition. He is using the old *purāṇic* stories for delivering his message. He refers to the *Āgamas* and *Vēdas* and the various kinds of worship prevalent in his age. But to him they are all the outward forms which become significant and important only when inspired with the love for God. He has in a sense revolutionized at least some of the stories, for instance, that of *Bhikṣāṭana*. There are others who expect the golden age, not in the Past but in the Future. They see a progress in the world and in the possibility of perfectability in man. If this is not a belief in the day of judgment, our poet also may be taken to belong to this school for along with other mystics, he believes in the universal salvation of all living beings. It is very difficult to say whether he believed that the history is a march of progress or decline or a wave with its crest and trough alternating, though he firmly believes in the ultimate purpose of all this universe is the salvation of all living beings. All our attempts are aimed at achieving happiness. Some think that it can be achieved in this very world. Others promise this happiness in a future world. Our poet speaks of '*Vāṉakam*' or the world of the *Dēvas* in terms of the tradition of his days. But that is only a reference and not his message. He is also believing in the possibility of this world being the seat of divine bliss. Has he not described this world as the very form of the Lord? But the '*Viṭupēru*' which he speaks of is beyond Time and Space though he has necessarily to describe it in terms of space and time.

VII

OPTIMISM AND PESSIMISM:

These remarks may suggest that our poet is an optimist. Man is after all an incorrigible optimist. But at least in some *hymns* there is a current of pessimism running through. The following references bring out the miseries of the world, the ocean of births and deaths, the beautiful ford of youth being washed away by the flood, the sensitive body unable to bear even the pressure of a grain, the sudden transformation of marriage festivity into a funeral mourning, the tyranny of the five high way robbers of our senses, the trap of death, the vily net spread out by deceitful women, the

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heap of flesh and blood misnamed body, the thatched shed of a body built by nerves and bones, the unreliability of this world and its people, the declining life tapering into nothing in the end, the life of a dew-drop before the hot sun, the life of delusion, ignorance and sin which brings nothing but tears when one thinks of it.

NOTE:

They are quoted in original as their meaning has already been given.[42]

"*Nalvā yilceytār naṭāntār uṭuttār naraittā rirantār eṉṟunā ṉillattil*
Collāyk kaḷikiṉṟatu"[43]

"*Poṟivā yilivvain tiṉaiyu maviyap porutu*"[44]

"*Piṟavik kaṭalnīn tiyēṟi*"[45]

"*Ōṭupuṉar karaiyā miḷamai yuṟaṅkī viḷittā lokkumip piṟavi*"[46]

"*Pulaṉain tumayaṅ kiyakaṅ kuḷaiyap poruvē lornamaṉ tamartām naliya*
Alaman tumayaṅ kiyayar vataṉmuṉ"[47]

"*Oru*
Vālūṉṟa varuṉtum uṭampitaṉai makiḻātu"[48]

"*Maṇakkō lamatē piṇkkō lamatām piṟavi*"[49]

"*Vāṇār nutalār valaippat taṭiyēṉ*"[50]

"*Aivarkoṇtiṅ kāṭṭāvāṭi āḻkuḻippaṭ taḻuntuvēṉ*"[51]

"*Matta yāṉai yēṟi maṉṉar cūḻa varuvīrkāḷ*
Cetta pōti lāru millai"[52]

"*Tōṟṟa muṇṭēl maraṇa muṇṭu tuyara maṉai vāḻkkai*
Māṟṟa muṇṭēl vañca muṇṭu"[53]

42. *Vol. III.*
43. 7: 3: 1.
44. 7: 3: 2.
45. 7: 3: 3.
46. 7: 3: 4.
47. 7: 3: 5.
48. 7: 3: 6.
49. 7: 3: 7.
50. 7: 3: 9.
51. 7: 5: 1.
52. 7: 7: 1.
53. 7: 7: 2.

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"*Ceṭiko ḷākkai ceṉṟu ceṉṟu lēyntollai vīḻāmum*
Vaṭikoḷ kaṇṇār vañcaṉaiyuṭ paṭṭu mayaṅkātē"[54]

"*Vāḻvar kaṇṭīr nammu ḷaivar vañca maṉattīrē*
Yāva rālu mikaḻappaṭṭiṅ kallalil vīḻātē"[55]

"*Arittu nammē laivar vantiṅ kāṟalaippāṉ poruṭṭāl*
Ciritta palvāy veṇṭalaipō yūrppuṟañ cērāmuṉ"[56]

"*Poyyar kaṇṭīr vāḻkkai yāḷar pottaṭaippaṉ poruṭṭāl*
Maiyal koṇṭīr"[57]

"*Kūca nīkkik kuṟṟa nīkkic ceṟṟamaṉa nīkki*
Vāca malku kuḻali ṉārkaḷ vañcamaṉai vāḻkkai
Ācai nīkki"[58]

"*Iṉpa muṇṭēl tuṉpamuṇṭu ēḻaimaṉai vāḻkkai*"[59]

"*Tantai yārum tavvai yārum eṭṭuṇaic cārvākār*
Vantu nammō ṭuḷḷaḷāvi vāṉaneṟi kāṭṭum
Cintaiyīrē neñciṉīrē"[60]

"*Iṟaikaḷo ṭicainta iṉpam iṉpatto ṭicainta vāḻvu*
Paṟaikiḻit taṉaiya pōrvai"[61]

"*Ūṉmicai yutirak kuppai yoruporu ḷilāta māyam*
Māṉmaṟit taṉaiya nōkka maṭantaimār matikku minta
Mānuṭap piṟavi"[62]

"*Aṟupatum pattu meṭṭu māṟiṉo ṭañcu nāṉkum*
Tuṟupaṟit taṉaiya nōkkic colliṟṟoṉ ṟākac collār"[63]

"*Colliṭi lellai yillai cuvaiyilāp pētai vāḻvu*
Nallatōr kūṟai pukku nalamika aṟintē ṉallēṉ"[64]

Narampiṉō telumpu kaṭṭi nacaiyiṉō ṭicaivoṉ rillāk
Kurampaivāyk kuṭiyi runtu"[65]

"*Maṇameṉa makiḻvar muṉṉē makkaḷtāy tantai cuṟṟam*
Piṇameṉac cuṭuvar pērttē piṟaviyai vēṇṭēṉ"[66]

54. 7: 7: 3.
55. 7: 7: 4.
56. 7: 7: 5.
57. 7: 7: 6.
58. 7: 7: 7.
59. 7: 7: 8.
60. 7: 7: 9.
61. 7: 8: 1,
62. 7: 8: 2.
63. 7: 8: 3.
64. 7: 8: 4.
65. 7: 8: 5.
66. 7: 8: 6.

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"*Tāḻveṉum taṉmai viṭṭut taṉattaiyē maṉattil vaittu*
Vāḻvatē karutit toṇṭar marumaikkoṉ rīyakillār
Āḻkuḻip paṭṭa pōtu alakkaṇil oruvarkkāvar"[67]

"*Utiranīr iraiccik kuppai eṭuttatu malakkuk kaimēl*
Varuvatōr māyak kūrai"[68]

"*Poyttaṉmait tāya māyap pōrvaiyai meyyeṉ reṇṇum*
Vittakat tāya vāḻvu"[69]

"*Māṉuṭa vāḻkkaiyoṉ rākak karutiṭir kaṇṇīr pilkum*"[70]

"*Emmāṉ emmaṉaiyeṉ reṉak keṭṭaṉaic cārvākār*
Immā yappiravi piran tēyiran teyttoḻintēṉ"[71]

"*Patiyum curramum perramakkaḷum paṇṭai yāralar peṇṭirum*
Nitiyi limmaṉai vāḻum vāḻkkaiyum niṉaippoḻi"[72]

"*Puranti raintu narampe ḻuntu naraittu nīyurai yārra ḷarnt*
Taram purintu niṉaippa tāṇmai yaritukāṇ"[73]

"*Paṭaiye lāmpaka ṭāra vāḷilum pavvañ cūḻntara cāḷilum*
Kaṭaiye lāmpiṉait tēraivāl"[74]

"*Tuñci yumpiran tuñci rantum tuyakka rāta mayakkivai*"[75]

"*Iṅkalakkum uṭarpiranta variviliyēṉ*"[76]

"*Poyyē ceytu purampuramē tirivēṉ taṉṉaip pōkāmē*"[77]

"*Marinēr oṇkaṇ maṭanallār valaiyir paṭṭu matimayaṅki*
Arivē yaḻintēṉ aiyānāṉ"[78]

"*Vēlaṅkāṭu taṭaṅkaṇṇār valaiyuṭpaṭṭuṉ nerimarantu*
Mālaṅkāṭi marantoḻintēṉ"[79]

"*Aḻukku mei*"[80]

"*Māṉai nōkkiyar kaṇvalaip paṭṭu varunti yānurra valviṉaik kañci*"[81]

67. 7: 8: 7
68. 7: 8: 8.
69. 7: 8: 9.
70. 7: 15: 8.
71. 7: 24: 3.
72. 7: 35: 2.
73. 7: 35: 3.
74. 7: 35: 6.
75. 7: 35: 10.
76. 7: 51: 3.
77. 7: 52: 2.
78. 7: 52: 4.
79. 7: 52: 5.
80. 7: 54: 1.
81. 7: 54: 6.

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"*Cetta pōtiṉilmuṉ ṉiṉṟu nammaic cilarkaḷ kūṭic cirippataṉ muṉṉam*"[82]

"*Poḷḷa livvuṭa laipporu ḷeṉṟu*"[83]

"*Kaḻutai kuṅkuman tāṉcuman teyttāl kaippar pāḻpuka maṟṟatupōlap*

Paḻutu nāṉuḻaṉ ṟuḷtaṭumāṟip paṭucuḻit talaip paṭṭaṉaṉ"[84]

"*Naraippu mūppoṭu piṇivarum iṉṉē naṉṟiyil viṉaiyē tuṇinteyttēṉ*

Araitta mañcaḷa tāvatai yaṟintēṉ añciṉēṉ namaṉāravar tammai"[85]

"*Puṉṉu ṉaippaṇi veṅkatir kaṇṭāl pōlum vāḻkkai kaḻintaṉa nāḷum*"[86]

"*Muntic ceyviṉai yimmaikkaṉ naliya mūrkka ṉakik kaḻintaṉa kālam*"[87]

"*Ciṟucciṟi tēyirap pārkaṭ koṉṟīyēṉ*"[88]

"*Aḻippa raivar puravuṭai yārka ḷaiva rumpura vācaṟa vāṇṭu*

Kaḻittuk kāṟpeytu pōyiṉa piṉṉaik kaṭaimu ṟaiyuṉak kēpoṟai yāṉēṉ

Viḻittuk kaṇṭaṉaṉ meypporuḷ taṉṉai"[89]

"*Kaṟṟilēṉ kalai kaḻpala ñāṉam*"[90]

"*Koṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ oṇporuḷ taṉṉaik kuṟṟañ ceṟṟam ivaimutalāka*

Viṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ vēṭkaiyum ciṉamum vēṇṭil aimpula ṉeṉvaca malla

Naṭukka muṟṟatōr mūppuvan teyta namaṉ ṟamarnara kattiṭal añci

Iṭukka ṇuṟṟaṉaṉ uyvakai aruḷāy"[91]

"*Aiva kaiyarai yarava rāki yāṭci koṇṭoru kālavar nīṅkār*"[92]

"*Ēḻai māṉuṭa iṉpiṉai nōkki yiḻaiya varvalaip paṭṭirun tiṉṉam*

82. 7: 59: 4.
83. 7: 59: 6.
84. 7: 60: 1.
85. 7: 60: 2.
86. 7: 60: 3.
87. 7: 60: 4.
88. 7: 60: 4.
89. 7: 60: 5.
90. 7: 60: 6.
91. 7: 60: 7.
92. 7: 60: 8.

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Vāḻai tāṉpaḻuk kumnamak keṉṟu vañca valviṉai yuḻvalaip paṭṭuk
Kūḻai māntartañ celkatip pakkam pōka mumporu ḷoṉṟariyāta ēḻai''[93]

"*Piṇikoḷ ākkai pirappiṟap peṉṉum itaṉai nīkki*''[94]

"*Vaṭikoḷ kaṇṇiṇai maṭantaiyar tampāl mayala turṟu vañcaṉaik kiṭāmāki*''[95]

"*Pāvamē purintu akaliṭan taṉṉil palapakarntala mantuyir vāḻkkaik*
Kāva veṉṟuḷan tayarntuvī ḻātē''[96]

"*Vāḻvāvatu māyammitu maṇṇāvatu tiṇnam*
Pāḻpōvatu piṟavikkaṭal pacinōy ceyta paṟitān
Tāḻātaṟam ceymmiṉ''[97]

"*Paṟiyē cuman tuḻalvīr paṟinari kīṟuva taṟiyīr*
Kuṟikūviya kūṟṟaṅkoḷu nāḷālaṟa muḻavē''[98]

"*Uḻakkē yuṇṭu paṭaittīṭ ṭivait tiḻappārkaḷum cilarkaḷ*
Vaḻakkē yeṇiṟ piḻaikkēm eṉpar matimāntiya māntar''[99]

"*Vāḻōṭiya taṭaṅkaṇṇiyar valaiyi laḻuntātē*
Nāḻōṭiya namaṉārtamar naṇukā muṉam''[100]

"*Potiyēcuman tuḻalvīr poti yavamāvatum aṟiyīr*
Matimāntiya vaḻiyēceṉṟu kuḻivīḻvatum viṉaiyāl''[101]

These references have been discussed in our studies of these *hymns*.[102]

All these, he speaks of with reference to those who become slaves of their passions. Sometimes he identifies himself with the suffering humanity and attributes all its evils to himself. But he points out that once people wake up from this sleep and dream they wake up into the bliss of God.[103] 'Where the fool sleeps the wise is wide awake and where the fool is wide awake the wise

93. 7: 60: 9.
94. 7: 64: 2.
95. 7: 64: 3.
96. 7: 64: 4.
97. 7: 78: 1.
98. 7: 78: 2.
99. 7: 78: 4.
100. 7: 78: 5.
101. 7: 78: 9.
102. Vol. III
103. 7: 60: 5.

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falls asleep': That is the message of the *Gīta*[104] and it is this our poet also hints at.

The fire which is meant for cooking is often used for destructive purposes for incendiarism by man. But that is not the fault of the fire. The world is neither good nor evil; it only reflects the moods of man using or living through it. As our poet says, it is a mixture of bitter margosa and sweet sugar-cane,[105] a mixture of pain and pleasure. To the right minded this world itself is the means to the end. This *saṁsāra cakra* or 'the wheel of life' is according to the *Śvētāśvatara Upaniṣad* the wheel of *Brahman* or the *Brahma cakra* or as *Appar* has put it this world is the very form of the Mother.

How is this change of vision to be brought about? *Ārūrar's* words are, "*Ācai nīkki aṉpu cērtti*".[106] The difference between the destructive and constructive attitudes is beautifully described by our poet in this phrase "*Ācai nīkki aṉpu cērtti*". '*Ācai*' is an attachment, a slavery to the world and to the senses, all for self aggrandisement which leads only to restlessness of worldly misery, whilst '*Aṉpu*' is becoming one with the thing loved, surrendering the smaller self to the higher self whose form is Bliss. That is why the mystics denounce the sense pleasures or rather sublimate and transmute them into the eternal bliss of the Lord. Has not *Appar* given expression to this truth in the verse "*Mācil vīṇaiyum mālai maṭiyamum*"?[107] Has not *Ārūrar* spoken of the five senses being the very form of the Lord,[108] who becomes the experiences of these senses and their objects?[109] Therefore, what our poet preaches is not a philosophy of world and life negation but a philosophy of fulfilment and in that sense it is a philosophy of world and life affirmation. Our poet looks upon every thing in this world as the gift of God and he refers to Him for everything he wants. His wives were to him the gifts of God and as we have already pointed out even the happiness he enjoyed with *Caṅkili* is according to our poet the transmuted pleasure of *yōgic* bliss.[110]

104. 2: 69.
105. 7: 46: 2.
106. 7: 7: 7.
107. 203: 1.
108. 7: 62: 9.
109. 7: 59: 3.
110. 7: 45: 4.

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Part II

SOUL

Introduction

In this part we take up *Ārūrar's* conception of Soul or '*Ātman*' and its progress. The Nature of the soul is not discussed separately but is shown only as revealed by its spiritual progress. Describing the means of attaining salvation or freedom as a spiritual ladder is found in all mystic literatures. The conception of the mystics of the world is as usual taken as our starting point and correlated with the *Āgamic* conception which *Ārūrar* may be taken to have followed. *Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yōga* and *Jñāna* have been studied in our discussion of *Ārūrar's* religion. Therefore, the philosophical implications of these alone are explained in this part of our study within the background of rituals of other lands. *Cēkkiḻār's* conception of *Ārūrar's* married life as a spiritual *yōga* is also elucidated. The law of *Karma* becoming the law of love and Grace is also explained. The ethical mysticism of *Ārūrar* emphasizing the importance of the moral path is brought out thus exposing the hollowness of the view that *Ārūrar* and other mystics are non-moral if not immoral. The self-condemnation of *Ārūrar* is explained as a feeling of repentance and conversion rather than as confession of his moral depravity, a depravity which cannot be reconciled with the picture of a highly elevated moral life which the poet in all his sincerity places before his Lord in the isolation of his suffering and intimacy of his prayer. This alternating feelings of self-condemnation and self elation are explained as the ebb and flow of the loving heart. The spiritual process also becomes a process of love—a holy *tapas* as distinguished from '*ceṭit tavam*'[1] or vain torture. The doctrine of Grace which is one of the great messages of *Ārūrar's* poem is explained in the light of the law of *Karma* becoming the law of love, where the Lord as the lover of the beloved becomes the insatiable nectar of divine bliss. Thus is the way paved for discussing the final goal of divine bliss in terms of love.

1. 7: 14: 6.

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CHAPTER I

THE LADDER OF LOVE AND ĀGAMIC WORSHIP

I

OUR POET'S METHOD:

We discussed *Ārūrar's* conception of the Universe or Nature, which is object to a subject. The subject is the spirit or soul. To start with, the souls are found to be many; they suffer from ignorance, misery of the cycle of births and deaths and are caught within the wheel of *karma*. The false identification with matter, under which the soul's '*Cit*', '*Sat*' and '*Ānanda*' aspects are found cribbed, cabinned and confined, slowly ceases. The soul sees its true worth. It finds that the Soul of the soul is God within and without — the *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*, the ever existing Truth, the ever pure Knowledge and Pure Bliss, All Pervasive and Infinite. The soul realizes that its separatist tendency is egoism and therefore surrenders itself to the Lord or the Soul of the soul. It is lost there and experiences the Absolute. Instead of discussing the characteristics of these souls and God separately, our poet brings out their mutual relationship and gradual blossoming of the final bliss. We, therefore, follow our poet's method. Mystics speak like him of purgation, illumination and Bliss. As the attachment to the world becomes a force of habit and continues as such almost to the very end of *Śivadarśana*, purgation with consequent illumination may be looked upon as a stage in the spiritual progress.

II

THE TEN EFFECTS: DASAKARYA OF SAIVISM:

The mystics are blessed with the immediate experience of God. The *Śaivites* speak of ten stages of spiritual or mystic experience, as Ten Effects or *Daśakāryas*. The *Daśakāryas*, as explained in *Patipacupācaviḷakkam*, are as follows:

"Taraimutal nātamīrāit taṉittaṉik kāṇṭal rūpam
Taraimutal nātamīrāit tarceyal kāṇṭal kāṭci
Taraimutal nātamīrāic caṭamayam eṉṟu kaṇṭu
Kuruparaṉ aruḷāl nīṅkal cuttiyāyk kurittukkoḷḷē" (1)

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"*Tattuvā tītamtaṉṉil cakacavā ṇavama lantāṉ*
Uṟṟiṭum itaṟkuc cākki naṉeṉal uyirkku rūpam
Citturu nāṉē eṉṟu tēṟalē tericaṉantāṉ
Muṟṟuṇar īcaṉ muṉṉar mukiḻttiṭā taṭaṅkal cutti" (2)

"*Eṅkaṇum civaṉu ḷāṉeṉ ṟuṇartalē iṟaivaṉ ṟūpam*
Aṅkavaṉ toḻileṅ kaṇṇum aṟitalē terica nantāṉ
Tiṅkaḻvē ṇiyaṉō ṭoṉṟal civayōkam malarma ṇampōl
Puṅkaṉē yatta ḻuntal pōkameṉ ṟaṟaiyum nūlē" (3)

The first is '*Tattva rūpam*', the knowledge of the world — a kind of indirect knowledge, a vague knowledge of its existence through cognition — not as a variety which we all experience but as a unity. This is followed by '*Tattva darśana*', the experience of the world's inner nature where the soul realizes that its erstwhile identification with matter is but a vain delusion. Many play and die on the shore or on the surface. A few dive deep and plumb its depth and to these is vouchsafed this sight. There, man escapes from the evil clutches of the ghost or the misleading aspect of this world. Here arises the removal of the delusion of false identification with matter; here springs up the true knowledge of the real soul; here occurs the purification from the dirt of attachment and of identification with and contamination by the *tattvas* or matter: 'the *Tattva śuddhi*'. The experience here is no more on the lower level of animal sensation: it ceases to be mere physical pain and pleasure; it is no more ill balanced. The fissure in the mind cutting into two — the conscious and the unconscious begins to be cured. The basis of this Universe is found to rest elsewhere. Man turns inward. Pleasure is found not to exist outside.

'*Ātma rūpam*', the knowledge of the *Ātman*, the spirit or the soul, dawns on Man. It is really an understanding of God; because God and soul are inseparable, it is called '*Ātma rūpam*'. *Ātma darśana*' which follows next is the direct self-realization and expe-rience of the soul in complete self-surrender unto God, living, mov-ing and having its being in God. This is the positive aspect, while the subsequent stage of '*Ātma śuddhi*' is the negative aspect. The outward darkness may disappear but unless the blindness of the eye also is cured there will not be any sight possible. Here comes the true dependence of the soul on God; real self-surrender springs up. Human feelings are controlled and stabilized; everything is

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thus humanized and deified. There are no more inhibitions and exhibitions; the conscious and the unconscious are harmonized in the supra conscious. This harmony is the fruit, full of happiness. The feelings thus sublimated become the sentiments or the '*Rasas*' of Art. But even this is not felt to be self-supporting and independent. The basis is still found to be elsewhere but within. The fissure of the mind is cured but not as yet made whole. Man is there but on the circumference and he is slowly drawn to the centre. '*Ātma śuddhi*' follows, where this experience is transcended. The soul is lost in God; there is no more any sign of separatist tendency. The dirt of the separatist feeling is completely washed out. Hence the name of '*Ātma śuddhi*'.

This spiritual progress cannot be explained except through a parable. There are two birds, it is said, on the tree of life; one feasts on the sour unripe fruits and the sweet ripe fruits of that tree; the other bird stays perched up on the top of the tree far beyond this experience of misery and happiness; the lower bird slowly flies up and becomes one with the higher bird even as the reflection becomes one with the original when the medium of reflection is destroyed or withdrawn — thus is told in the *Upaniṣads* the story of the soul attaining its perfection in God or *Brahman.*

Here are distinguished three further stages: '*Śiva rūpam*' is the universal vision. The *Guru* or Master initiating the soul into the mysteries of mystic experience is looked upon as the loving God Himself and the soul sees God in everything and everywhere. The distinction between these two outlooks, the outlook on the Master and the outlook on the world, is this. God incarnates Himself in the spirit of the Master whilst He exists everywhere as the basis of everything because of His omnipresence in this universal vision. Then follows '*Śiva darśana*' which is the direct experience of God. The feet of God are realized when the soul is lost in Him and does not see itself separate in activity or experience. Then the feelings of 'I' and 'mine' die out and disappear. The face of the Lord is realized when all experience becomes the experience of the Lord and when there is no experience of any other kind. The crown of the Lord is realized when the consciousness of this experience is lost in the divine bliss of *Śiva.* Really '*Ātma darśana*', the experience of the reality of *Ātman* follows only when the *Śivarūpam* is realized, where the transcendent *ātman* is realized as the very *ātman* of the *ātmaśuddhi* stage and this happens only

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when *Śivadarśana* is experienced.[1] *Jñānadṛṣṭi* is the soul-sight of God, but it is really *Brahmajñāna* where everything is seen as unity. There is then the overflow of superconscious into the core of our heart which overflows with love. '*Śivayōga*' or communion with *Śiva* is the next stage where the soul is oned with God. Finally this blossoms into the last stage of '*Śivabhōga*' or enjoyment or divine bliss. *Pati* is the conception of the Lord common to all. *Śiva* is the conception of God as the intimate lover of the beloved in union or identity. All these stages are not really successive; for puposes of classification; they have been thus distinguished. Some are aspects of one and the same stage. Some of them therefore may be looked upon as springing up simultaneously. In *Ātmarūpam* arise *Tattvarūpam* and *Tattvadarśanam*. In *Śiva rūpam* arise *Tattvaśuddhi* and *Ātmadarśanam*. In *Śivadarśanam* occurs *Ātmaśuddhi* followed by *Śivayōga* and *Śivabhōga*.

III

SRI P. N. SRINIVASACHARI'S IDENTIFICATION:

Mystic experience starting as a feeling is thus sublimated; it becomes self-luminous. It is then a fulfilment of reason and thought, of feeling and emotion and of will and activity, all making for certainty and stability in the Reality. The *Jñāna Kriyā Icchāśaktīs* become perfect in the eternal values of Truth, Goodness and Beauty — *Satyam Jñānam Śivam Sundaram*. Intuition is creative art where you see the fruition of all reason, feeling and will. There is first equanimity or *Śāntabhāva*. Then follows hankering after God, that God intoxication which may be called *Prēma* of the *Madhura Bhāva* of clandestine love. *Bhakti* is *mukti* in that stage. This *Bhakti* is not the means but the end itself; it is *Parabhakti, i.e., Sādhya Bhakti* and not *Sādhana Bhakti* according to *Vaiṣṇavite* phraseology. There we see the valour *Bhakti* where even *Mukti* is not sought for: "*Viṭum vēṇṭā viral*" says *Cēkkiḻār*.[2] It is love for love's sake and not for anything else. *Brahmānubhava* alone remains. *Svarājya* is thus attained; it is perfection; it is a freedom from individuality; the finite becomes there the Infinite in all respects.

1. *Śivajñānabōdham, Śivajñāna Svamikaḷ Ciṟṟurai, Introduction to the 9th sūtra.*
2. *Periyapurāṇam, Tiṟukkūṭṭac ciṟappu, v.* 8.

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The mystics all the world over speak of Purgation, Illumination and Ecstasy and Rapture of union or unity. Sri P. N. Srinivasachari identifies them with *Karma Jñāna Bhakti yōgas* of the *Gītā*.[3] The ten Effects or *Daśakārya* relate to these three grades of the experience — *Tattva*, *Ātman* and *Śiva* and these three grades may be seen as three stages of Purgation, Illumination and Union.

IV

MYSTICS ELSEWHERE IN THE LIGHT OF SAIVISM.

1. *Christians*

The Christians also speak of the three stages.[4] First comes psychological integration of the ego which is exterior. It relates to the *Tattvas*. Here we have the nature mystic. The second is the revelation of God to the soul; here, from nature, one goes to the super-nature; this is interior and relates to the *Ātman*. It may be noted that *Ātmadarśanam* follows only *Śivadarśanam* or revelation of God to the Soul. The third is the Super-essential where the Soul turns to God for the establishment of the kingdom of God by the communion of souls through knowledge. Is this not the vision of *Ārūrar* as portrayed in his "*Appālum aṭiccārntār*"? *Paṭṭiṉattār's* poem is interpreted by *Śivajñāna Yōgi* to mean this.[5] "The eye itself is light but it lies hidden till the self-luminous light comes in when the eye becomes a light. The eyes cannot see each other in the same way the eye sees the object. But when the eye sees the light it becomes one with the latter and experiences itself as the light. This is everybody's experience. The eye can experience other eyes in a similar way. In a similar way the souls which have no relationship in themselves individually become one with *Śiva* and then they experience themselves and other souls". This is the explanation *Śivajñāna Yōgi* gives for the lines occurring in *Paṭṭiṉattār*: "When I obtained your Grace, the fog of *Māyā* was torn asunder. I obtained *jñānadṛṣṭi*. I saw then, Your great Reality. Seeing that I saw myself and I saw others. Those who have not experienced you are those who have not experienced themselves".[6]

3. *Mystics and Mysticism, p.* 72.
4. *Studies in the Psychology of the Mystics by Father Joseph Marechal. S J., First edn., p.* 322.
5. *Śivajñāna bōdhacciṟṟurai Sūtram* 10, *Nāvalar* edition.
6. *Tiruviṭai Marutūr Mummaṇikkōvai* 13: 28-35.

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But in *Śivabhōga* even this is transcended where we have the divine bliss without any feeling of duality. "All the activities of the world and its universal lords rise up from you as the waves do from the ocean and subside in you ebbing and flowing". — So sings *Paṭṭiṉattār*.[7] In another place he speaks of the varied beautiful paintings appearing as one with the wall to those who come near it and touch the wall.[8]

2. *Plotinus*

Plotinus speaks of all paths leading to the same goal which is above the actual and the particular. The goal is where we stand in the immediate presence of the infinite which shines out as from the deep of the soul. We saw *tattva* is transcended by the mystic and to some this itself may bring the experience of the Lord.[9] Plotinus speaks of the love of beauty as the path of the poet. Devotion to the One, which is real science, characterizes the philosopher and this second path of Plotinus answers to the *jñāna* which we found related to the *Ātmakāryas* of *Śaivites*. His third path is love and prayer of the devotee and this, therefore, may be identified with *Bhaktiyōga* and *Śivakāryas*.[10]

3. *Spinoza*

Spinoza's three ascending stages of perfection, *viz.*, sense knowledge, intellectual experience, and moral uplift based respectively on sense perception, reason and intuition, making a progress from sensuality (*tattva*) through spirituality (*Ātma*) to Godliness (*Śiva*) also correspond to our three stages.[11]

4. *Guru Nanak*

Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism (1459-1538) speaks of five stages: (1) the *Dharukhand* or the Realm of Beauty which may stand for the first path of Plotinus; (2) *Jñānakhand*, the Realm of divine knowledge which answers to our *jñāna*; (3), (4) and (5) *viz.*, *Sharankhand*, *Kharankhand* and *Sachkhand* respectively, the Realm of ecstasy, the Realm of Power conquering the

7. *Oṟṟiyūr orupā orupatu*, 4: 6-10.
8. *Tirukkaḷumala Mummaṇikkōvai*, 10: 31-34.
9. *Śivajñānabōdhac ciṟṟuṟai*, *p.* 170
10. See *Christian Mysticism, by W. R. Inge, edn.* 1899, *p.* 91 *ff.*
11. *Ethic of Benedict De Spinoza. Part II, prop. XL, schol.* 2, *Part IV, prop. XX etc.*

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fear of death and the Realm of union with God are really the three grades of *Bhakti*, where the knowledge becomes one with will and feeling to attain the fruition of the Divine Bliss of union.[12]

5. *St. John*

St. John (St. Juan) of the Cross speaks of the three dark nights of the spiritual progress — marking the transit from Nature to the soul, from soul to God and from separation from God to union with God. First is the dark night of sense and here the images of the mind or *vāsanas* fade away in prayer. In the second, the dark night of the spirit or faith, the soul is touched by Divine Grace. In the third night of the soul, there is the torpor of nihilism, where the soul suffers alone in its *kaivalya* hence hankering after union with God.[13]

6. *Sufis*

Sufis speak of four stages: (1) *Shari'at*, or the carrying out of the Islamic injunctions; (2) *Malakut* or introspection; (3) *Marifah* or attaining knowledge and (4) *Haquiqah* or the union with the All Self. The third and the fourth are the *Jñāna* and *Bhakti yōga*, when it will be clear that the first and second relate to the *Karma yōga* of purgation transcending the *tattvas*. They speak of the journey to God in three stages of self control, spiritual illumination and ecstasy of union.[14]

There are others who speak of the seven rungs of the ladder of Love; and Attar, the mystic poet of the Sufist (1140-1234) speaks of the seven valleys on our pilgrimage to the All-self or Absolute — the valley of the quest, the valley of love, the valley of knowledge, the valley of detachment, the valley of unity, the valley of amazement, and the valley of annihilation of Self. The *Daśakāryas* are not all of them successive; some of them, as already pointed out, are simultaneous, for instance' *Śiva Rūpam* and *Ātmadarśana, Śivadarśana* and *Ātmaśuddhi*. If this is remembered, these valleys can be equated with the *Daśakāryas*.

These valleys are compared with the seven stages described by the Christians — purgation, illumination, contemplation, absorp-

12. See the *Sacred scripture of the Sikhs.*
13. *Christian Mysticism by W. R. Inge, pp.* 224-228.
14. *Islamic Sufism by Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah,* p. 294; See also *Comparative Mysticism, by Jacques de Marquette.*

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tion in divine love, ecstasy, the Divine dark and merging in the ocean of Divine love.

John of Ruysbroek speaks in the treatise 'On the Seven Grades of Love', of these seven rungs of the ladder of love and inward life from, (1) goodwill; (2) voluntary poverty; (3) chastity; (4) humility; (5) desire for the glory of God; (6) Divine contemplation, which has three properties — intuition, purity of spirit and nudity of mind; to (7) the ineffable, unnameable transcendence of all knowledge and thought.[15]

St. Augustine, the greatest of the early Christian mystics, (354 A.D. - 430 A.D.) speaks of purgation, illumination and union and he describes this mystic way as ascending up to God as pure Beauty through seven stages — animation, good-will, introversion or entering into the soul, recollection or freedom from distracting thought, self-discipline, cleansing of the heart and contemplation on God.[16]

V

THE FOUR-FOLD PATH OF AGAMAS:

The *Āgamas* speak of the four-fold path of *Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yōga*, and *Jñāna*. It is important to note that in every one of these four, there are four further stages making in all sixteen — *Caryā* in *Caryā*, *Kriyā* in *Caryā*, *Yōga* in *Caryā* and *Jñāna* in *Caryā*; *Caryā* in *Kriyā*, *Kriyā* in *Kriyā*, *Yōga* in *Kriyā* and *Jñāna* in *Kriyā*; *Caryā* in *Yōga*, *Kriyā* in *Yōga*, *Yōga* in *Yōga* and *Jñāna* in *Yōga*; *Caryā* in *Jñāna*, *Kriyā* in *Jñāna*, *Yōga* in *Jñāna*, and *Jñāna* in *Jñāna*.[17] This assumes that till one reaches the last stage there will occur in mixed forms when one has to distinguish them by the emphasis on the predominant element. Speaking roughly, *Caryā* may be spoken as service or physical activity; *Kriyā* is *bhāvanā* or mental activity — a play with God; *Yōga* is contemplation; *Jñāna* is realization.

They are described as the rising rungs of a ladder. Their significance is well brought out by their effects. *Caryā* leads to *Sālōkya*; *Kriyā*, to *Sāmīpya*; *Yōga*, to *Sārūpya*; *Jñāna* to *Sāyujya*. When man thinks of God, he enters his mental sphere of God in his activity in this world with the freedom of the servant moving

15. *Christian Mysticism by W. R. Inge, pp.* 168-169.
16. See *"Western Mysticism" by Dom Cuthbert Butler, Second edition,* 1927, *p.* 37 and *Comparative Mysticism by J. D. Marquette, p.* 127.
17. *Śivajñāna pāṭiyam, p.* 470.

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inside the home of the Lord. He has achieved *Sālōkya* — the sphere of God. He still moves about only in the circumference. He is engaged in *Dāsya mārga* or the path of Service. Gradually he is drawn to the centre, near unto God — *Sāmīpya*. He is engaged in the *Satputra mārga* — the path of the child and moves about with the freedom and right of a son. The vision appears only to disappear. He brings that back in his own imagination. This is still immature. He plays like a child but he plays the game of God. Imagination or *Bhāvanā* has its full swing. He worships God in various forms. The world and its objects become spiritualized in this play. *Pūjā* or worship follows. *Śuddhi* or purification occurs with various offerings to God. God incarnates Himself in Beauty and Images. The *Bhāvanā* is not, therefore, all noise and no meaning. Once man turns Godward, He rushes down and occupies his mind leaving room for nothing else. Man who has been identifying all along with matter and his body, feels he is not matter but spirit. He is the child of God, and, therefore, realizes his spiritual and divine form.

Sārūpya Yōga or contemplation of communion follows and the child's play becomes intense love for the Lord. An ethical life of self-control, service and love, a life of *Yama*, *Niyama* — control of senses and mind purifies the mind. Postures or *āsanas* do not form merely physical culture but because thought also plays a part in them, they become a mental culture where body and mind as an organic whole become controlled and integrated as a step towards higher perfection. *Prāṇāyāma* is the control of the wandering mind through the control of breath. If the outgoing tendency is arrested, mind turns inward to think on thought itself as *pratyāhāra*, The soul is no longer fettered by matter; and mind is withdrawn from the psychic plane; it concentrates on *Ātman*, that is *Dhāraṇā*. *Dhyāna* or mental retention and *samādhi* or spiritual unity follow. This is not enough. *Puruṣa* or Soul is therefore freed from *Prakṛti*; but *Ātman* has to inside itself to its *Paramātman*. This Divine communion will follow as *Sāyujya* in the succeeding *Jñāna mārga*. It is the blossoming of *Bhakti* in all its glory.

VI

SADHANA RITUAL:

We may now discuss *Ārūrar's* path. We have referred to the worship or *pūjā*, offering water and flowers, which forms an

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important spiritual practice according to the *Āgamas* — the *Caryā*, *Kriyā* and *Yōga*. These have been explained in the light of *Ārūrar's* poems when discussing his Religion. This is the first step of purgation or purification and the principles underlying these may be here explained as the details have been discussed in our study of Religion.

All these *Caryā*, *Kriyā* and *Yōga* are included under the head '*Sādhana*' which may be translated roughly as ritual. As Woodroffe has pointed out, ritual is the art of religion. Again he says, "Ritual and spiritual exercises are objectively considered the pictorial statement (of the *Vēdāntic* principles) as they are subjectively the effective means of their realization."[18] These are the means to the end, the end which is communion with the All pervasive *Brahman*, or identity with it. In whatever way the end is defined, in the ritual stage, or in the stage of *sādhana*, there is dualism, because rituals imply a worshipper and the worshipped. It is because of this *Tāyumāṉavar* has said, *Ōtariya tuvitamē attuvita ñānattai uṇṭupaṇum ñānamākum*"[19] — 'The inexplicable dualism is the known path creating monistic knowledge'.

God may be defined in many ways but when worshipped God is the Supreme Person in the eye of all the *sādhakas*. The Absolute is in itself or relative to ourselves *Sat Cit* and *Ānanda* — Being, Consciousness and Bliss. But this can be realized as such only by the *Siddha* who has become completely transformed so as to be free from the vile influences of mind and body.

As Augustine has said, the mind is not at rest until it finds itself in God and therefore as opposed to the tendency of the mind to wander about the thinks of the world, there is also a tendency in this mind to thirst for God, as beautifully brought out in the Olympic mysteries. "I am the child of the earth and the starry sky but know that my origin is divine. I am devoured by and perish with thirst. Give me without delay the fresh water which flows from 'the Lake of memory'. Pure, and issued from what is pure, I come towards Thee."[20] It is this thirst which is made permanent by ritual so that the thirst can be finally relieved by the joy of divine communion.

18. *Introduction to Principles of Tantra*, p. 1.
19. *Tāyumānavar pāṭal*, 10: 3, *Tiruppanandāḷ edn.*
20. *Shaktī and Shakta*, p. 439.

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VII

THEORY OF WORSHIP:

Therefore, the *sādhana* is for attaining the *siddhi*. Even in the beginning stages, the ideal is not forgotten. The final goal is always held in view, and *siddhi* is attained when the whole life becomes a worship. As stated by Woodroffe, "The human need for ceremonies in the sense of the necessity which man feels of an exterior manifestation which shall both stimulate and translate his inner feelings is such that no religion of the past has been without its rites and ceremonies and even the shallowest of epochs, whilst affecting a superiority to them have yet preserved these ceremonies in its civil life."[21] The council of Trent declared, "The Catholic Church rests with the experience of ages clothed with their splendour and has introduced mystic benediction (*mantram*), incense (*pukai*), water (*nīr*), lights (*viḷakku*), bells (*maṇi*), flowers (*pū*), vestments and all the magnificence of its ceremonies in order to excite the spirit of religion to the contemplation of the profound mysteries which they reveal. As are its faithful, the Church is composed of both body and soul. It therefore renders to the Lord a double worship, exterior and interior; the latter being the prayer of the faithful, the breviary of its priest and the voice of Him ever interceding in our favour and the former the outward motions of the liturgy".[22] In spite of the *sādhanas* being intended for all grades of worshippers, it is a mark of the greatness of *Āgamic* worship that it is open for all without distinction of caste or sex — the highest stage of spirituality and rationalistic approach are never forgotten. Again Woodroffe following Dela Vallei Poussin writes: "The virtue of its general method is not merely thaumaturgic, but is inherent in the mental states induced by *dhyāna* and other physical and mental processes and the excitation of the exterior rituals; an inherence chiefly explained by the fact that as at base all existence is of the nature of the mind, the transformation of the mind is the transformation of existence itself."[23]

Mind according to *Hinduism*, is an unconscious force, though it shows some reflected consciousness. Mind and body belonging

21. *Introduction to the Principles of Tantra*, LXXII.
22. Quoted by Woodroffe *op. cit., p. LXXI.*
23. *Ibid., op. cit., p. LXXIII.*

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to the '*Māyāśaktī* or the finitizing power and because of this common origin become the subject and object respectively. Both these act as a screen or veil obstructing the Real in varying degrees. The rituals are intended to remove this obstruction or to purify this veil. As long as the mind exists, it must have an object or a content. The aim of the ritual is to make this content always good and pure. What can be a better object or content than the Absolute as the Supreme Person?

The psychology of the *Vēdānta* throws a flood of light on this conception. Mind which can be compared to a lake of a reflected light on which falls the reflection of the spirit, projects itself or its rays through the sluices of the sense organs on to its object before it and takes the form of the object. Thus the mind becomes one with the object and perceives it. If the mind could similarly take the form of the Lord in the form of the image worshipped by it and assuming all the attributes of the Lord through contemplation, the ritual achieves a wonderful success. The *dhyāna* or contemplation attains this. The wavering mind has then to be steadied so that it can concentrate almost incessantly on these forms and these qualities. This has to become almost a habit, a *samskāra*. The good *samskāras* will drive away the old *samskāras* since the latter lose their force by non-user and so atrophy and die.[24]

The rituals vary according to the fitness or *adhikāra* of the respective worshippers of varying *bhāvas* or temperaments or mental developments and these attainments even with reference to one and the same individual, progressively develop from the *sthūla* or the gross to the *sūkṣma* or the subtle stages. The *Caryā*, *Kriyā*, *Yōga* and *Jñāna mārgas* are based on this gradation which ultimately depends upon the temperament of the worshipper and his emotion which in one case will be more prone to worship the Lord as the servant, in other case to serve the Lord as the son, in a third case to behave like the friend and in the fourth case to pine for the Lord as the lover. The image worshipped is not a doll; if it has a form, it is an incarnation of beauty. Even if it is a symbol or a *liṅga*, it is a sign more than a symbol. God is all pervasive and in that sense God is there in the image. What then, is done at the time of worship is, to realize the divinity existing

24. See *Viruttippirapākaram in Tamil*.

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there, when the mind through the ritual, is transformed into a divine mould through contemplation. At least during the period of the *pūjā*, this is attempted to be achieved.

VIII

ARURAR AND WORSHIP:

Nampi Ārūrar speaks of '*cakaḷi ceytal*'.[25] The *Āgamas* speak of invoking God to be present there and to depart after *pūjā*. Here it is not the God that is always all-pervasive that comes or goes. It is the mind that during such an invocation, takes the form of the divine mould and gives it up at the end of the *pūjā* when the concentration ceases. The worship with concrete materiale is the first stage. Next comes the internal *pūjā* or mental *pūjā* without any of these concrete materials where fiowers become mental attributes and where other offerings assume spiritual significance. The '*Hōma*' or sacrifice in fire is also done mentally till it becomes '*ātmanivēdana*' itself. The aim is to keep this concentration all through the waking and dreaming stages and this is developed through various stages of *Yōga* when it blossoms into *Jñāna* or realization. Then follows *sahajaniṣṭā* when the worshipper is always in contemplation and communion with God as referred to by *Ārūrar*, "*Eṉṉi yiruntu kiṭantu naṭantum aṉṉaleṉā niṉaivār viṉai tīrppār*".[26] *Mantras* are uttered and we have explained the theory of the *mantra* in our discussion on *artha* and *śabda prapañcas*. The *mantra* represents the very form of the Lord and by *japa* the divine power submerges the worshipper in its flood of divinity, and the *śabdaprapañca* is thus purified and transcended.

The *Tantras* speak of *Bhūtaśuddhi*, the purification of the elements. Impurities and sins are all burnt away in the mental fire and the nectar of divine rapture purifies the soul. The spiritual power lying static in *Mūlādhāra* wakes up breaking through *Svādhiṣṭhāṉa*, *Maṇipūraka*, *Anāhata*, *Viśuddhi*, *Ājñā* and reaching the *Sahasrāra* it lies in union with *Śiva*. This is at first imagined and in the end becomes true, for, as the *Chāndōgya Upaniṣad* says what man thinks, that he becomes, a *śṛti* which *Tāyumāṉavar* translates, "*Yātoṉṟu pāvikka nāṉ atuvātalāl uṉṉai nāṉeṉṟu pāvikka attuvita mārkkamuṟalām*".[27] *Ārūrar* describes the difficulty of

25. 7: 65: 5.
26. 7: 11: 2.
27. *Tāyumāṉavar pāṭal*, 10: 3.

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such a contemplation in the verse "*Uṉṉaippōl eṉṉaip pāvikkamāṭṭēṉ*".[28] Speaking of this ritual, the *Quest* (Oct. 1913) says "From one point of view, it is perhaps the most elaborate system of auto suggestion in the world. But the *Hindus* think of it as of greater spiritual value than mere auto-suggestion".

Usually, pleasing things are offered in worship — what the worshipper thinks pleasant and what he himself will aspire for. He offers things and then after such an offering he partakes of them, clothes himself with them. He thus tries to live in God: "*Uṭuttuk kaḷainta niṉ pītaka āṭai uṭuttuk kaḷittatu* (*kaḷaittatu*) *uṇṭu, Toṭutta tuḻāy malar cūṭik kaḻaintaṉa cūṭum ittoṇṭarkaḷōm*"[29]— 'We are the servants of the Lord, clothing ourselves with His used up gold cloth eating what He leaves and adorning ourselves with His used up garlands of *tuḷaci*'. When a man reaches a spiritual state where he sees God in everything, even a stone may be offered as a flower even as *Cākkiyanāyaṉār* did. There is then nothing mean or unclean, valuable or valueless. Every act there becomes a worship every speech a prayer, every thought a divine contemplation — this is *Sahajaniṣṭā*. This is how *Ārūrar* has looked upon everything he enjoyed. This is best illustrated by the life of the great king *Janaka*, and *Ārūrar* is one like *Janaka* in domestic or political life always living in God.

There is a story told of *Ārūrar* which explains his attitude: When *Cēramāṉ Perumāḷ* visited *Ārūrar* in *Paravaiyār's* house at *Ārūr*, this lady set before both of them greens to be separated from grass and other non-edible stuff, so as to make the greens ready for cooking. Both the saints attended to this work of helping *Paravaiyār*; but she took only those greens cleaned by *Cēramāṉ* leaving those cleaned by *Ārūrar*. *Cēramāṉ* remained puzzled. *Paravaiyār* explained that those made ready by *Ārūrar* were not to be cooked because in his *Sahaja Niṣṭā* he would have offered the greens already in his hands to God, for all the actions of *Ārūrar* were nothing but worship or *pūjā*. We have explained in this light our saint's *hymns* praying for labourers, gold and other necessities and luxuries of life. His life is one continuous worship or contemplation or communion with God.

28. 7: 54: 5.
29. *Nālāyirappirapantam, Periyāḻvār Tiruppallāṇṭu*, 9.

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IX

MARRIAGE — YOGA ANE YAJNA:

There is one verse wherein our poet speaks of his embrace of *Caṅkili* as a divine communion. *Cēkkiḻār* describes the married like of *Ārūrar* as a life of divine *yōga*. This is a part of his *Sahaja Niṣṭā*. But this may remind one of the *Vīrasādhana* of the *Tantras*. This conception of sexual union as divine communion is in the best traditions of the *Upaniṣads* where the *Brhad Araṇyaka* speaks of it as a *Hōma*.[30] It speaks of the union of man and wife as a sacrificial rite — a sacrifice in fire wherein the woman is both the hearth (*kuṇḍa*) and flame and according to this *Upaniṣad*, he who knows this as *Hōma* attains liberation.

Woodroffe quotes and translates[31] a *Tāntric mantra* which will explain *Cēkkiḻār's* description of this as a *yōga*; for this *mantra* speaks of this as a *yōga* and *hōma*: "*Ōm dharmādharma havirdīptē ātmagnau manasā sruchā, Suṣumnāvartamāna nityam akṣa vrittir juhōmyaham svāha*" — '*Ōm*. Into the fire which is spirit (*ātma*) brightened by (the pouring thereon) of the ghee of merit and demerit, I, by the path of *suṣumnā* (the central nerve) ever sacrifice (to *hōma* of) the functions of the senses, using the mind as the ladle. *Svāha*'.[32]

An illuminative explanation of the underlying idea is offered by Woodroffe:

"To the ordinary English reader the association of eating and drinking and sexual union with worship will probably be incongruous, if not downright repulsive. 'Surely', he might say, 'such things are far apart from prayer to God. We go and do them, it is true, because they are a necessity of our animal nature, but prayer or worship have nothing to do with such coarseness. We may pray before or after (as in Greece) on taking food, but the physical acts between are not prayer. Such notions are based partly on that dualism which keeps separate and apart God and his creature, and partly, on certain false and deprecatory notions concerning matter and material functions. According to Indian Monism such worship is not only understandable but (I am not

30. 13th *mantra of Hōmōprakaraṇa of Bṛhad Araṇyaka.*
31. *Shaktī and Shakta, p.* 598.
32. *Pranatōṣini and Tantrasāra, p.* 698.

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speaking of any particular form of it) the only religious attitude consistent with its principles Man is, in his essence or spirit, divine and one with the universal spirit. His mind and body and all their functions are divine, for they are not merely a manifestation of the Power (*Shaktī*) of God but that Power itself. To say that matter is in itself low or evil is to calumniate that Power. Nothing in natural function is low or impure to the mind which recognized it as *Shaktī* and the working of *Shaktī*. It is the ignorant and, in a true sense, vulgar mind which regards any natural function as low or coarse; the action in this case is seen in the light of the inner vulgarity of mind. It has been suggested that in its proper application the *maithuna karma* is only application to sexual function of the principles of *Ῡōga*.[33] Once the reality of the world as grounded in the Absolute is established, the body seems to be less an obstacle to freedom, for it is a form of that self-same Absolute. The creative function being natural is not in itself culpable. There is no real antinomy between spirit and nature which is an instrument for the realization of the spirit. The method borrows, it is said (ib), that of *Ῡōga* not to frustrate, but to regulate enjoyment. Conversely, enjoyment produces *Ῡōga* by the union of body and spirit. In the psycho-physiological rites of the *Shāktas*, enjoyment is not an obstacle to *Ῡōga* but may also be a means to it. This, he says, is an important conception which recalls the discovery of the *Mahāyāna* that *Samsāra* and *Nirvāṇa* are one. For here are made one, *Ῡōga* which liberated and *Bhōga* which enchains (ib.). It will then be readily understood that according to this doctrine only those are competent for this *Ῡōga* who are truly free, or on the way to freedom, of all dualism.[34]

X

SOCIAL WORSHIP:

This is from the individual point of view. But *Hinduism* believes in universal salvation. Therefore, it cannot forget the society and social worship. The temples provide the means of such a social worship, and the *Tēvāram* saints with their hearts beating in communion with the hearts of the world at large, toil hard for the universal salvation through their songs even today

33. *Masson-Oursel Historie de la Philosophie Indienne, pp.* 231-233.
34. *Shaktī and Shakta by Sir John Woodroffe* — Ganesh & Co., pp. 599-600.

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sung in all the temples of the *Tamiḻ* land. As pointed out elsewhere this social communion in song is preferred by *Ārūrar* to *Mukti* or rather this is looked upon as the bliss of *Mukti* itself.[35] Dr. V.V. Ramana Sastri (in his introduction to Nallaswamy Pillai's *Studies in Śaiva Śiddhānta*) brings out the importance of temple worship in *Āgamic* lore which has influenced the whole of India, thanks to our *Tēvāram* saints: "If the Fire worship be regarded as the ritual inculcated in the *Vēdas* as the outer symbolism of spiritual truths, the temple worship may, on its side, be also said to assume a similar importance in regard to the *Āgamas*. For the rest, it will be seen that in *India* at the present day there is hardly a *Hindu* who does not observe some kind of temple worship or another, which points to the conclusion that the *Āgamas* have had, in one form or another, a universal hold, upon the continent of *Hindu India* and that their influence tells".[36]

35. 7: 36: 6; 7: 56: 6.
36. xxx.

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CHAPTER II

FROM *KARMA* TO LOVE

I

THE NEGATIVE AND THE POSITIVE WAYS:

The mind gets purified through *Caryā, Kriyā* and *Yōga* and the soul realizes its true status through such purgatory. The path of righteousness is not an easy one. Some traverse it by hating what is evil. This is a negative way and their code of conduct consists of a series of 'Do nots'. The other way loves righteousness, having created for it a permanent interest therein. This is the positive way. Unless there is interest, the child does not learn anything by our insisting on mere negative discipline; nor, does it do the right kind of thing. The modern teacher therefore concentrates on creating interest in the mind of the child and inspiring it with love for the particular study and good conduct. Chastity is not promoted by any advice that extra marital love is sin; it is really promoted by the growth of love between the married couple, when there will be no whisper of extra-marital love. When this love is there, nothing appears to the mind or the eye except the beloved. Where can then be any room for sin? In the path of love when the Lord is everything for the soul, nothing else is seen and therefore there can be no sin. As love develops, old habits are forgotten and in the end become erased completely. The positive discipline of love makes the mind pure. Even the remembrance of the past habits becomes abhorrent. This is how the mystics become purified.

II

THE TAPAS OF LOVE:

The soul or *puruṣa* lost its glory by identifying itself with *prakṛti* and individualizing or finitising itself in the *ahaṅkāra* or the feeling of self. This gives rise to desire for sense pleasure and when there is an obstruction for hatred, frustration and confusion are the result. The whole thing ends in moral collapse. The descent must be reversed and that can be done only by achieving freedom from this false identity and selfishness. The saint does

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not speak of the 'I' or the 'Mine'. The lovers in their ecstasy of union do not speak of the separatist 'I' or the 'Mine'. The lover speaks of the beloved as the 'I' losing his separate individuality. Therefore, in this path of *Bhakti* or love, *ahaṅkāra* and *mamakāra* and false *abhimāna* or identification are all completely dissolved.

This process of spiritual purification is spoken of as '*Tavam*'. But then that should not become egotism. Righteousness, when it is not also love, becomes priggishness. It is this sense *Śrī Vacana Bhūṣaṇam* condemns self-effort when it is egotism. The smaller or minor self should die giving room to the higher self. In this sense ethics is a spiritual purification. *Tapas* thus may be good or bad.

We have already referred to the *yōgis* and *bhōgis* following this path of *Tapas*.[1] Therefore, *Tapas* is not merely torture and practice of austerity. It is in this wider sense that *Tiruvaḷḷuvar's* chapters on *Turavaram* are divided into two parts, *Vratam* (which is merely *Tapas*) and *Jñānam*. The spiritual progress is a spiritual discipline restraining the free license of the mind and thereby utilizing its energies in fruitful and spiritual ways. This process can be spoken of as renunciation in the sense in which *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* calls it '*Turavu*' because there is the renunciation of selfishness rather than the smaller self — the *ahaṅkāra* and the *mamakāra* — "*Yāṉ eṉatu eṉṉum cerukkaruttal*"[2] though in another sense this is a process of perfection and infinite bliss. The aim of this spiritual process is to awaken in us the universal consciousness which flows out as universal love — a love which cannot bear the misery and troubles of the people at large which therefore cannot think of doing any harm to others, though as a result of this *ahimsā* one has to undergo any amount of suffering. *Kaṇṇakai*, the heroine of *Cilappatikāram* was going through the desert. Her gentle feet had to tread on the heat of the stones on the midday path but the epic poet states that she did not feel the agony because of her care, pity and love for her husband who was walking beside her in that burning desert. So does it happen in the spiritual paths. Suffering will be there, but it augments the love and attenuates misery. It is this positive feeling that is expressed by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* in a negative way

1. 7: 74: 3.
2. *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, 346.

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in terms of its effect in putting up with all personal suffering and in doing no harm to others — "*Uṟṟa nōy nōṉṟal uyirkku uṟukaṇ ceyyāmai aṟṟē tavattiṟku uru*".[3] If this positive basis is forgotten and the mere negative aspect alone is emphasized, *Tapas* is nothing more than self-torture, not a mere discipline. Sometimes, people take pride in calling such kind of self immolation a *Tapas*.

When there is not that deep love, the *Tapas* becomes cruel. Therefore, *Ārūrar* calls such tortures, cruel *Tapas*, '*Ceṭittavam*',[4] as against '*Aṭittavam*' (*ibid.*), which is the self-surrender of love where like *Kaṇṇaki*, the soul forgets its own separate existence, and living and moving in God, it feels it is God and not itself that lives and moves and does all its acts. This is the *Tapas* of truth —'*Meyttavam*'.[5] He shows the way of truth so that we may not be drowning ourselves in the cruel hell — "*Vennarakattaḻuntāmai namakku meynneṟiyait tāṉkāṭṭum Vētamutalāṉ*."[6] He shows us this good path. He is on the path devoid of birth. He is the Lord of pure and holy path — '*Tūneṟiyāṉ*'.[7] In this path of love the means and the goal are nothing but God. He is not only the goal to be reached through the path of goodness and purity and the great guide showing us this way and taking us through that path but also the path itself, the straight path, '*Cenneṟi*'[8] the beautiful path, '*Anneṟi*'[9] and the path of truth, "*Meynneṟi*'.[10]

III

HIDE AND SEEK

1. EBB AND FLOW:

In the path of love we were told[11] that God plays a hide and seek game with the soul, now showing His face to the soul and then withdrawing it, which are spoken of as union and separation, '*Saṁślēṣa*' and '*Viślēṣa*' creating respectively a feeling of joy and confidence and a feeling of misery and self condemnation.

3. *Kuṟaḷ*, 261.
4. 7: 14: 6.
5. 7: 82: 7.
6. 7: 40: 10.
7. 7: 56: 4.
8. 7: 51: 8.
9. 7: 51: 8.
10. 7: 40: 10.
11. *Ācārya Hṛdayam*, II-30.

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Ārūrar also speaks of the Lord agreeing to save our poet and then hiding Himself away.[12] We have seen the working of these feelings in our saint when he was giving expression alternately to his feelings of moral greatness and moral despair. In other places also where he refers to the other aspects of spiritual progress, we find these feelings alternating. As *Ācārya Hṛdayam* says, "*Jñānattil taṉ pēccu; prēmattil peṇ pēccu*"[13]—'In the path of *Jñāna* there is the speech of the poet as himself; in love there is the speech of the poet as the lady who loves.' We have referred elsewhere[14] to the utterance of the love-lorn lady but we may note the cries of joy and despair proceeding from the poet as the poet.

2. SELF-SURRENDER:

'Speaking of his complete self-surrender to the Lord, he says that he had not relied on the relationship of the mother or the father; he was satisfied with his relationship to the Lordship of God.[15] He has practised this *tapas* or self surrender to the Lord.[16] "I have offered my head, my tongue and my mind all to Himself and to His service and I have lived through serving His feet as His slave".[17] "I am yours by right",[18] cries he. "My mind, my heart melts in love".[19] In the 15th *hymn* and in the 54th *hymn*, he speaks of his imperishable attachment to God in terms of his serving Him, praising Him and singing Him even if the Lord does not care for him. "I shall not murmur that you have made me suffer. I accept everything".[20] "There is the target to be aimed and I have tried to reach that goal. I have taken refuge in You so that I may be saved as long as the mind exists".[21] "I shall worship You even by force".[22] "I shall not praise anyone but You".[23] "Whom shall I think of except Yourself"?"[24] "Can I say 'no' after

12. 7: 62: 5.
13. *Ch.* 2., *Sūt.* 32.
14. *Vol. III, hymn*, 37.
15. 7: 14: 2.
16. 7: 14: 6.
17. 7: 14: 1.
18. 7: 14: 11.
19. 7: 14: 11.
20. 7: 15: 6.
21. 7: 15: 7.
22. 7: 15: 8.
23. Refrain of *hymn* 21 and *hymn* 26.
24. Refrain of *hymn* 24.

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having become Your slave?"[25] "Shall I slight You even for a minute?"[26] "Is it possible to forget the Lord of *Ārūr*?"[27] "Forgetting God, is death" is our poet's conviction and feeling.[28]

This complete self-surrender is expressed in the 95th *hymn* where the poet says that he has become the irredeemable slave of the Lord without thinking of any one[29] and he cries, "You may sell me, O, Lord, I have come to serve You with all my heart".[30] In another *hymn* he says, "The five rulers of the senses are there to prevent me from going away from the wrong path. But in spite of them my tongue praises You and I bind You to my mind with the garland of words."[31] He speaks of the pleasure of the company of the followers of the Lord and his spiritual regeneration thereby. "I shall become the slave of Your followers".[32] "Having become Your servant, I have served Your followers and have heard all that has to be heard".[33] "I shall become the slave of Your followers" is the refrain of *H.* 52. "Your followers are those who save me also" is the refrain of *H.* 75. He speaks of his worship through music and poetry, begging of the Lord for the path of *Tapas*.[34] "He comes with the followers, with flowers in the hand, love in the heart and tears in the eye".[35] He is sure of his salvation and birthlessness.[36] "I thought of You and You at once entered my body"[37] and "You have ordered me to think of You and I have become devoid of all anger and disease".[38] "Wherever I may think, there You become one with me".[39] The 58th *hymn* gives us an idea of the Lord coming and saving him.

25. Refrain of *hymn* 1.
26. Refrain of *hymn* 38.
27. Refrain of *hymn* 59.
28. 7: 48: 3.
29. 7: 95: 1.
30. 7: 95: 2.
31. 7: 96: 1; 7: 96: 4.
32. 7: 14: 11.
33. 7: 21: 2; 7: 24: 4.
34. 7: 15: 5; 7: 58: 4.
35. 7: 23: 4.
36. 7: 1: 4; 7: 48: 1.
37. 7: 21: 6.
38. 7: 21: 9.
39. 7: 23: 2.

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IV

SELF CONDEMNATION:

In moments of selfcondemnation, he cries in despair: "Tell me a way of escape" is the refrain of *hymn* No. 3. "I am frightened, O, Lord" is the refrain of *hymn* No. 8. "I have not thought of You for many days and wandered about like a devil".[40] He speaks of his fear of the delusion of a false conclusion and torment of doubts all through the varied births and deaths and through the persisting progress in spite of them:[41] "*Tuyakku mayakku*".[42] "I am afraid of the *karman*" — This he repeats very often.[43] In such moments, he feels sulky and cries, "Should You not excuse my faults"?[44] "Is there no Lord but You, if You cannot excuse my faults"? — The 14th *hymn* is in this strain. So also are *hymns* Nos. 89 and 95.

V

REPENTANCE

This self-condemnation is the sincere repentance of a soul reaching higher spiritual spheres when it looks back on what till now appeared to be an eternal past, which will have no end. This repentance moves the heart of the readers. Even when we read the enumeration of the gruesome faults, there arises in our mind that the heart from which this cry of sincere repentance has gone forth, has become completely purified and spiritualized.

This repentance is a sure and certain sign of conversion — moral and spiritual. There can be no trace of evil or sin, all of them having been burnt away in the divine spark of this repentance, this fire of love, bearing no separation from the Lord. This cry of despair is the surest way of attaining God, says *Māṇikkavācakar*: "*Aḻutāl uṉṉaip peralāmē*".[45] In the very *hymn* of self-realization where *Ārūrar* had the vision of God at *Kaḻumalam*, he gives expression to this great truth: "Except to those who contemplate on Him, and weep with tears in their two eyes, His two

40. 7: 1: 2.
41. 7: 35: 10.
42. See *Ācārya Hṛdayam* 2: 12.
43. 7: 54: 6: 7: 54: 8; 7: 58: 6.
44. 7: 70: 6.
45. *Tiruvācakam, Catakam,* 9: 10.

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feet are not known"[46] — "*Aḻu malark kaṇṇiṇai aṭiyavark kallāl āṟivari tavaṉ tiruvaṭi iṇai iraṇṭum*".

IV

PURIFICATION:

Therefore, it is clear the process ultimately consists in purifying the mind and the heart. You think of Him for a minute and He makes that heart His abode. He exists as the unique one to the mind of those who think of Him: *Karuttāra uṟṟuḻaṉām oruvaṉ*.[47] If the mind is oriented towards Him, He rushes into it. If soul is hungering for God, God is also hungering for soul. Our poet speaks his hankering after God, in terms of his hunger — "*Paciyai ottē nāṉ kaṇṭēṉ*".[48] God's hunger is greater than the hunger of the soul. 'If you just think of Him in the corner of your heart, He rushes and fills up the whole heart' — "*Pāvippār maṉam pāvikkoṇṭāṉ*",[49] a statement reminding us of the Prophet Mahommad's saying, "When man walks towards God, God runs towards him". It looks as though he has no grandeur elsewhere. 'He shines', our poet says, 'in the mind of those who ever think of Him' "*Cintitteṉṟum niṉainteḻuvārkaḷ cintaiyir rikaḻum Civaṉ*".[50] 'He is in the mind of those who worship' — "*Vantippārtam maṉattiṉuḷḷāṉ*."[51] 'He never leaves off His attachment to the mind of those great loving souls' — "*Mētakutaṉ pattar maṉattiṟaiyum paṟṟu viṭātavaṉ*".[52] 'His abode, for ever, is the heart of those who have taken refuge in Him' — "*Tamakku eṉṟum irukkai caraṇaṭaintār neñcaṅkoṇṭāṉ*".[53] It is not only contemplation and self-surrender but also love and hankering after Him that are emphasized — "*Urukil uḷḷuṟaivāṉ*".[54] If you melt in love, He resides in your heart'. "Thereafter, He is in their mind, He is in their tongue and He is all the Subject matter of the whole world' — "*Naṟpatameṉṟuṇaṟvār coṟpatamār Civaṉ*";[55] "*Vāyār maṉattāl niṉaikkum*

46. 7: 58: 10.
47. 7: 51: 9.
48. 7: 77: 9.
49. 7: 57: 2.
50. 7: 61: 8.
51. 7: 67: 7.
52. 7: 84: 9.
53. 7: 19: 5.
54. 7: 86: 5.
55. 7: 84: 3.

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avarukku aruntavattil tūyār".[56] Therefore, once He takes possession of the heart, the saint does not think that he thinks, he acts or he sees, or he moves in the world; God alone thinks, lives and moves thereafter. Has not St. Paul said, "It is not I that live, but Christ dwelleth in me"? And the *Śaiva Siddhānta Philosophy* speaks of this stage as the transformation of the '*Paśukaraṇa*' into the '*Patikaraṇa*' the organs of the soul becoming the organs of the Lord.

VII

THE MARKATA AND THE MARJARA: THE MONKEY AND THE CAT:

All this process of spiritualizing or sublimation is looked upon only as the work of the Lord. It is true in some places the saint speaks of his going to the Lord, but the Lord leaving him in the lurch. This may remind us of the '*markaṭa nyāya*' or the way of the monkey, where the young one of its own accord clasps and embraces the mother monkey. The other way is that of a cat, '*mārjāra kisōṟa nyāya*' where the mother carries the kitten by its own mouth from place to place. It ought not to be concluded that our poet advocates the former way as the real truth. What he speaks in a sulky mood, is a cry of despair. He has been emphasizing again and again the doctrine of Grace. In one verse he clearly states: "The Lord had come without my knowledge to make my stony heart melt, showed His feet and removed my fetters".[57]

VIII

THE COMPANION:

Our poet feels that the Lord has been with him always as the invisible companion even when the poet has been leading the path of faults. He was his support and help in times of his danger —"*Eṉ iṭarttuṇai*",[58] when the Lord appeared to him as though He was the friend of the poet and none else. He was his comrade—'*Tōḻaṉ*'[59] a comrade who however was a saviour too—"*Eṉṉaiyāḷ tōḻaṉ*".[60] The poet speaks of the Lord as his envoy or '*tūtaṉ*',[61]

56. 7: 19: 10.
57. 7: 67: 5
58. 7: 26: 2.
59. 7: 51: 10.
60. 7: 84: 9.
61. 7: 84: 9.

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perhaps the invisible messenger whispering in the hearts of others and changing their minds to the benefit of the poet. In this connection the tradition is that this word '*tūtaṉ*' refers to the Lord going as a messenger to *Paravai* to appease her jealousy against *Caṅkili*. These terms '*tuṇai*',[62] '*tōḻaṉ*',[63] and '*tūtaṉ*'[64] are emphasized by the traditionalist so that the path of our poet's worship may be described as the path of the friend. As such, the poet describes the Lord as having been his companion in all his faults —"*Tōḻaṉumāy yāṉ ceyyum turicukaḷuk kuṭaṉāki*";[65] "*Tōḻamai aruḷit toṇṭaṉēṉ ceyta turicukaḷ poṟukkum nātaṉ*".[66] The spiritual significance of this will be explained later on when we quote *Śrī Vacaṉa Bhūṣaṇam*, where how the faults are transformed into the good efforts of the soul is explained.

JIVANMUKTA:

The alternating feelings of elation and self depression are found even in the stage of *Śivōham Bhāvanā*. In a moment of depression he says, '*Uṉṉaippōl eṉṉaip pāvikkamāṭṭēṉ*",[67] but in a moment of confidence of joy he speaks of "*Nāṉāya paraṉ*".[68] The soul is ultimately purified and gets itself lost in the Absolute. Everything is felt to have been performed with nothing more to be achieved — "*Kēṭṭēṉ kēṭpatellām piṟavāmai kēṭṭoḻintēṉ*";[69] "*Yātiṉukkācaip paṭukēṉ*".[70] This is the feeling of the victory of the absolute achievement and perfection. The *jīvanmukta* feels he is a '*kṛtakṛtya*', one that has performed all that has to be performed and exclaims, '*Pūrṇōham*'—'I am the fullness of a plenum'.

X

PROGRESSIVE SUBLIMATION:

The working of *karma* has been described in terms of love. The law of *karma* is, from one point of view, the law of cause

62. 7: 26: 2; 7: 64: 8.
63. 7: 51: 10; 7: 84: 9.
64. 7: 84: 9.
65. 7: 51: 10.
66. 7: 68: 8.
67. 7: 54: 5.
68. 7: 38: 4.
69. 7: 21: 2.
70. 7: 15: 3.

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and effect based on the uniformity of nature. This is, however, mechanical and does not appeal to our sense of justice and fair play though it is necessary for preventing crimes. Therefore, the idea of a divine ruler holding the scales even arises. This leads from the preventive theory to the retributive theory of punishment which is one way of looking at the worth of the theory of *karma*. The individual has a worth of his own and he cannot be sacrificed completely for the group, in the name of prevention or retribution for attacks on the group. The conception of reforming man emphasizes the fact that apart from the group there is the individual to be saved. The reformed or purified individual glorifies the group as well. Punishment becomes thus reformation. Today crime is more often looked upon as a disease of the mind and reformation itself is spoken of in terms of cure. Today this cure is becoming a matter of education and culture, through the provision of proper environments and experiences. Sometimes, people even speak of changing the world through conditioning the reflexes but if the individual worth and freedom are forgotten when man is made a machine, there cannot be any moral grandeur. Therefore, freedom of will is asserted and the erstwhile conception of the ruler or king becomes now the conception of a doctor and a teacher and the method adopted by the Lord for saving the world is spoken of as a medicine or '*maruntu*',[71] the Lord Himself being described as *Guru* or Master.[72] But in all these cases, the Lord or God stands away from man. Therefore, the ruler is feared; the teacher is revered. To make this relationship between God and soul very intimate, God is spoken of as the father and the mother,[73] but the relationship even here is not so intimate as to be one of communion. To avoid this, God is spoken of as an intimate friend and comrade.[74] Even this appears to be a kind of exterior relationship. The most intimate relationship is that of the lovers and, therefore, God is spoken of as the beloved of the soul.[75] Love works such a great transformation that all the erstwhile selfishness is completely destroyed. There is a complete self-sacrifice and self-surrender in love. Here, there is no slavery but freedom. God also ceases to be dictating from a higher

71. 7: 27: 3.
72. 7: 62: 4.
73. 7: 53: 3.
74. 7: 26: 2; 7: 51: 10; 7: 84: 9.
75. *Hymn*, 37.

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pedestal. He becomes the Soul of the soul inspiring every one of its acts.

Karma thus becomes *Dharma* and the divine play of His *līlā* of *kṛpā* (mercy). As *Appar* says, 'Mountains of sins disappear by a spark of His love even as mountains of firewood are burnt away by a spark of fire' — "*Viṇṇuṟa aṭukkiya viṟakiṉ vevvaḷal uṇṇiyi pukil avai oṉṟumillaiyām paṇṇiya ulakiṉil payiṉṟa pāvattai naṇṇiniṉ ṟaṟuppatu namaccivāyavē*".[76] Therefore, even this, is only according to the law of *karma* when it becomes the law of love. It is not the outward act but the intention that is important in judging the *karmas*. When the intention is defied, when every act of the saint is inspired by the Lord, there is really no act of the saint and there is no *karma* to be enjoyed or suffered by him. Thus is *karma* transcended.

The feeling of self-condemnation, is a feeling of repentance revealing a purification of heart, a purity which is also expressed by our poet. The poet feels in a moment of self-condemnation that the Lord's Grace is so powerful as to pardon all sins. Even the faults of his, are, he feels, loved by the Lord even as the dirt of the calf is licked away by the mother cow. This is the doctrine of Grace. *Śaktinipātam* is the descending of this power of Grace on the soul.

76. *Appar*, 11: 3.

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CHAPTER III

GRACE AND ETHICS

I

DOCTRINE OF GRACE:

Lord's Grace or '*Aruḷ*' is the Mother. *Vēdānta Dēsikar's* conception that while He loves rule, she rules love and overpowers might, is probably the same as that of *Śaivite* conception of *Śiva* and *Umā*; only the *Śaivites* speak of a final stage when *Śiva* and *Umā* are but one. *Piḷḷai Lōkācārya's* theory about the working of this Grace is more applicable to *Ārūrar*: though not his conception of the Mother who according to *Piḷḷai* is not *Vibhu* or infinite but only a *mediatrix* interceding on behalf of the sinner and subduing the retributive will of the Lord by Her overflowing mercy and thereby making the Lord the Saviour and the soul the *mukta.* The second part of *Śrī Vacanabhūṣaṇam* insists on the spontaneity of Divine mercy as opposed to its attainment by our effort. According to *Piḷḷai*, "Responsiveness to Grace has more religious value than the responsibility of the *jīva* to merit it. Operative Grace like the free flow of mother's milk is different from co-operative Grace which is like artificial milk, and the *upāya* mentality savours of egoity". Surrender brings on us the Absolute rain of Grace which is bestowed and not merited by egoistic effort. This, very well explains the doctrine of Grace which *Ārūrar* refers to as "*Kuṟṟam ceyyiṉum kuṇam eṉak karutum koḷkai*".[1]

Our poet many a time and in many ways praises this Grace of the Lord. He is the Lord of Grace—'*Aruḷāḷaṉ*'—that is mentioned in his very first verse[2] and the place where the poet was thus saved probably came to be known as '*Aruḷ Tuṟai*', the Ford of God's Grace. He is the munificent Lord and His Grace seems to be so unique when it flows towards the poet. He gives Himself to think about Him — "*Taṉṉai eṉṉai niṉaikkat taruvāṉ*".[3] He feels the munificent Lord is a companion, all to himself. The '*saulabhya*'

1. 7: 55: 4.
2. 7: 1: 1.
3. 7: 57: 1.

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— '*eḷimai*' is often emphasized — '*Kāṇap pēṇumavarkku eḷiyāṉ*.'[4] He makes the poet receive His sweet Grace — "*Eṉṉai iṉṉaruḷ eytuvippāṉ*".[5] He is '*Pirāṉ*'[6] the Great One, offering all help. He is the divine tree which satisfies all desires — '*Karpakam*'.[7] His victories (of *Vīraṭṭāna*) are well known; but our poet, suggesting that all these victories are the victories of His Grace, describes the Lord as the warrior of Divine Grace — "*Tiruvaruḷ cēr Cēvakaṉ*".[8] He is the merciful to all. He blesses all without saying 'no' — "*Ellārkkum illai eṉṉātu aruḷ ceyvār.*"[9] He blesses his devotees by removing the affliction — "*Pīṭai tīra aṭiyārkku aruḷum Perumāṉ*".[10] He is clothed in His Grace devoid of all miseries — "*Allalil aruḷē puṉaivāṉ*"[11] (There is another reading "*purivaṉ*" instead of '*puṉaivāṉ*'. Then it will mean that He will bestow His Grace upon us during the time of our miseries). He blesses us by removing our miseries — "*Allal tīrt taruḷ ceyya vallāṉ*".[12] He destroys the *karmas* at once, even those ancient *karmas* — "*Ollai val viṉaikaḷ keṭuppaṉ*".[13] He helps those attached to Him: "He is One who will not get detached from them — "*Uṟṟavarkku utavum Perumāṉ*";[14] "*Paṟṟiṉārkku eṉṟum paṟṟavaṉ*".[15] He is Good to those who come near Him, and who are attached to Him and who praise Him — "*Naṇṇiṉārkku eṉṟum nallavaṉ*";[16] "*Paṟṟiṉārkaṭku nallār*".[17] It is impossible to leave Him once you move or be in communion with Him — "*Viraviṉāl viṭutaṟkariyāṉ*".[18] He forgives all faults and removes them — "*Piḻaiyaip poṟuppāṉ*";[19] "*Piḻaiyelām tavirap paṇippāṉ*"[20] That is His Grace which is the

4. 7: 56: 9.
5. 7: 56: 2.
6. 7: 22: 1.
7. 7: 68: 5.
8. 7: 70: 8.
9. 7: 53: 4.
10. 7: 53: 10.
11. 7: 56: 3.
12. 7: 61: 5.
13. 7; 56: 8.
14. 7: 61: 2.
15. 7: 61: 2.
16. 7: 61: 7.
17. 7: 33: 4, 8.
18. 7: 59: 2.
19. 7: 59: 1.
20. 7: 59: 1.

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very form of forbearance — "*Kamaiyār karuṇaiyiṉāṉ*".[21] It leads to *Jñāna*; He blesses by removing doubt — "*Caṅkaiyai nīṅka aruḷi*".[22]

II

KARMA TRANSCENDED:

Mind gets purified and the soul proceeds towards communion with God. The never ending cycle of *karma* is transcended. All the fetters and ignorance recede away like a mirage which has been deceiving and teasing us as though it were a beautiful pond of pure water in the desert — "*Urāttuṇait tērtteṇap pācam oruva*".[23] Divine communion results. Therefore, his transcending the *karma* is very important because salvation is certain thereafter. All our miseries are the result of *karma* and God removes our hunger — "*Paci tīrppāṉ*".[24] He sets at naught to our calumnies beforehand— "*Varumpaḷi vārāmē tavirppāṉ*";[25] removes our sufferings — "*Varuttam kaḷaivāṉ*";[26] removes our anxieties and diseases — "*Kavalai kaḷaivāṉ*";[27] "*Piṇi kaḷaivāṉ*";[28] "*Kaṭṭamum piṇiyum kaḷaivāṉ*";[29] removes them for ever — "*Allal uḷḷaṇa tīrttiṭuvāṉ*";[30] removes the obstructions — "*Iṭar tīrkkavallāṉ*"[31] and the defects — "*Ūṉamāyiṉa tīrkkavallāṉ*"; removes the sorrow — "*Tuyar tīrppāṉ*".[32] This happens because the *karmas* — the ancient *karmas* (*Paṇṭai viṉaikaḷ*);[33] cease to have any effect thereafter, receding away as a mirage. Our poet says this happens as soon as one falls at the feet of the Lord in self-surrender and the transformation seems to be so sudden that one has to speak there of the Grace of the Lord — "*Toḻalum tolviṉai tīrkkiṉṟa cōti*";[34] "*Aṭaivār viṉai tīrkkum purivuṭaiyar*",[35] "*Paṟiyā viṉaikaḷ avai tīrkkum Paramaṉ*"[36] "*Paracuvār*

21. 7: 26: 2.
22. 7: 19: 3.
23. *Śivajñānabōdham, Sūt.* 9.
24. 7: 29: 3.
25. 7: 29: 5.
26. 7: 59: 7
27. 7: 41: 5.
28. 7: 29: 3.
29. 7: 59: 2.
30. 7: 56: 10.
31. 7: 57: 7.
32. 7: 57: 8.
33. 7: 56: 9; *Ollai viṉaikaḷ*, 7: 56: 8.
34. 7: 12: 9.
35. 7: 11: 1.
36. 7: 52: 4.

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viṉaip parṟaruppāṉ";[37] "*Pāḻām viṉaikaḷ avai tīrkkum Paramaṉ*";[38] "*Pantitta viṉaip parṟaruppāṉ*"[39] — Here it will be also seen that He uproots the *karmas*. Even their trace of previous attachment disappears — "*Aritta Nampi aṭikai toḻuvār nōy*";[40] "*Aṭaivār viṉaikaḷ aruppāṉ*";[41] "*Viṉaiyai vīṭṭa naṉṟum nalla Nātaṉ*";[42] "*Eṟṟum viṉaikaḷ tīrppār*".[43] He is the medicine and nectar capable of uprooting even the strongest *karmas* to those who worship or circumambulate Him — "*Valam koḷvāravar valviṉai tīrkkum maruntu*".[44] This Grace of removing the *karmas* is bestowed upon all in this world — *Ulakil uḷḷār viṉaikaḷ tīrppār.*"[45] That is the confidence of our poet, the confidence of universal salvation, for God is One who blesses all — "*Ellārkkum illai eṉṉātu aruḷ ceyvār*".[46]

III

KARMA AND GRACE RECONCILED:

1. *Śivajñāna Yōgi*

The working of the *karma* in bringing on this Grace of the Lord is explained by *Śivajñāna Yōgi* id his commentary on *Śivajñānabōdham*. All the good things we do, bring on good results but they are after all gold-fetters as opposed to iron-fetters of evil acts. But these good acts are called '*Pacu puṇṇiyam*' because they are not done with the proper feeling of self-sacrifice in the name of God, when alone they will be *Śivapuṇṇiyam*. In the *pacupuṇṇiyam*, the ego is not dead, whilst in the *Śivapuṇṇiyam* it is completely erased. How does one escape these fetters by doing good acts? Though the *Pacupuṇṇiyam* is intended to benefit some others in the society, because the Lord is all pervasive, this act intended consciously for some one also, goes unconsciously to please the Lord ultimately. This way, *Pacupuṇṇiyam* leads to *Śivapuṇ-*

37. 7: 68: 2.
38. 7: 52: 8.
39. 7: 61: 8.
40. 7: 63: 6.
41. 7: 91: 6.
42. 7: 91: 7.
43. 7: 91: 9.
44. 7: 75: 9.
45. 7: 91: 8.
46. 7: 53: 4.

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ṇiyam. Therefore, the immediate result is the gold-fetters, but ultimately, on account of the *Śivapuṇṇiyam* accumulating and transforming the soul, it experiences the Divine Bliss. *Śivajñāna Yōgi* asserts, this is the meaning of *Ārūrar's* verse, "*Vēmpiṉoṭu tiṉkarumpu viravi eṉait tīrttīr*".[47] '*Vēmpu*' or the bitter margosa-seed-like experience is the experience of *karma* or fetters. Divine bliss, sweet like the sugar-cane is the unconscious result of *Śivapuṇṇiyam*. In this way the soul is in the end completely transformed — '*Tīrttīr*'.[48]

2. *Piḷḷai Lōkācāryar*

Śrī Vacanabhūṣanam, by *Piḷḷai Lōkācāriyar*, beautifully expresses this unconscious purificatian of our acts even in our physical and mental plane and it is worth quoting that part of the text here:

"*Tripāt vipūtiyilē paripūrṇānupavam naṭavāniṟka, atuṇṭa turukkāṭṭātē, tēcāntarakatanāṉa putraṉ pakkalilē pitru hṛtayam kiṭakkumāpōlē, camcārikaḷ pakkalilē tiruvuḷḷam kuṭipōy, ivarkaḷaip pirintāl āṟṟamāṭṭātē, ivarkaḷōṭē kalantu parimāṟukaikkuk karaṇa kaḷēparaṅkaḷaik koṭuttu, avaṟṟaikkoṇṭu vyāparikkaik kīṭāṉa cakti vicēṣaṅkaḷaiyum koṭuttu, kaṇkāṇa niṟkil āṇaiyiṭṭu vilakkuvārkaḷeṉṟu kaṇṇukkut tōṟṟātapaṭi, uṟaṅkukiṟa prajaiyait tāy mutukilē yaṇaittukkoṇṭu kiṭakkumāpolē, tāṉaṟinta campantamē hētuvāka viṭamāṭṭātē, akavāyilē aṇaittukkoṇṭu āṭciyil toṭarcci naṉṟeṉṟu viṭātē, cattaiyē nōkki uṭaṉkēṭaṇāy, ivarkaḷ acatkarmaṅkaḷilē pravarttikkumpōtu mīṭkamāṭṭātē, anumati tāṉattaippaṇṇi utācīṉaraippōlē iruntu, mīṭkaikkiṭam pārttu, naṉmaiyeṉṟu pēriṭalāvatoru tīmaiyum kāṇātē, neṟṟiyaik kottippārttāl oruvaḷiyālum pacaikāṇātoḷintāl, aprāpyameṉṟu kaṇṇa nīrōṭē mīḷuvatu; taṉakkēṟa viṭam peṟṟavaḷavilē, eṉ ūraic coṉṉāy eṉ pēraic coṉṉāy eṉ aṭiyārai nōkkiṉāy avarkaḷ viṭāyait tīrttāy avarkaḷukku otuṅka niḷalaik koṭuttāy eṉṉumāpōlē cilavaṟṟai ēṟiṭṭu, maṭimāṅkāyiṭṭu, poṉvāṇiyaṉ poṉṉai uraikallilē uraittu meḻukālē eṭuttuk kālkaḻañceṉṟu tiraṭṭumāpōlē, janmaparamparaikaḷtōrum, yātruccikam prācaṅkika māṉuṣaṅkikam eṉkiṟa cukruta vicēṣaṅkaḷaik kaṟpittukkoṇṭu, tāṉē avaṟṟai oṉṟu pattākki naṭattikkoṇṭu pōrum.*[49] *Laḷitācaritātikaḷilē ivvarttam curukka moḻiyak kāṇalām.*"[50]

47. 7: 46: 2.
48. 7: 46: 2.
49. 384. *Śrī Vacanabhūṣaṇam*—Edn. 1911.
56. 3: 83. *Śrī Vacanabhūṣaṇam*—Edn. 1911.

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A robber escaping from custody may go round a temple or any spiritual environment. Any sinner may call his friend, perhaps as a brother sinner but who in this country is as usual named after God. *Piḷḷai* writes that God in writing the account of this soul gives credit for his having been in a holy environment and for his addressing the Lord by His name — "*En ūraiccoṉṉāy, en pēraiccoṉṉāy*".[51]

The same idea is expressed by our poet — "*Poyyē uṉṉaip pukaḻvār pukaḻntāl atuvum poruḷāk koḷvāṉē*"[52] — 'Even if those who praise You, do so without sincerity, You take it as sincere and true praise'. "*Aṉpilārēṉum Emperumāṉ eṉṟu eppōtum aḻaittavarkkaruḷ cey ... aṭikaḷ*"[53] — 'Even if they have no love, You ... bless those who call or utter Your name always'.

3. *Our Poet, Ārūrar*

We explained the working of *karma* as a kind of retribution, reformation, cure and education. When our poet sings of God as 'a cheat unto the cheat,' "*Puḷḷuvarākum avarkku avartāmum Puḷḷuvar*",[54] "*Ētilār tamakku ētilāṉ*"[55] — 'as a stranger to those who look upon Him as a stranger' — there is the idea of retribution — paying them in their own coin. So also he expresses the same idea in the verse No. 60:4, where he speaks of the acts of previous birth inflicting in this birth. The idea of punishment is also there when he says, "*Paṭappāl taṉmaiyil nāṉ paṭṭatellām paṭuttāy*": Here '*paṭuttāy*' means punished or made one undergo.[56] Our poet speaks of the Lord punishing him with blindness.[57] The reformative theory of *karmas* is referred to when God is said to be refining and transmuting the mind and the soul — "*Tiruttit tirutti vanteṉ cintai iṭaṅkoḷ kayilāyā*".[58] The curative theory, where the conception of *karma* and of all our defects and our ignorance being a disease is also emphasized by our poet when he speaks of "*Pantitta viṉaip paṟṟaruppāṉ*"[59] — 'One who cuts away the fetters of *karma*

51. *Ibid.*
52. 7: 41: 7.
53. 7: 14: 9.
54. 7: 11: 3.
55. 7: 56: 2.
56. 7: 15: 6.
57. 7: 54: 4; 7: 69: 3; 7: 89: 1; 7: 89: 6.
58. 7: 47: 8.
59. 7: 61: 8.

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in terms of surgery' and of "*Piṇi kaḷaivāy*"[60]—'You who removes the disease in terms of cure'. Our poet calls the misleading desires as cruel disease of desire—"*Vēṭkai Vennōy*".[61] Identification with the imperfection '*Apūrṇam* and *anyata*' which is want of wholeness is disease and the source of every misery. According to an Indian Saint the greatest illness is the disease of existence. Has not *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* said, "*Piṟappaṟukkalurṟāṟku uṭampu mikai?*" When the soul turns Godward forgetting its erstwhile identification with the imperfection, and aims at communion with the perfection it enjoys freedom from this disease and the bliss of spiritual health. God is therefore the medicine, "*Maruntaṉār*".[62] He is the medicine curing the chronic *karma*, "*Valviṉai tīrkkum maruntu*",[63] the medicine on the top of the mountain, "*Malaimēl māmaruntu*".[64] The last reference suggests the idea of '*Sañjīvī*' or a rare medicinal plant. *Maruntu* also means nectar. He is the nectar accompanying us on our journey to salvation—"*Vaḷittuṇai maruntu*"[65] and we saw the Divine Bliss being spoken of as the nectar of *sahasrārā* in the *laya yōga* of "*Ṣaṭcakras*". The Lord is spoken of as '*Amudu*'—'*Nectar*' by our poet himself.[66]

The *Śaiva Siddhānta* Philosophy coming to the educational theory of *karma* speaks of the Lord creating '*taṉukaraṇa puvaṉa pōkam*', body limbs, the world and the objects of enjoyment, for the experience of the soul which has to be purified ultimately and saved through the experiences. This answers to the modern conception of educational institutions where the child is conditioned in the proper way through experiences provided there. The Lord is spoken of by our poet as a *Guru*,[67] *Gurumāmaṇi*[68] and *Ciṭṭaṉ*.[69] Real education according to the *Hindus* is the drawing out of the spirit inside and, therefore, the Lord is the most learned from this point of view — *Paṭṭaṉ*,[70] the learned. The learned or the really educated, from this point of view, always praise Him — *Periya-*

60. 7: 29: 3.
61. 7: 59: 2.
62. 7: 76: 6.
63. 7: 75: 9.
64. 7: 27: 3.
65. 7: 70: 9.
66. 7: 58: 6; 7: 68: 7 *etc.*
67. 7: 26: 4.
68. 7: 62: 4.
69. 7: 69: 9; 7: 80: 8.
70. 7: 69: 9.

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emperumāṉ eṉṟu eppōtum kaṟṟavar paravappaṭuvāṉ".[71] The result of this kind of education or spiritual perfection is the removal of all miseries—"*Kaṟṟa perumpulavar allal peritum aruppāṉ.*"[72] Education in this sense becomes in the end Divine Bliss—"*Kaṟṟa kalviyiṉum iṉiyāṉ*"[73]—'God is sweeter than education', the means though both are the same because God is the goal and the means. This education or spiritual perfection is not mere theory but an art and an aesthetic experience of God. We had elsewhere explained the artistic mysticism of *Ārūrar* and his conception of Art or '*Kalai*'. From this point of view *Ārūrar* speaks of the Lord being the Art as well as its meaning and significance. He is the fruit of the experience of Art — *Ēḻicaiyāy icaippayaṉāy*".[74] His All-pervasiveness is brought about by a reference to Art—"*Kalaikkelām poruḷāy*";[75] *Pāṭṭakat ticai ākiniṉṟāṉ*";[76] "*Paṇṇāriṉ Tamiḻāyp Paramāya Parañcuṭarē*;[77] "*Palkalaiyiṉ poruḷ*".[78].

IV

THE BILLS OF LOVE:

The spiritual process is explained in a still more intimate way. Indian books on rhetoric speak of the dictates of the *Vēdas* as the commandments of the Master to his slave, the *Prabhu Saṁhitā*. They speak of the *Itihāsas* as the counsel friends, the *Suḥṛt Saṁhitā* and the *Purāṇaṣ* as the prattling of the child, the *Śiśu Saṁhitā*. Poetry is according to them the captivating speech and request of the beloved, the *Kāntā Saṁhitā*. Naturally *Ārūrar's* conception of Art leads us to this relationship of love between God and Soul as the Lover and the Beloved, which ultimately blossoms as an undivided non-dualistic inseparable experience of union or unity. From this point of view, the Lord is the most beautiful (*Aḻakaṉ*[79] *etc*), and the purest (*Puṉitaṉ*)[80] and (*Niṉmalaṉ*.[81]

71. 7: 61: 11.
72. 7: 73: 3.
73. 7: 56: 5.
74. 7: 51: 10.
75. 7: 59: 3.
76. 7: 62: 3.
77. 7: 24: 5.
78. 7: 62: 6.
79. 7: 9: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10: 7: 64: 1 *etc.*
80. 7: 9: 2, 4, 6, 8, 11.
81. 7: 56: 11.

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Ārūrar addresses Him a '*Aḻakā*'[82] and '*Aḻakiyār*'.[83] The Lord is eternal and without end; He is, therefore, to the poet, 'the eternal Youth' (*Kuḻakaṉ*).[84] To the beloved, He is the bridegroom and the beloved (*Maṇavāḷaṉ*),[85] (*Aṉpaṉ*),[86] (*Ārvaṉ*).[86a]

He is all sorts of relations of varying kinds of love. This can be interpreted in two ways. Since He is All-pervasive, every relation of ours is ultimately God. In another sense, all these relations of which we speak of in this world are unreal and ultimately meaningless and futile, the real, father, mother, brother, sister, son, wife, teacher, friend, king and *Guru* being the Lord and none but Him. We are His wealth and He is the owner — '*Uṭaiyāṉ*'.[87] He is our Chief or Leader (*Kōṉ*).[88] He is our *Iṟaivaṉ* or *Iṟaiyavaṉ*,[89] the King or the Sovereign. He is the beloved Lord (*Nāyakaṉ*):[90] *Nāṭaṉ*.[91] In various *hymns* our poet, therefore, addresses the Lord as father, mother, master, the beloved, the brother *etc.*[92] In this also our poet is following closely the footsteps of *Campantar*.[93]

Of all these relationships, that which is the most intimate is that of the beloved. The most intimate experience of the Lord's bliss is often spoken of as '*Amudu*', the sweetest thing. The *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators bring out the greatness of this conception of '*Ārā Amudu*' which is according to them unique in their mystic language. "Whilst sense enjoyment is exciting and exhausting, the joy of Divine contact expresses the inexpressible joy which is satisfaction without satiation".[94] This term '*Ārā Amudu*' is however not peculiar to *Vaiṣṇavism* but is the common basis of all *Tamiḻ* mystic poetry. *Appar* mentions it.[95] *Ārūrar* calls the Lord

82. 7: 1: 9; 7: 3: 6; 7: 69: 2.
83. 7: 87: 1-10.
84. 7: 58: 5; 7: 62: 7; 7: 76: 5; 7: 77: 4.
85. 7: 70: 4; 7: 80: 1.
86. 7: 38: 10.
86a. 7: 85: 3.
87. 7: 91: 6.
88. 7: 68: 2.
89. 7: 40: 3; 7: 73: 4; 7: 75: 1.
90. 7: 17: 7.
91. 7: 84: 9.
92. See *hymns* 13, 24, 26, 27, 28, 52, 73, 85.
93. See *Campantar*-3: 46.
94. *Nammāḻvār*: 2: 3: 1.
95. *Ap.*, 281: 1.

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'*Amudu*' — 'Nectar';[96] '*Iṉṉamudu*' — 'Sweet Nectar';[97] '*Āramudu*'[98] which is Insatiable Nectar; '*Ārā Iṉṉamudu*' — 'the Insatiable sweet Nectar'[99] and '*Kōtilā Amudu*' — 'the Nectar free from all dregs'.[100] The Lord is the sweetest experience and for want of words our poet speaks of Him as '*Kaṉṉal*' — Sugar,[101] '*Karumpu*' — Sugarcane[102] and '*Kaṭṭi*' — Sugarcandy[103] and also '*Tēṉ*' — Honey.[104] "*Pāvippār maṉattu ūṟum at tēṉ*",[105] "*Aṭiyārkaḷtam uḷḷat tēṉ*";[106] "*Tittikkum tēṉ*",[107] "*Karumpiṉ teḷi*",[108] "*Maṇṇavar niṉṟettum karumpu*",[109] "*Teḷi tēṉ*",[110] "*Tēṉiṭai iṉṉamudu, maṟṟataṉirreḷivu*",[111] "*Kaṉṉal iṉṉamudu*"[112] are the several metaphorical expressions used by our poet, sweeter by themselves. Of these, the last two expressions are the most sweetest as they mention that our Lord is the most sweetest quintessence of all the sweetest things.

He is not far away. He is the beloved of our soul, ever in its embrace. Therfore, He is like the sweetness of the gooseberry in our very palm — "*Aṅkai nelliyiṉ paḻattiṭai amudu*".[113] The bliss of achievement becomes patent to them who contemplate on Him — "*Cintit teḻuvārkku nellikkaṉi*".[114] But all these fruits of the world are nothing compared to His bliss and therefore our poet speaks of Him as the divine fruit of educational or spiritual perfection — "*Kaṟṟuḻa vāṉ kaṉi*".[115] "Think of Him! How sweet is He!" — cries our poet and he further states, "His very name is sweet in our

96. 7: 28: 2; 7: 68: 1-9; 7: 84: 7.
97. 7: 21: 6; 7: 27: 2; 7: 84: 3; 7: 84: 10.
98. 7: 51: 2; 7: 51: 4.
99. 7: 26: 10; 7: 27: 7.
100. 7: 70: 8.
101. 7: 84: 10.
102. 7: 54: 3.
103. 7: 54: 3; 7: 59: 10.
104. 7: 21: 6; 7: 59: 10; 7: 68: 3.
105. 7; 59: 10.
106. 7: 67: 1.
107. 7: 68: 3.
108. 7: 59: 10.
109. 7: 38: 3.
110. 7: 70: 1.
111. 7: 84: 3.
112. 7: 84: 10.
113. 7: 54: 3.
114. 7: 4: 3.
115. 7: 51: 9.

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tongue and there sprouts forth the nectar"—"*Nāvilūṟum Naḷḷāraṉ; Amudu*".[116]

The happiness is still further spoken of as '*Iṉpu*' and '*Iṉimai*'. He is the sweet bliss devoid of all miseries—"*Tuṉpamum tuṟantu iṉpiṉiyāṉ*".[117] "To praise Him is to enjoy the sweet bliss"—thus feel the *Bhaktas* and the *Siddhas*, "*Pattar Cittar paraviṉiyāṉ*"[118] (There is another reading *pariviṉiyāṉ* instead of *paraviṉiyāṉ*). He increases the bliss of those who contemplate on Him. He is the sweetest bliss in communion—"*Tiḷaittaṟku iṉiyaṉ*"[119] "*Eṉakkiṉiyavaṉ*"[120]—'He is sweet unto me' cries our poet. He is sweet not only to him but also to all his people—"*Tamarkkiṉiyavaṉ*".[121] He is sweet, not at one moment or once, but all through the sevenfold births—'*Eḻumaiyum*'.[122] He is sweet to our heart—"*Maṉakkiṉiyavaṉ*".[123] His all pervasiveness appears as His all pervasive bliss, sweet to the ear, sweet to the eye, sweet to the nose, sweet to the tongue and sweet to the heart of the artist:

"*Paṇṇiṭait tamiḻ oppāy paḻattiṉiṟ cuvai oppāy*
Kaṇṇiṭai maṇi oppāy kaṭu iruṭ cuṭar oppāy".[124]
"*Iḷaikkum eḻuttiṟku uyiṟē ottiyāl*
ilaiyē ottiyāl uṉaiyē ottiyāl
Kuḻaikkum payirkkōr puyalē ottiyāl
aṭiyār tamakkōr kuṭiyē ottiyāl".[125]
"*Vācattiṉār malark koṉṟai yuḷḷār*".[126]

V

ETHICS AND THE ABSOLUTE:

The saint, when he attains realization, transcends thus the wheel of *karma* and ethics. But this is not a negation of moral laws but their fulfilment and transcendence to the higher, more

116. 7: 68: 3.
117. 7: 56: 9.
118. 7: 62: 3.
119. 7: 67: 1.
120. 7: 72: 1.
121. 7: 72: 1.
122. 7: 72: 1.
123. 7; 72: 1:
124. 7: 29: 6.
125. 7: 4: 4.
126. 7: 19: 2

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wonderful and more mysterious harmony of the Absolute. Westerners often misrepresent it as a non-moral, if not immoral state. In the Absolute, all the contradictions, all the '*dvandvas*' (dualism) are transcended and harmonized and therefore, it is beyond the '*dvandvas*' like moral and immoral which have meaning only in relation to the desires and activities of the self-conscious mind.

The ascent to the Absolute starts with the purified and moral state. Therefore, there is no question of this path being immoral *Ārūrar* emphasizes this importance of ethics. He speaks of the removal of the faults, the removal of the angry mind, the false sense of prestige and the vain desire—"*Kūca nīkkik kuṟṟa nīkkic ceṟṟa maṉa nīkki vāca malku kuḻaliṉārkaḷ vañcamaṉai vāḻkkai ācai nīkki*".[127] He also refers to the necessity for conquering or transmuting the six passions.[128] The worshippers are described as those whose mind has become calm, without being disturbed by the heat of the passions—"*Ārum aṉpar*".[129] They are also described as the good—"*Nallavar*";[130] "*Nallaṭiyār*".[131] They are those who have no end—"*Antamillā aṭiyār*".[132] Our poet calls them as those who are devoid of all blots — "*Pācaṟṟavar*";[133] "*Ūṉamillā aṭiyār*"[134] and "*Kuṟṟam il (taṉ) aṭiyār*"[135] — those free from all faults. They are free from confusion—"*Malakkil (niṉ) aṭiyār*".[136] They are so attached to Him that they know nothing else—"*Maṭam uṭaiya aṭiyār*".[137] God is pleased with the character and behaviour of those who are capable of worshipping His feet—"*Kaḻal pēṇavallār cīlamum ceikaiyum kaṇṭuvappār*".[138]

It is said that doing good to others is the highest *Dharma*. Internal purity engenders this state of mind where this sympathy and pity become almost an instinct. *Rāmānuja* has truly said that he, from whose heart escapes the cry 'alas' at the suffering of

127. 7: 7: 7.
128. 7: 5: 8.
129. 7: 19: 8.
130. 7: 56: 10; 7: 79: 10.
131. 7: 67: 2.
132. 7: 81: 8.
133. 7: 50: 7.
134. 7: 81: 7.
135. 7: 84: 4.
136. 7: 29: 8.
137. 7: 81: 6.
138. 7: 19: 9.

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others can be sure of his salvation. It is, therefore, wrong to assert that *Hinduism* develops selfishness in its spiritual development. It aims not at individual freedom but freedom from individuality — aims at the blossoming of the individual into the universal and the Absolute where there is not mere fretting and weeping but real love for all in that universal consciousness, if one may speak of it in those terms. When this sympathy is absent there is no hope of salvation. When, the feeling of desolation overtakes our saint and he begins to condemn himself, he feels a revulsion at his imagined unsympathetic mind. "The helpless with eyes sunk low come and beg; even then I am not inspired by that power of sympathy" — "*Kaṇ kuḻintirappār kaiyil oṉṟum iṭakkilēṉ*";[139] "I do not give even an iota to those who beg" — "*Ciṟuc ciṟitē irappārkaṭku oṉṟu īyēṉ*";[140] "Wealth seems to be dazzling to me and I do not part with it" — "*Koṭukka kiṟṟilēṉ oṉporuḷ taṉṉai*".[141] "I have not helped the desperate in any way" — "*Alantārkaḷ oruttarkku utaviyēṉ allēṉ*".[142]

VI

ARURAR'S ETHICAL EXCELLENCE:

The importance of the ethical excellence in inspiring the Grace is emphasized by our poet both positively and negatively. God blesses only those who have this moral grandeur[143] and from those who are devoid of this purity and love He hides, not for ever, but till they are transformed.[144] To those rooted in Truth, contemplating and recollecting His glories, He comes as the very Truth and He is untrue unto those who are devoid of this Truth.[145] He increases here and hereafter the happiness of those whose heart melts in love — "*Kacintavarkku immaiyoṭu ammaiyil iṉpam perukkum Nampi*".[146] He shines as the brilliant light of Truth to those

139. 7: 59: 9.
140 7: 60: 4.
141. 7: 60: 7.
142. 7: 73: 6.
143. 7; 19: 9.
144. 7: 19: 5.
145. 7: 57: 11.
146. 7: 63: 10.
147. 7: 23: 9.

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who praise with their tongue Truth itself.[147] He hides from those whose heart knows no such love or pity.[148] But if those think of Him for a moment with a melting heart, He enters their heart and resides ever taking it as His abode.[149] He is impossible of approach to those who do not come to Him with the loving contemplation.[150] He is the Great and Birthless who never forgets those whose mind is free from deceit.[151] He goes not into the minds of those full of deceit.[152] He does not come even for a moment near the deceitful heart.[153] He is a Cheat unto the cheats[154] — "*Puḷḷuvar ākum avarkku avartāmum puḷḷuvaṉār*".[155] Has not *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* said "*Dhyūtam chalayatām asmi*?" — 'I am the dice of gamblers'.[156] He is there in the mind of those who do not swerve from the right path.[157] He is the beloved of the virtuous — "*Puṅṅiyattār nēcattiṉār*".[158]

VII

MORAL GRANDEUR OF SIVA:

Our poet describes our Lord as the very embodiment of moral grandeur. He not only loves morality in His followers but He is Himself pure, holy and moral and helps his followers to become pure and moral. He is the Truth — '*Meyyaṉ*'.[159] He is the pure — '*Puṉitaṉ*';[160] the Holy — '*Tīrttaṉ*'.[161] He is the Holy of holies destroying sin — "*Pavittira pāva nācaṉ*";[162] the very form of virtue — '*Puṇṇiyaṉ* and *Puṇṇiyamāṉāṉ*'.[163] He is pure as the rare *Tapas* or He is the pure in His rare *Tapas* — "*Aruntavattir ṟūyār*".[164] Our poet's theory of Art or Aesthetics brings out this great Truth. In

148. 7: 63: 10.
149. 7: 11: 7, 8, 9
150. 7: 19: 10.
151. 7: 86: 8.
152. 7: 19: 5.
153. 7: 84: 7.
154. 7: 11: 3.
155. *Puḷḷuvar — Peṟiya Tirumoḻi* — 10: 7: 4.
156. *Gītā* 10: 36.
157. 7: 45: 5.
158. 7: 19: 2.
159. 7: 57: 10; 7: 86: 7.
160. 7: 9: 2; 4, 6, 8, 11; 7: 57: 11.
161. 7: 77: 7.
162. 7: 31: 8.
163. 7: 40: 2 & 7: 96: 3.
164. 7: 19: 10.

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the *Tirupputtūr hymn*, he sings of God alternately as *Puṉitaṉ* or the Holy and *Aḻakaṉ* or the Beautiful.[165] The Beautiful Absolute therefore can only be the Purest.

It is not the followers alone that are full of the virtues required for attaining the final release. He is both the goal and the means. In the path of love, He comes like the Beloved to the soul. Therefore, He is also pure, and holy, like His followers. He is not only the Lord and *Pacupati*, but He is like His beloved one, a *Siddha*, a *Mukta* and a *Bhakta*, though conferring *siddhi* and *mukti* on them and worshipped by *Bhaktas*, *Śaivas* and *Pāśupatas*.[166] The *Brahmajñānis* who have achieved realization of the Absolute are sometimes distinguished as *Brahmavid*, *Brahmavara*, *Brahmavarya* and *Brahmavariṣṭa*, and *Śiva*, the Lord is also like the *Brahmavarya*, the *Brahmavariṣṭa* stage being Absolute quiescence.

He is our great prince of *Tapas*, He the Prince, who frowns on the (misleading) five senses—"*Pulanaintum cīṟu Nampi*".[167] He loves the character and behaviour of others — "*Cīlamum ceykaiyum kaṇṭuvappār*".[168] His form itself possesses in abundance this virtuous character — "*Cīlantāṉ peritum uṭaiyāṉ*".[169] He is, therefore, the real attachment unto the true *tapasvins* — "*Paṟṟiṉārkkeṉṟum paṟṟavaṉ*".[170] He is the *Dhārmic saint* — "*Aṟavaṉ*",[171] "*Aṟavar*";[172] "*Aṭikaḷ*",[173] the saint with the eye of *Dharma*—"*Aṟakkaṇ eṉattakuṃ aṭikaḷ*",[174] the great gem of a master—"*Gurumāmaṇi*".[175] He is not only the learned,[176] but the leader of good conduct.[177] The phrase *Śiṣṭācāra* speaks of *siṣṭas* as such leaders.

165. *Hymn* 9.
166. *Cittaṉ*—7: 52: 1; *Muttaṉ*—7: 52 1; *Pattaṉ*—7: 25: 3; 7: 52: 1; *Mutti taravallāṉ*: 52: 1; *Cittitti ṟam kāṭṭum Civaṉ*: 7: 52: 1; *Pattar Cittar palar pōṟṟum Paramaṉ*: 7: 52: 1; *Caivatta cevvuruvaṉ*: 7: 82: 7; *Pācupataṉ*: 7: 22: 6, 8; 7: 69: 1-10.
167. 7: 63: 4.
168. 7: 19: 9.
169. 7: 61: 1.
170. 7: 61: 2.
171. 7: 70: 6.
172. 7: 33: 3; 7: 34: 11.
173. 7: 2: 2; 7: 25: 6; 7: 76: 2, 3, 4, 5, 8.
174. 7: 37: 2.
175. 7: 62: 4.
176. *Paṭṭaṉ*—7: 69: 9.
177. *Ciṭṭaṉ*—*ibid*,

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He is full of those rare and good attributes and there is no comparison to Him in this respect — "*Oppariya kuṇattāṉ*".[178] Because of the infinite attributes, He has a thousand names—"*Pēr ōr āyiram*".[179] These groups of attributes are spoken of as being eight in number. According to the *Jains* these are: 1. Infinite knowledge; 2. Infinite perception; 3. Infinite power; 4. Infinite bliss; 5. Indestructability; 6. Absence of any name; 7. Absence of any class; 8. Absence of any limited life. As pointed out by *Parimēlaḻakar*, the *Śivāgamas* mention these attributes in a different way: 1. Infinite bliss; 2. Infinite power; 3. Infinite Grace; 4. Omniscience; 5. Absolute self dependence relying on none else; 6. Being an embodiment of purity; 7. Being by His own nature free from fetters and 8. Being possessed of Absolute intuitive wisdom. He is, therefore, a mountain of these good qualities—"*Kuṇakkuṉṟu*".[180] The same idea is expressed in a negative way. The Absolute is a mountain completely devoid of all evils—"*Tītilā malai*".[181] *Śiva's* attributes have no faults—"*Kuṟṟamil kuṇattaṉ*".[182] He is perfect; His perfection is complete in itself—the Absolute; He is the fullness without any deficiency—"*Kuṟaivilā niṟaivu*".[183] He is perfect; therefore, there is no question of reforming, rectifying or improving this perfection—"*Tiruttalākātāy*".[184] He is devoid of all faults—"*Ūṉamili*"[185] or rather devoid of all deficiency. He is without birth which is the basis of all defects. He is "*Uttamaṉ*"[186] the Supreme Being who is possessed of all moral attributes. He is "*Oppariya kuṇattaṉ*" who is second to none in moral perfection. He takes His place, therefore, in the hearts of those who are complete in their ethical perfection.[187] The very term '*Eṇkuṇattāṉ*' is mentioned by our poet to represent our Lord as having all the attributes grouped into eight in accordance with the *Śaivites'* conception (*Eṇkuṇattiṉāṉ*).[188]

178. 7: 51: 5.
179. 7: 56: 10.
180. 7: 70: 6.
181. 7: 70: 8.
182. 7: 86: 3.
183. 7: 70: 6.
184. 7: 52: 6.
185. 7: 97: 2.
186. 7; 70: 3.
187. 7: 45: 5.
188. 7: 40: 3.

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VIII

SELF CONDEMNATION EXPLAINED:

In a moment of desolation overcoming him, at the sight of the world, especially after his mystic experience of the Lord, our poet often bears on his shoulders the crushing weight of the faults of the world and sings because of this racial memory of the human race, his *hymns* of self condemnation. This self condemnation paints the poet sometimes in the darkest colour, as the very embodiment of all that is immoral. As against *Tapas* and control of the five senses and their sublimation, which all form the path of the Lord, he speaks of his own slavery to the senses and of his being caught within the net spread out by the common women who entice by their beauty.[189] The whole of the 8th *hymn* speaks of his revulsion from this kind of life.

In other places, he exaggerates his faults. He regrets that he cannot transmute the six passions in the path of the Lord.[190] He speaks of this life as a life of falsehood[191] and meanness.[192]

He complains of his vain knowledge and of his behaviour of not walking in the footsteps of the just.[193] He speaks of himself getting fatigued after having wandered like a devil or ghost.[194] He calls himself a liar and a cheat,[195] the hard-hearted who does not love the feet of the Lord, being himself caught within the fetters of confusion,[196] the cruel fool without any wisdom.[197] He speaks of wandering away from Lord doing all things false.[198]

He continues in this strain: His is a body of dirt;[199] he whirls like the water of the whirlpool and so does his mind;[200] he has not contemplated on the moral conduct and attributes of the Lord.[201]

189. 7: 3: 5; 7: 3: 9; 7: 26: 5; 7: 41: 8; 7: 52: 4.
190. 7: 5: 8.
191. 7; 8: 9.
192. 7: 8: 2.
193. 7: 15: 4.
194. 7: 1: 2.
195. 7: 26: 6.
196. 7: 35: 10.
197. 7: 41: 8.
198. 7: 52: 2.
199. 7: 54: 1.
200. 7: 54: 5.
201. 7: 54: 6.

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He exclaims in despair: "I cannot escape the misery of the desires; I do not see the path".[202] "I have become fatigued having decided on actions which are not good"[203] "The *karmas* of the past inflict me in this birth and I have wasted my time as an obstinate fool".[204] "I have not learnt the truth of the arts or wisdom. I have done very very cruel acts. Alas! a sinner! I have committed many sins".[205] "I cannot leave off the faults of resentment. I revered none and did only improper acts. I wander about, resentful and obstinate".[206]

"I do not speak except in opposition. I am not a a help even to those who follow me; alas! mine is a heart harder than stone".[207] "My path, my knowledge, my attachment, my rule of behaviour, all of these are very bad and cruel. I am fond of tormenting and punishing others. I wander about doing things according to my whims and fancies".[208] "I am fond of wealth; I wander about in vain. I am no help even to any of those who are desperate. I am not an aid even unto those who are attached to me. I have nothing of propriety in me".[209] "I do not care for others or my own people".[210] "To every one I speak in resentment and opposition".[211] "I am not capable of cutting awhy my manifold desires".[212] "I am a cruel one".[213] "I am an evil one, a hard-hearted one never doing any act of good, a cruel one passionately attached to whatever is seen".[214]

Our poet sings in this strain only in moments of despair when he feels for the world or when he feels he is away from God. This does not represent the truth about him but only the value he sets on ethics. Having undergone the purgation he is the purest soul, an embodiment of morality. He himself gives expression to his

202. 7: 59: 9.
203. 7: 60: 2.
204. 7: 60: 3; 7: 60: 4.
205. 7: 60: 6.
206. 7: 69: 1.
207. 7: 73: 3.
208. 7: 73: 4.
209. 7: 73: 6.
210. 7: 73: 9.
211. 7: 73: 10.
212. 7: 73: 10.
213. 7: 74: 1.
214. 7: 96: 9.

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conviction. "I do not think of this body of fat as something permanent. I took refuge only in mind which thinks of you".[215] "I am not proud of this human birth. I shed tears when I think of it".[216] "I do not love anyone but you".[217] "I serve you without fear and what shall I aspire for?"[218] "I have resolved to reach the ideal to be attained".[219] "I renounced my kith and kin and took refuge in you".[220] "I do not consider my relations as of any help".[221] "I have left off or abandoned this life of worldliness".[222] "I thought of your feet as the real and permanent thing of the world and I became rid of my anger" — '*Calam*'.[223] "Whatever faults I may commit, I shall not commit any unto your feet".[224] "Even if I slip and fall down I know of no other cry but of Your name".[225] "Even if I become fascinated by other things, I shall not commit any fault to your feet and even if I do, I have agreed to undergo all that you can do for me".[226] "I have not known my doing any excess".[227] "I do not remember even a single fault I have committed".[228] "I have not committed any crime".[229] In spite of the five Lords of the senses I tether You to my mind with the garland of words" — "*Aivar kākkiṉum vākkeṉṉum mālai koṇṭu uṉṉai eṉ maṉattu ārkkiṉṟēṉ*".[230] Is not our poet a '*Paramaṉaiyē pāṭuvār*'?

215. 7: 14: 8.
216. 7: 15: 8.
217. 7: 15: 2.
218. 7: 15: 3.
219. 7: 15: 7.
220. 7: 21: 4.
221. 7: 58: 2.
222. 7: 3: 3.
223. 7: 21: 9
224. 7: 54: 1.
225. 7: 54: 1.
226. 7: 54: 2.
227. 7: 54: 7.
228. 7: 77: 5.
229. 7: 95: 2.
230. 7: 96: 4. 1.

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PART III

GOD

Introduction

In this part, the final goal is examined. God is love but this conception may lead to an emotional outburst. The *Tamilian* saints including *Ārūrar* have emphasized the '*Cit*' aspect of this lover of a Lord and this is examined in the first chapter of this part. In the next chapter, the bridal mysticism of *Ārūrar* is explained as usual starting from a study of the mystics of the world. The great contribution of *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators on *Nālāyiraprabandham* and especially on *Nammāḻvār's* poems in elucidating the conception of the mysticism of love which is oftentimes erroneously termed erotic mysticism — for mysticism of love or *madhurabhāva* is as far removed from *Eros* as deity from dust, utilized for explaining *Ārūrar's* mysticism of love. The theory that *Śaivism* does not know this kind of '*madhurabhāva*' is proved to be incorrect; a comparison is made between *Kṛṣṇalīla* in the *Brindāvan* and *Ānanda Taṇḍava* and *Bhikṣāṭana* in the *Dārukavana* — almost quoting the very words of Prof. Srinivasachariyar's explanation of *Kṛṣṇaism*. *Ārūrar's* one great '*akappāṭṭu*' (H. 37) is also explained. The *Purāṇic* mysticism which we studied earlier is found to agree with this mysticism.

In the third chapter, *Ārūrar's* description of the final goal is discussed, as the non-dual experience of the Absolute. It is found difficult to proceed further and label him as the follower of any distinct philosophy. We conclude that like all other mystics he believes in the harmony of all religions and philosophies—all the conflicts thereof being dissolved in the final experience of the Absolute, which is everything and which cannot be eveything unless all the conflicts are thus harmonized there.

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CHAPTER I

THE LIGHT OF LIGHT

I

ILLUMINATION OF LOVE:

The blissful love is not an emotional outburst but the joy of *jñāna* or realization of the Real, the Truth, the God, the Absolute Therefore, the *Tamilian* Saints are not so emotional as others, for, in them we find a harmony of emotion, wisdom, and moral activity; if at all there is relatively a greater emphasis on *jñāna* it is on *jñāna* as love. This is a realization which is born of firm faith and knowledge devoid of all doubts and erroneous vision. There is the firm resolve of the mind — "*Tiṭaṅkoḷ cintaiyiṉār*",[1] where the Lord removes the doubt — "*Caṅkaiyai nīṅka aruḷi*"[2] — for, otherwise nobody can come near Him; "*Caṅkaiyavar puṇartaṟkariyāṉ*".[3] When there is this firm conviction and knowledge and unswerving contemplation He dances as they sing — "*Niccayattāl niṉaippuḷārpāl pāṭum kāṭṭil āṭaluḷḷīr*".[4] The Lord is the pure form of true knowledge. All the books of knowledge — "*Āṟaṅkam*", "*Maṟai āṟaṅkam*"[5] are revealed by Him,[6] or He is their very form.[7] Real knowledge as experience rather than as theory is considered to be '*Uram*' or the greatest strength of intellecutal conviction born of experience which cannot be removed by any means. '*Uram*' is the word for strength and this has been interpreted by *Piṅkalantai* and commentators on *Tirukkuṟaḷ* which speaks of '*Uraṉ eṉṉumtōṭṭi*"[8] as referring to our knowledge and our poet calls the Lord the only Real which is this strength and spiritual knowledge — "*Uram eṉṉum Poruḷāṉ*".[9]

1. 7: 88: 2.
2. 7: 19: 3.
3. 7: 10: 9.
4. 7: 6: 9.
5. 7: 73: 3.
6. 7: 63: 4.
7. 7: 19: 4; 7: 62: 2.
8. *Kuṟaḷ* — 24.
9. 7: 86: 5.

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II

PURGATION AS ILLUMINATION:

Karma and other fetters are from one point of view fetters of ignorance and darkness, a darkness which disappears when this light of divine knowledge blazes forth — "*Tolviṉai tīrkkiṉṟa cōti*";[10] "*Iruḷaṟuttaruḷum tūya cōti*":[11] These references imply that the saint is equating "*Viṉai*" and "*Iruḷ*" probably as effect and cause. *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* speaks of "*Iruḷ cēr iruviṉai*"[12] and "*Iruḷ nīṅki iṉpam payakkum*".[13] That cause or the seed of all the miseries is described as "*Kaṭu iruḷ*"[14] — 'the terrific darkness' and the Lord Himself as the "*Kaṭu iruṭcuṭar*"[15] — "the light within this darkness or the light which dispels this darkness" — a phrase which by the way will appeal to the psychologists like Jung. The real is obscured in this darkness and therefore the name and form of the various things in the world are but a kind of darkness hiding from vision the Reality; this darkness is torn away by the pure light of real knowledge which is the brightness of the Absolute — "*Coṟpatapporuḷ iruḷaṟuttaruḷum tūya cōti*".[16]

III

ARURAR'S LIGHT:

This is how the path of purgation becomes the path of illumination which we see is also the path of love. God is the only great Light for all the eight points of the compass — "*Eṇṭicaikku oru cuṭar*".[17] Light, flame, brightness are all various ways of describing real knowledge which it the form of God as Cit, for, even the *Vēdas* express the inexpressible, only through similes and metaphors as, "*Curutiyārkkum collavoṇṇāccōti*";[18] "*Ñānaviḷakkoḷi*",[19] "*Cōti*",[20] "*Tikaḻ oḷi*",[21] "*Cōti eṉum cuṭar*",[22]

10. 7: 12: 9.
11. 7: 68: 6.
12. *Kuṟaḷ* 5.
13. *Kuṟaḷ* — 352.
14. 7: 29: 6.
15. 7: 29: 6.
16 7: 68: 6.
17. 7: 72: 10.
18. 7: 7; 10.
19. 7: 84: 9.
20. 7: 62: 7.
21. 7: 70: 7.
22. 7: 40: 3.

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"*Parañcōti*".[23] The idea of this Absolute Light being also the Blissful Absolute is described poetically as "*Amararkkiṉiya cōti*",[24] the idea of Absolute Beauty is expressed as "*Cuntaracōti*".[25] It is eternal, never going out — "*Nontā oṉcuṭar*".[26] It is the Truth of truth, the Light of all lights — "*Cōtiyiṟcōti*",[27] though one however great may not see that Light of all lights by egoistic self effort, even when searching through the great lights — "*Cuṭar mūṉṟilum oṉṟit turuvi māl piramaṉ ariyāta Māttāṉ*".[28] Its purity and holiness are referred to as "*Mācaṟu cōti*".[29] That the Absolute does not depend upon anything else is spoken of in terms of a self luminous light — "*Tūṇṭā viḷakkiṉ narcōti*".[30] That it transcends everything else, even the lights of the world and the soul is brought out by the phrase, "*Parañcuṭar*";[31] and "*Parañcōti*".[32]

IV

LIGHT SEES LIGHT:

According to the Hindu theory of perception, the like alone can perceive the like. The tongue tastes the element water because the tongue itself is a form of this element. The eye is a form of the element of fire and that is why it perceives light and fire. If there is the experience of 'Cit' or real knowledge it is experienced by that 'Cit' or real knowledge itself. For, there is no duality in that experience. He is the eye of our eye, the eye of our mind and the eye of our soul and the eye of the real experience of true knowledge — "*Ñānakkaṇ*".[33] Thus is expressed His All Pervasiveness and His being the quintessence of everything, physical, mental and spiritual — "*Kaṇṇāy ēḻulakum karuttāya aruttamumāy*".[34]

23. 7: 12: 4.
24. 7: 64: 1
25. 7: 92: 6.
26. 7: 58: 1.
27. 7: 73: 5.
28. 7: 67: 4.
29. 7: 84: 3.
30. 7: 52: 3.
31. 7: 69: 1-10.
32. 7: 12: 4.
33. 7: 41: 8.
34. 7: 24: 5.

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V

SELF LUMINOUS:

Lord is self luminous as this real knowlodge. He is within our mind and is everything and when the darkness disappears through *Tapas* of cutting and polishing the gem of a heart, He blazes forth as the beautiful light of that great gem. Our poet calls Him as "*Māmaṇiccōṭiyāṉ*"[35] — a phrase used by Appar and explained by him in his famous verse "*Virakirrīyiṉaṉ*".[36] This simile of a gem brings out not only the self luminous aspect but also its precious worth as the ultimate value and also the aspect of bliss because it is only endearing things and persons of love that are metaphorically spoken of as precious gems. He is the great precious gem of beautiful colour — "*Kurumāmaṇi*".[37] Here is a pun on the word '*kuru*' which means when read as *Guru*, the spiritual master. The Lord is therefore the great precious gem of a master. Our poet is very fond of the precious stone — "*Māṇikkam*" — the red carbuncle (a ruby-like red stone but considered to be self luminous in the light of which the serpent as its owner is said to go about in darkness in search of its prey). He calls God the rare gem, "*Arumaṇi*";[38] the beautiful and wealthy gem — "*Tirumaṇi*",[39] the great gem — "*Māmaṇi*",[40] good gem — "*Naṉmaṇi*",[41] the great gem of the *Dēvas* — "*Vāṉōr māmaṇi*".[42] The purity which appeals to our poet inspires him to describe the Lord as "*Mācilāmaṇi*".[43] He calls the Lord '*muttu*' or pearl, gold and '*Cempoṉ*' — pure gold.[44] He rolls into one, these ideas of precious gem and of the precious metal and speaks of the Lord as '*Poṉmāmaṇi*'.[45] The Lord is all pervasive, towering head and shoulders over others; therefore, our poet calls Him "*Māṇikkattiṉ malai*",[46] the mountain of carbuncle; "*Kaṉakamāl varai*"[47] —

35. 7: 81: 3.
36. 7: 204: 10.
37. 7: 62: 4.
38. 7: 40: 7.
39. 7: 40: 7.
40. 7: 40: 7.
41. 7: 38: 2; 7: 83: 7.
42. 7: 58: 8.
43. 7: 68: 5; 7: 69: 5; 7: 70: 9.
44. 7: 40: 7.
45. 7: 48: 9
46. 7: 53: 1.
47. 7: 68: 6.

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the mountain of gold, an idea which elsewhere our poet brings out through the words, "*Paramēṭṭi*",[48] "*Paraman*",[49] "*Paramāya paramparan*",[50] "*Periyaperumān*",[51] "*Māttān*".[52] "*Māttān*" may also mean He who is the Lord of *Mahat*, the evolving *Prkrti*.

VI

TRANSCENDENTAL LIGHT:

He transcends everything else and all forms of ordinary knowledge. He is realized as an experience through intuition or mystic '*ananyabhāva*'. Therefore, He is described as One who has no equal or comparison, One who has no relation — "*Oppamarāccempon*",[53] "*Tannoppilān*",[54] "*Inaiyili*",[55] "*Uravili*".[56] That He transcends other kinds of knowledge excepting mystic experience or *Brahmānubhava* is also brought out by our saint in a most poetic way — "*Onrāvarivonnā Mūrti*".[58] He is the Lord of the form which cannot be known as anything distinct and which cannot be classified according to our ordinary sources of our knowledge. It is impossible to produce any evidence — "*Cānru kāṭṭutarkariyavan*".[58] God or Absolute is not something objective like the things of the world. It is the pure experience and that is why it is impossible to produce any objective evidence:

> "*Ētukka ḷālum eṭutta moḻiyālum mikkuc*
> *Cōtikka vēṇṭā cuṭarviṭṭulan eṅkaḷ cōti*
> *Mātukkam nīṅka luṟuvīr maṉamparṟi vāḻmiṉ*
> *Cātukkaḷ mikkīr iṟaiyē vantu cārmiṉkaḷē*"

says *Campantar*:[59] "God is impossible to be reached even through contemplation by the mind; for, mind is but matter". "*Acattila taṟiyātu*" is *Śivajñānabōdham*.[60] He transcends matter. Even the

48. 7: 70: 8.
49. 7: 64: 6.
50. 7: 27: 1.
51. 7: 53: 1-9.
52. 7: 67: 4.
53. 7: 83: 7.
54. 7: 68: 1.
55. 7: 51: 5.
56. 7: 97: 2.
57. 7: 57: 6.
58. 7: 67: 10.
59. 3: 54: 8.
60. *Sūtram* 7.

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Vēdas cannot describe Him positively because He transcends all words: "*Curutiyārkkum collavoṇṇāc cōti*".[61] Even people who have reached higher spheres cannot measure Him, measure His infinity. He is a rarity to them — "*Amararkkariyāṉ*".[62]

VII

CONTRADICTIONS RESOLVED:

The insoluble philosophical problems relating to God from the point of view of ordinary knowledge lead to series of contradictions which are all however harmonized and solved in the real experience of the Absolute. With reference to the *Bhikṣāṭana* form, the form of a beggar, this problem is mooted and the final solution of the real experience is given. "He becomes the beggar because He has nothing. Further He has become the beggar because He has everything"—"*Iṉṟiyē ilarāvar; Uṭaiyarāy ilarāvar*".[63] He is everything in the sense He is the basis, the *adhiṣṭhāna*, the quintessence. He has nothing because none of these—the forms and names—is His true self—"*Iṉṟiyē ilarāvarō, aṉṟi uṭaiyarāy ilarāvarō?*".[64] He is the eternal youth—"*Kuḻakaṉ*",[65] but yet the most ancient person—"*Paḻaiyaṉ*".[66] There is no beginning or end but He is the beginning of everything. He is the root, the true cause in its entirety and the overlord of everything: "*Ādi*";[67] "*Mūlaṉ*";[68] "*Mutalvaṉ*";[69] "*Muḻumutal*".[70]

That these contradictions and conflicts being ultimately resolved in a higher harmony is attempted to be explained by another simile — "*Akaramutaliṉ eḻuttāki niṉṟāy*"[71] — a simile used by *Tiruvaḷḷuvar*.[72] '*A*' is the first of the alphabet and God is the first of all the things transcending everything. In another sense the letter '*A*' is the natural sound, first coming out when the mouth is opened.

61. 7: 7: 10.
62. 7: 68: 7.
63. 7: 33: 3.
64. 7: 33: 3.
65. 7: 40: 8; 7: 58: 5; 7: 82: 7; 7: 81: 9.
66. 7: 86: 9.
67. 7: 1: 5; 7: 61: 1; 7: 92: 4.
68. 7: 12: 3.
69. 7: 12: 3; 7: 77: 6.
70. 7: 51: 8.
71. 7: 3: 2.
72. *Kuṟaḷ* 1.

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The other sounds are its variations, produced by various kinds of obstructions in the organs of articulation. So also God as the basis of everything is the only pure self luminous thing; the other forms of the world are its *Vikṛti* or transformations due to obstructions or veils. From this point of view all the letters are His form as the form—the '*Vikṛtaṉ*'.[73] But this may not satisfy the dialectics. This is poetry; and our saint is a poet giving expression to his experience aiming at no philosophical explanation.

73. 7: 42: 1-10.

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CHAPTER II

BRIDAL MYSTICISM

I

LOVE:

The path of purgation is not only a path of illumination but it is ultimately the path of Bliss. It is very significant that the final stage of spiritual realization is called *Śivabhōga* in *Śaivism*. The final *jñāna* is looked upon as the blossoming of Love. *Brahmajñāna* is *Brahmānubhava*. The significant words used by our poet in this connection are "*Kātal*",[1] "*Aṉpu*".[2] All these suggest the relationship of ideal lovers. This spiritual realization becomes a story of love of the soul, the betrothed becoming the wedded love, losing itself in the embrace and rapture of union with the Lord. The artistic mysticism uses this metaphor of Love, which, therefore, is sometimes erroneously spoken of as erotic mysticism. But it must be noted that there is nothing carnal or degrading about this love though there is the use of the language of sex. It is spiritualized love and there is no other way of expressing the inexpressible. *Kāntābhāva* (*Kaṟpu*) is the experience of the bride and the bridegroom. *Madhura Bhāva* (*Kaḷavu*) is the experience of clandestine love. But all these are metaphors and symbols; for the Real transcends all these.

II

LANGUAGE OF MYSTICISM—MARRIAGE:

This way of explaining the spiritual experience is another universal characteristic of the mystics. The divine union is according to Plotinus, the real marriage of which the marriage of earthly lovers — a blending and communion with each other — is a copy. The Psalms sing in the same strain: "My Beloved is mine and I am He" is their song of union almost amounting to identity.

1. 7: 6: 7; 7: 41: 9.
2. 7: 86: 1; 7: 94: 9.

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The Christian mystic, St. Bernard, speaking in the same language of love refers to the spiritual marriage with Jesus who is the real Bridegroom of the soul.[3] Henry Suso looks upon God as Love.[3a] John of Ruysbroek describes the ladder of love where there are touches and tastes of divine love as a result of which the soul is consumed and purified by this fire of love when this meeting of lovers -- the Soul and God — ripens into the Bliss of union, only to be followed by the wretchedness of separation inspiring a God hunger in the soul which is finally appeased in the Beatific vision after the complete purification of the soul.[3b] St. Teresa (her autobiography) has experienced the ecstasy of the spiritual marriage with Jesus, the Bridegroom in which all fleshy feelings were ravished away and where all the faculties were suspended, when all sense of separation was swallowed up.[4] St. John of the Cross sings thus of this marriage of delight:

> "*Upon my flowery breast*
> *Wholly for Him and save Himself for none*
> *There did I give sweet rest*
> *To my beloved One.*"[5]

According to him, like a drop of water mingled in wine, like glowing iron becoming firelike and like air flooded with sunlight, the soul is transformed and deified in the unitive stage. Walter Hilton or Hylton awakens Christ sleeping in his heart when reason becomes Light and will become Love as a result of self naughting; whereafter comes the waking sleep of the spouse followed by the tasting of the heavenly savour.[6] Juliana of Norwich naughtens the visible things for the vision of God where the love between the soul and God is never dissected and where the wounds of love become the divine healing of worship.[7]

3. *Western Mysticism by Dom Cuthbert Butler, Canticle lxi. 2, p.* 141 — *Second edition,* 1926.

3a. *Christian Mysticism by W. R. Inge, p.* 173, *Edn.* 1899.

3b. *Orda spiritualium nuptiarum referred to on p.* 169, *Christian Mysticism, ibid*

4. See *Christian Mysticism, ibid. p.* 218 *ff.*

5. His poem *'The Obscure Night of the Soul'.*

6. *The Scale of Perfection, Christian Mysticism, W. R. Inge, ibid, p.* 197 *ff.*

7. *Christian Mysticism, ibid. P.* 201 *ff.*

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In Islamic Sufism or mysticism, we find the use of the symbolism of wine, kisses and embraces which signify the spiritual love and raptures of communion. Rabia of Basra, the Moslem St. Teresa, loses herself in union with the eternal beauty of God, like *Āṇḍāl* and *Mīrābāi* of our land. Hallaj, the Saint of Baghdad sings, "I have become He that I love and He that I love has become myself" and his explanation of his experience is that the Divine I lives in the void of egoistic I, but when egoism is destroyed by Grace and a real intimacy develops between the self and God as the lover and the Beloved, an intimacy that is a burning endearment which is more mine than myself; where the intellect, under the influence of love becomes intuition and love, ripens into ecstasy and God intoxication, all this love of the soul being love for love's sake, love for God Himself and not even for its experience as of the ecstasy of divine union, this Love finally leading to the Beatific vision of God in paradise; where rapt in Divine love the mystic is transformed into God. Jalal-ud-din Rumi, the great Sufi describes the reciprocity of love and transcendental union after its renunciation of sense life and its going away beyond the intellect and he sings:[8]

"With Thy Sweet Soul, this soul of mine
Hath mixed as Water doth with Wine.
Who can the Wine and Water part,
Or me and Thee when we combine?

Thou art become my greater self;
Small bounds no more can me confine.
Thou hast my being taken on,
And shall not I now take on Thine?

Me Thou for ever hast affirmed,
That I may ever know Thee mine.
Thy Love has pierced me through and through,
Its thrill with Bone and Nerve entwine.

I rest a Flute laid on Thy lips;
A lute, I on Thy breast recline.
Breathe deep in me that I may sigh;
Yet strike my strings, and tears shall shine".

8. *The Festival of Spring by him, Translation p.* 10.

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It is because of this that *Tirumūlar* identifies Love with the Lord. Love is deified; Shelley sings:

"Love wrapped in its all dissolving power
I saw not, heard not, moved not, only felt
His presence flow and mingle with my blood
Till it became His life and His grew mine
And I was thus absorbed".

III

LANGUAGE OF SEX:

The language of sex is appropriate but must be interpreted as having a spiritual meaning. Edward Ingram Watkins[9] in explaining the Catholic mystic languages emphasized the fact that the male element is operative, active, and directive, whilst the feminine is responsive and receptive thus each being complementary to or co-operating with God. To Coventry Patmore, the mystic poet, a true woman is God's image infusing clod with purity. The Christian mystic Richard of St. Victor, speaks of four stairways of love: (1) the betrothal where the soul thirsts for the Beloved; (2) the marriage, where the Absolute leads the soul as its bride; (3) wedlock, where the soul is oned with God and transfigured into Him and the (4) the copulation or union when the soul is caught up to divine delight. According to Miss Underhill, the simile of marriage and the embrace is a parallel on a lower level to the consummation of mystic love owing to the virtues of mutuality, irrevocableness and intimacy, the well known marks of ancient marriage.[11]

IV

HINDUISM: 1. KAMA:

The bridal mysticism is explained at length by the commentators on *Nammāḻvār's* poems. The *Caṅkam* literature has idealized love; its poetry of love is the poetry of the noumenon. *Āḻvārs* and *Nāyaṉmārs* speak this language of love in giving expression the their mystic experience. *Kāma*, there, is not *viṣaya kāma* or sensual passion, it is the *Bhagavat Kāma*, spiritual love. *"Kaṇṇa-*

9. See his *Philosophy of Mysticism, Edn.* 1919, *P.* 330 *ff.*
10. *"De Quatuor Gradibus Violentae Charitatis"* and *Mysticism, by Underhill, Twelfth Edition Revised, p.* 139.
11. *Mysticism by Miss Underhill, ibid, p.* 138.

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nukkē ām atu kāmam" is the *Vaiṣṇavite* explanation.[12] That is, "To love Lord *Kṛṣṇa* and none else is real love". *Viṣaya kāma* is an inverted shadow in water of the real *Ātmakāma*. When, therefore, instincts are harmonized and spiritualized they become the eternal creative expression of Divine Love. The *Īṭu* (the classic commentary on *Nammāḻvār*) refers to the conversation occurring in the *Bṛhad Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad* between the *Saint Yājñavalkya* and his wife *Maitrēyī* when the *Ṛṣi* develops and generalizes the reply of his wife: "Verily is the husband dear, not for the love of the husband but for the love of *ātma*. Everything is dear not for the love of everything but for the love of *ātma* is everything dear. The *ātma* should be reflected on and realized".[13] This is also the meaning of *Appar's* statement, "*Eṉṉilum iṉiyaṉ oruvaṉ uḷaṉ ... Iṉṉampar Īcaṉē*"[14] 'There is One (the Lord *Iṉṉampar*) dearer to me than myself'.

2. BEAUTY:

The importance of the conception of God as Beauty becomes significant when the Lord steals our hearts "*Uḷḷam kavar kaḷvaṉ*"[15] and *Paṭiṟaṉ*[16] when He as the *Puruṣōṭṭama*, where all souls become His Beloved in love with Him, a love which transcends even the love of the husband and wife. Every soul according to *Mīrā Bāi* (born in 1499 in *Mārwar*) is eternally feminine and she cries, "Why callest thou man as man? There is only One He, and that is God". The *Bhagavat Kāma* is beyond the married love of the world. There may be in this world the feasts to our five senses but the mind which has attained equanimity seeks for the Lord beyond these five Lords (the senses) even as *Draupati* has said.[17] The husband is forgotten because of the love of the real Husband or *Puruṣōttama*. This language of clandestine love or extra marital love is not a negation and cancellation of human marriage but a transcendence. Being on two different levels there is no conflict or moral deterioration. Once this is realized, sex is understood as the magical desire,[18] of the Divine Lover, the artist, the divine

12. *Ramānuja Nūṟṟantāti*, by *Tiruvaraṅkattamutaṉār*, *v.* 40.
13. *iv. i.* 6.
14. 134: 1.
15. *Campantar* 1: 1: 1.
16. *Āṟūrar* 7: 86: 2, 3, 4, 7.
17. *Villi Bhāratam, Paḻam poruntu carukkam* in *Āraṇya Parvam Verse* 21.
18. *Kiṟi of Āṟūrar* — 7: 78: 2.

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charmer[19] by which the animal instinct and lust are transmuted into divine intuition.

3. THE LOVING COUPLE:

God is Love and it is a dynamic love abhorring its solitude and hankering after union with Soul. The *Bṛhad Araṇyaka Upaniṣad* explains this truth in the form of a story.[20] "*Brahman* was alone before creation as the *Sat* without a second as "*Ēkākī*" and was not pleased. Aloneness gave it no joy; He desired a second and He divided Himself into twain". He became *Śrīyahpati*, the Lord of *Śrī*, the Mother of the *Vaiṣṇavites*; He became *Ardhanārī* (half male and half female) of the *Śaivites*. The cosmic drama depends on this self division into loving pairs.[21]

4. ITS SIGNIFICANCE:

Prof. Srīnivāsāchāriyār brings out the importance of this conception: "To say that God creates the world out of nothing or that He makes it as a potter makes pots is meaningless and mechanical. Likewise, the view of the dialecticians who dissect living Reality into contradictions of thesis and antithesis and then unite them as synthesis is a mere metaphysical abstraction. When they say that the 'one' opposes itself as two and then reposes in itself, that the one enters into its opposite and then returns to itself and that the ego opposes itself as the non-ego and then returns to itself, they start with contradictions and fail to co-ordinate them. But the *Vēdāntic* view of God as Love avoids the defects of theism and monism and affirms that God as love is dual existentially and non-dual in experience. It is the Divine art of creational spontaneity which may be portrayed through the aesthetic language of poetry, music and dancing and the symbology of *sṛṅgāra rasa*. Rhyme has more value in the mystic plane than reason".[22] Prof. Srīnivāsāchāriyār's explanation is noteworthy.

V

BHOGA AND YOGA:

While mystic experience may be gained by the way of *Yōga* or *Bhōga* (ascetic introversion or hedonistic extroversion), the

19. *Paṭiṟaṉ*—7: 86: 2, 3, 4, 7.
20. 1.iv.3.
21. See *Appar*: *hymn*, 3.
22. *Mystics and Mysticism*, *pp*. 298-99.

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way of *Bhōga* or aesthetic religion has an irresistible appeal to the mystic who follows the method of *Bhagavatkāma*. The Lord is a *Yōgi* to the *yōgi* and a *Bhōgi* to the *bhōgi*[23] and followers of God follow both the paths of worshipping the Lord. *Campantar* says of God in his marriage *hymn*: "*Pōkattaṉ yōkattaiyē purintāṉē*".[24] *Nampi Ārūrar* sings of the followers of God:

> "*Pulkiyum tāḻntum pōntu tavam ceyyum*
> *Pōkarum yōkarum pularivāy mūḻkac*
> *Cellumā Kāviri*".[25]

Our poet calls both the *Bhōgis* and *Yōgis* as *Tapasvins* and therefore the *Bhōgis* are those who enjoy *Bhagavatkāma*.

V

VAISNAVISM

But it is very unfortunate that this *Bhōga* method as *Śivakāma* has not been so very well emphasized. *Bhagavatkāma* is a phrase well known. *Śivakāma* is not so very well known though the Mother Goddess as the embodiment of this love is known as *Śivakāmi* inspiring the very Dance of *Śiva*. It is because this explanation of *Śaivism* is not so well known as it deserves, that the great exponent of *Hindu* mysticism, Prof. Srīnivāsāchāriyār distinguishes *Śrī Vaiṣṇavism* from *Śaivism* and classifies the latter with Christianity and Islam as those knowing not this method of *Bhōga*. He writes in his "*Mystics and Mysticism*", "In organized Christianity, Islam and Theistic *Śaivism*, God is the Holy and devotional mysticism is aroused by the creator-creature feeling and it does not foster affinity."[26] The distinguishing feature of *Śrī Vaiṣṇavism* and its importance are well brought out by the learned Professor: "But in *Śri Vaiṣṇavism*, especially in the incarnational mysticism of *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*, God is Beauty and the bridal mystic is captivated by direct contact with Him. The *ṛṣis* of *Daṇḍakāraṇya* were so much smitten with the beauty of *Rāma* the Righteous that they were born as *Gōpīs* of *Bṛndāvan* to relish His beauty and revel in it. *Śrī Kṛṣṇa* is the Holy of Holies (*yōgēśvara*) without any touch or taint of sensuality and sin; but He humanizes

23. *Śivajñānacittiyār*-1.50.
24. 3: 125: 7.
25. 7: 74: 3.
26. *Mystics and Mysticism*, p. 303.

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Himself, as it were, and plays the game of love in the eternal spiritual world of *Brindāvan* with a view to destroying the *tṛṣṇās* or thirsts of the flesh and divinizing the human finites. Why the Absolute divides itself into finite centres and why there is so much ignorance, evil and ugliness of bad *karma* and *kāma* in the world are questions that admit of no solution; but mysticism has dissolved the problem by transmitting lust into love and *tṛṣṇa* into *Kṛṣṇa* as is witnessed in the lives of mystics like *Śuka*".[27]

VII

AKAPPATTU—SONG OF LOVE:

This characteristic feature so very well emphasized in relation to *Śrī Vaiṣṇavism* is not foreign to *Śaivism*. The *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators bring out the beauty of the *Akappāṭṭus* or love songs of *Āḻvārs* by renaming the saints as feminine poetesses: *Parāṅkuśa Nāyaki* (*Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār*), *Śaṭhakōpa Nāyaki* (*Nammāḻvār*) and *Kulaśēkhara Nāyaki* (*Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār*). The *Śaivite* saints who have also composed *Akapporuḷ hymns* in a similar strain may, very well be renamed as *Jñānasambanda Nāyaki*, *Vāgīśa Nāyaki* (*Tirunāvukkaracar*), *Sundara Nāyaki* (*Ārūrar*) and *Māṇikka Vācaka Nāyaki*. That this *Bhōga mārga* or aesthetic religion of *Śivakāma* is not unknown to *Śaivites*; we have shown with the help of references from our poet and *Campantar*. The bridal mysticism of our saint is beautifully brought out in *Ārūrar's hymn* in No. 37, and we have tried to explain the *hymn* in the light of *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators—the very commentators whom our *Āchāriyār* follows.

VII

THE PLAY OF LOVE:

It is separation or *viślēṣa* that is sung in this *hymn* though we get glimpses of the erstwhile union or *saṁślēṣa*. What our Professor states about this *līla* of love, this drama of *saṁślēṣa* and *viślēṣa*, union and separation, may form an appropriate introduction to the said *hymn* of *Ārūrar*.

"*Bhaktirasa* becomes ripe in the process of what is known as the game of love or *saṁślēṣa* and *viślēṣa*. The Lord plays hide and seek with the beloved soul. *Saṁślēṣa* is the joy of union and *viślēṣa* is the sorrow of separation in the 'dark night of the soul';

27. *Mystics and Mysticism p.* 303.

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it is the school of suffering love. The joy of contacting God is momentary in this world of *līlā* and it becomes secure and stable only in the world beyond. In the alternation between *saṁślēṣa* and *viślēṣa*, the soul is freed from sensuality and egoity and yearns for the dawn of unitive consciousness. There is light on the path caused by visions and voices; but they are only stepping stones and not stopping places. It is by wise introversion in the state of *viślēṣa* that the soul, which is the bride, distinguishes between what is momentary and what is eternal and renounces its egocentric feeling of 'my' and 'mine' and is purged of pride. Humiliation from without fosters inner humility and the spirit of resignation and in the state of anguish caused by the sense of separation, the bride lapses into depression and despair. The Lord of Love also suffers from the woes of loneliness and yearns for communion with the beloved. In the rapture of reunion, each rushes into the arms of the other and reflection expires in ecstasy. But the joy does not last long as the roots of self-feeling are not yet destroyed and the bride-soul is enchanted by the physical beauty of the Lord and mistakes appearance for reality and vision for the home. Once again there is withdrawal followed by a sense of gloom and this time the bride-soul gives up its passivity and protests and rebukes the Lord for His cruelty and caprice in causing unmerited suffering to the victim and finally there is the onset of divine union. The two become united and are immersed in the joy of communion. The symbolic language employed by the mystics in terms of spiritual marriage is entirely free from morbidity or erotomania. What is *bhagavatkāma* is transempirical, and it is described analogically as *viṣaya kāma*; but the resemblance between them is like that between the dog and the dog star. It is only the pure in heart that are free from sexuality and carnality who can appreciate the value of *bhakti rasa*. As *Śrī Śuka*, the pure-hearted who has specialized in the art of Divine love, reminds us in the *Bhāgavata*, even a man who has but a few glimpses of *Kṛṣṇa-prēma* attains *mukti*".[28]

IX

TRANSCENDENTAL LOVE:

Kāntā bhāva or married relationship is transcended by the *Madhura bhāva* or clandestine love. The *Rāsa līlā* of the *Gōpīs*.

28. *ibid. pp.* 304-305.

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is the most beautiful conception — the Lord dancing with every soul. The *Bhikṣāṭana* form is something similar. The *Dārukavana* takes the place of *Bṛndāvana*. What the proud Seers of the learned world failed to realize, the eternal feminine in their wives realized and experienced. Their hearts and souls transcended the *viṣayakāma* stage; bewitched by the beauty of the Holy of Holies the *Yōgēśvara*, they followed Him. The phrases suggesting extra marital love and clandestine love are used; but there is nothing carnal. Theirs is not a physical hankering, an animal passion or even a human affinity; it is *Bhagavatkāma*, *Śivakāma* or spiritual love which *Maitrēyī* confessed to her Lord and husband *Yājñavalkya*. The innocent women, all of them, become *Śivakāmis*. *Bhikṣāṭana* has no touch of sensuality or sin. The wonderful consummation is the conversion of the rebelling saints of *Dārukavana* and their dancing in the end with the Dance of *Śiva*. The evil which grows in their heart and from out of their sacrifice of fire, takes the shape of terrible, cruel and deadly forms but all these become the ornaments and decorations of the the Lord thus suggesting that evil is only misplaced Good, a topsy turvydom, of our activities, turning selfish instead of being offerings to the Lord. It also brings out the doctrine of God's Grace, which saves anyone and everyone and where every feeling however sinful becomes purified and deified, once it is turned towards the Lord, a truth proclaimed by the *Bhāgavata*, "whoever turns his *kāma* (lust), *krōtha* (anger), *bhaya* (fear), *snēha* (comradeship), *aikya* (the feeling of identity) and *Bhakti* (devotion) to *Hari* by contacting Him is deified or transformed into His nature (*tanmayī*)".[29] "Even our faults you hold them as our merits"[30] — so sings our poet and refers to the stories like that of the anger of the *asuras* of *Tripura*. The anger and jealousy of the *Ṛṣis* of *Dārukavana* have been converted into love. The Lord dances adorned with all the deadly things they hurled at Him. The Beauty opens their eyes and they also dance in joy.

X

KRSNA AND BHIKSATANA:

Prof. Srīnivāsāchāriyār states, "In the mystic realm of *Kṛṣṇaism* there is no such defect or deprivation as radical evil

29. *Bhāgavata-xxix*-15.
30. 7: 69: 6.

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or original sin. No one, not even an *asura* is so depraved as to be deprived of Divine redemptive Love. If man does not mount up to God by *vairāgya* and *jñāna*, God descends to the human level and deifies him by His Divine touch".[31] Is this not true of the *Bhikṣāṭana* form and may we not call *Ārūrar's* mystic way, *Bhikṣāṭanaism*? This story of *Bhikṣāṭana* points out that even *Ṛṣis* may become proud and not self surrender and love, may mislead the soul. The story starts with the *Kāpāli* form, the Hound of Heaven hotly pursuing us; it becomes the bewitching *Bhikṣāṭana* form begging for our souls crossing our way and making love to us and blossoms up into the form of the eternal dance of *Naṭarāja*. These have been explained earlier in our study of our poet's *purāṇic* mysticism. *Bhikṣāṭana* form has been found to be the motif of *Ārūrar's poetry*. What our Professor says as forcefully and beautifully of *Bṛndāvan* and *Kṛṣṇa līlā* is word for word applicable to the *Dārukavana* and *Śivatāṇḍava*, by merely changing the proper names. The passage reads as follows with the *change* of the proper names:

"To the philosopher, the world is *māya* or the riddle of thought; but to the *bhakta* it is *Śivamāyā* or crammed with *Śiva* love; *Dārukavana* is not merely the headquarters of cosmic Beauty and bliss but is the 'eternal now' in spaceless space in which what is beyond shines as indwelling love in the heart of every *jīva*".[32] (May we add in the *Daharākasa* of the heart?).

"In that exalted state of mystic union transcending the imperfect moods of prayer and praise, voices and visions, there was no thought of anything, as every thought was lost in enjoyment. There was no sense of unity or duality though the distinctions remained and it was the very acme of *Brahmānanda*. The whole universe felt the rhythm and the *rasa* par excellence of the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* (may we add, following the love escapade of *Bhikṣāṭana*) and danced to the Divine tune like the notes of a symphony. The *līlā* of *Brahman the* God-head as the cosmic dance as *Trimūrti* is the play of the Static '*Sat*' in the dynamic many which only the mystics as *Ṛṣis*, *Ṛṣipatnīs* or the other seers can realize. *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* of the Beggar God (may we add, inspired by the love of all souls represented as *Śivakāmi*) reveals the all pervasive

31. *Mystics and Mysticism, p.* 172.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 306.

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divine love in the attractions of the atoms, the dance of the planets gravitating round the sun, the music of the spheres, the procession of space-time, the merry-go-round of '*ṣṛṣṭi*' and '*pralaya*', the rhythm of life in the body with the systole and diastole and the dance of *saṅkalpa* and *vikalpa* in the brain with its dialectic alternations of *pūrvapakṣa* and *siddhānta*. All the dynamic movements in the starry heavens above and the supra-mental attractions of lovers with all the romance of poetry and music below reveal the cosmic *līlā* of love of the eternal in the temporal process. In *Ānandatāṇḍava, Śrī Naṭarāja, the erstwhile Bhikṣāṭana*, the centre alone is everywhere and the circumference nowhere. The sceptic and the cynic have a stony heart and are not moved by the mystic *Bhikṣāṭana form and His Dance* in which *Brahmarasa* or Love itself is the play, the Hero and the actors as the two sided and many-sided Love, (where we may add, the Tragedy of the fallen souls of *Ṛṣis* is converted into this comedy of their Love).[33]

XI

ARURAR AS HIMSELF AND AS THE LADY-LOVE:

In our saint's poetry, we find that the speeches of the damsels of *Dārukavana* occur very often which drove us to the conclusion that the *Bhikṣāṭana* form was the basic motif of his poems. The *Āḻvārs* very often forgot themselves and sang as *gōpīs* or women madly in love with God. In a similar way our poet probably feels that the outpourings of his heart fit better and make good poetry when cast in the mould of the speeches of the damsels of *Dārukavana*. It is not that he is always conscious of it. In the white heat of love this motif comes to him as a matter of course. In the 36th *hymn*, he definitely says that he sings like the women in love with God. But in other *hymns*, this motif peeps in, in spite of himself. He is sometimes referring to his own autobiography as a man but even there, in spite of himself this motif is trying to get the upper hand of him as may be seen in the *Tirunākaikkārōṇam hymn*.[34] This clearly proves what the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators have asserted, that the '*Penpēccu*' the speech of the lady-love is the real speech of the soul. Therefore, there is no contradiction in these two trends. As the *Vaiṣṇavite* commentators point out, the *Āḻvārs* start singing in '*Tāṉāṉa taṉmai*', *i.e.*, as

33. *ibid. pp.* 308-309.
34. 7: 46: 7.

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themselves as men but in the white heat of their passion for God, they lose themselves and sing in '*Pirar*' '*Pirāṭṭiyāṉa taṉmai*', *i.e.* as the lady-love. In the *Āḻvār's* songs the whole of a *hymn* is either in '*Tāṉāṉa taṉmai* or *Pirāṭṭiyāṉa taṉmai*'. But in *Ārūrar's* poems (as is often the case in *Appar's* poems) even within a particular *hymn*, these two trends are found, thus showing that the *Pirāṭṭiyāṉa taṉmai* is trying to come to the forefront. We have read the *hymns Nos.* 8, 9, 11, 18, 26, 32, 33, 36, 40, 42, 43, 49, 66, 84, 88, 91 and 94 in this light. In all these *hymns* we have the motif of the *Bhikṣāṭana* form.

The damsels in love with the *Bhikṣāṭana* form are innocent women forgetting their 'self' at the bewitching beauty of the Lord and becoming His lovers in the transcendental stage. *Ārūrar* probably has the same experience of the Lord. In the speeches of these damsels there is a child-like innocence. They play and laugh in the presence of the Lord, full of humour, enriched by their childish fright and wonder. The real concern for the Lord and the sympathy with Him beggary, show that they are more concerned with Him than with themselves.

But saints are not always happy. Every one of them has undergone the suffering of the dark chamber of separation and desolation. For, it is this purgation which purifies the soul, so that it may blossom into God-head. It is in such moments of desolation that the mystics speak the language of sex. Despair and desolation characterise the love song called 'the *neytal*' in *Tamiḻ*. The symbology of this sex poetry we have described in our study of the *hymn* No. 37.[35] We have not included this *hymn* No. 37 amongst the *Bhikṣāṭana hymns* referred to above; for, it stands unique as the song of the soul of *Ārūrar* as the beloved bride of the Lord. His embrace continuing as a sweet remembrance, is soon realized as something of a distant past, with the consequent feeling of desolation. But the lady-love cannot forget the Lord; her body becomes emaciated and she remains sleepless. In the hope of meeting the Lord she makes a last attempt to live; but the physical frame cannot bear the strain and the mind becomes bitter. Still she is not hard on Him, though the body refuses to co-operate with her. No longer the clothes or the bangles can stay on her body which becomes anaemic losing

35. *Vol. III.*

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its colour. Her mind recounts to her the love-story, the sight of Him, the flaring up of her love and that fire of love consuming away the body, when all through these stages, she has no desire, no power, no relation except the Lord, during all this quest of her prose, the quest of her poetry and the final quest of her silence. Finally comes a dream or a hope where she enjoys His presence praises Him, embraces and becomes one with Him. Thus we see the poet burning away all his fleshy feelings and becoming pure and whole to become identified or to be in communion with God. The last *hymn*[36] describes to us the final union in allegoric language.

XII

THE HOUND OF HEAVEN AND THE FINAL UNION:

The *Purāṇic* mysticism of *Ārūrar* studied in the previous chapter agrees with his artistic mysticism, bridal mysticism, ethical and spiritual mysticism studied in this part. The *Kāpāli*, *Bhikṣāṭana* and *Naṭarāja* are important conceptions from this point of view. To many of us in the struggle for existence, world or Nature appears red in tooth and claw. It is a never ending wheel of *karma*, ever moving and crushing us. It looks as though it is cutting away our head when going wrong and is still allowing us to live as though to get for more of our blood. It chases us like the Hound, wounds us, allows us to escape, but still pursues us, like the cat playing with the mouse. The wounds are inflicted. The Hound pursues with its unrelenting steadiness. This is the *Kāpāli*, the Hound of Heaven, appearing as this world and the *karma*. We think we can escape; but the Hound pursues us dancing frightfully in that graveyard of bones and corpses when in this race, mind finally turns away from the evanescent world to the permanent values, the eternal verities of life. Then dawns the knowledge in the mind of the soul that the Hound of Heaven is really our beloved Lord, pursuing us because of his mad attachment to us unable to bear our separation; He stands naked wanting nothing but our love, performing this great *Tapas* of a hunting race for attaining us. The *Kāpāli* appears as a *Bhikṣāṭana*, the bewitching beauty. He crosses our way making assaults on our feminine modesty; the erstwhile wounds are His attempts at forceful abduction. They

36. *H.* 100.

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are really the imprints of His kisses. The souls are bewitched by His beauty and follow Him. Mind is purified, egoism disappears, there is no thought of the 'I'; the Soul has no other existence apart from the Lord. The *karmas* are completely washed out, the wounds are healed, and in worshipful prayer they are treasured as marks and signs of His love even by Him. 'Ah, How my sins have become your feast?"—cries the lady-love—"*Pātakamē cōṟu paṟṟiyavā*".[37] This is *Ārūrar's* theory of Grace—"*Kuṟṟam ceyyiṉum kuṇameṉak karutum koḷkai*";[38] "*Kuṟṟamē ceyiṉum kuṇameṉak koḷḷum koḷkai*".[39] The world and the egoistic soul with all the *karmas* are thus transcended.

All this is not felt to be the victory of the Soul but the victory of the love of the Lord, His *Aṣṭavīra* (the eight heroic deeds). There is no more death; Death has been conquered. There is no more lust; *Kāma* has been burnt away into ashes, to be besmeared with as the purest love. The three *malas* or *tripuras* have no effect on us, for they have been burnt away to come into the service of the Lord and to become His divine art. The egotism (*Dakṣa*), the blind pride (*Andhaka*), the power (*Cakra*), intoxication (*Jalandhara*) are all dead. Where can all these be when the soul has no other thought but the Lord, when it is lost in Him and is one with Him?

There is a feeling of complete identity in this communion, the smaller self dying to live as the Higher Self. It is then the experience of *Naṭarāja*, the universal bliss, first, a dance of *Ardhanāri*, a dance of communion, then ultimately the dance of the One where there is no feeling of duality.

37. *Tiruvācakam-Tōṇōkkam*: 7.
38. 7: 55: 4.
39. 7: 69: 6.

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CHAPTER III

THE FINAL GOAL

I

THE LAST VERSES:

As already noted the last verses of the various *hymns* give the results which will flow from a recitation of the *hymns*. Sometimes these are described as happiness of power and sovereignty.[1] Especially in *hymns* like No. 2, which are addressed to the kings, this is the tempting message. Those who recite the *hymn* will become the slaves of God, but be the Lords of the residents of Heavens and kings of the ancient Royal families ruling all the higher regions above the rulers of the world.[2]. In another place our poet states that even if these reciters descend from the Heavens they are sure to live as the Lords of Provinces or Spheres — "*Maṇṭalanāyakar*".[3] *Hymn* 3 speaks of their becoming kings on elephants ruling all the Heavens. The spiritual significance of this conception is explained below under our study of *Śivalōka*. Sometimes the results flowing from recitation are referred to in terms of mental happiness and power and as freedom from miseries, though these also have their spiritual significance.[4] Our poet speaks of Lordship over the three worlds.[5] He also speaks of the body suffering from the heat of pain and misery becoming cool with bliss[6] which is the way of expressing happiness in the tropics. These *Bhaktas* are higher than the people of the world.[7] Our poet also refers to fame as a result, the fame which spreads with the world. This may at the first instanee mean ordinary worldly fame but when '*Pukaḻ*' is interpreted according *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* as something immortal as opposed to our mortal fame, it must be the fame of the *Bhaktas* and *Muktas*.[8]

1. *H.* 23, 35, 40, 46, 67, 69, 79.
2. *H.* 40.
3. *H.* 84.
4. *H.* 22.
5. *H.* 27.
6. *H.* 31.
7. *H.* 51.
8. *H.* 71, 73.

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II

UNIVERSAL SALVATION:

Other *hymns* speak of reaching the Heavens which in the context probably refers to the highest spiritual state of '*Mukti*'. The highest sphere is called *Śivalōka*, the sphere of *Śiva* the Good;[9] *Paralōkam*, the ultimate spiritual sphere;[10] *Rudralōkam*, the sphere of *Rudra*, the destroyer;[11] *Amaralōkam*, the deathless sphere;[12] *Paragati*, the ultimate goal;[13] *Naṉṉeri ulaku*, sphere of Good path;[14] *Tavalōkam*, the sphere of self sacrifice, where the smaller self is destroyed;[15] *Mukti*, freedom.[16]

In some places our poet speaks of the followers reaching this highest spheres along with *Tēvakaṇam*. This may suggest that *Śivalōka* is only a *Padamukti*.

But it is better to interpret this verse as referring to some of the souls going to the higher regions through what the *Upaniṣads* call the *Dēvayāna* for enjoying the sublimated pleasures and thereafter attaining '*Mukti*' along with others. It is also called *Vāṉulaku*, the world of ether or spirit, the High Heavens, *Imaiyōr Ulaku*, sphere of those who wink not *Viṇṇulaku*, the Heavens upon the ether or sky—if they do not mean the *Svarga*. For, it is possible some of these terms may refer to the Higher worlds which we cannot say, *Ārūrar* never believed in. He refers to them in no unmistakable terms. *Śivajñānabōdham*[17] speaks of the aspirant reaching *Tāvalōkam* (the various heavens reached as a result of *Tapas* as distinguished from *siddhi*) and then coming after the exhaustion of good *karmas* to take a birth for attaining *siddhi*. Even *Muktas* sometimes attain lordship over these higher worlds.

There are certain evolved souls who refuse to reach salvation unless all are saved and these are said to occupy at the dictate of the Lord, and in the service of the Lord, the places of leader-

9. *H.* 9, 10, 21, 25, 32, 42, 47.
10. *H.* 18, 24, 28, 98.
11. 7: 73: 1.
12. *H.* 59, 74, 78.
13. *H.* 54, 64.
14. *H.* 61.
15. *H.* 97.
16. *H.* 56.
17. 8: 1: 1.

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ship in the various higher regions and they finally reach salvation along with all others. The reference to rulership, '*Imaiyōr ulaku eytutal*'[18] '*Vāṉattuyartal*'[19] '*Vāṉulaku āḷal*',[20] '*Vāṉōrulaku āḷal*',[21] '*Maṇṭala Nāyakar*',[22] '*Amarulakamāḷpavar*',[23] '*Viṇṇavarkkaracē*',[24] '*Viṉ muḻutu āḷal*',[25] '*Amarulakāḷal*',[26] '*Vāṉakam āṇṭaṅkiruppar*',[27] *Viyaṉ mūvulaku āḷal*'[28]—have to be interpreted in these terms.

The final stage of *Mukti* is also spoken as attaining worshipped by the heavens, the feet of the Supreme Lord.[29] It is devoid of all miseries for us and our people, which term also has to be interpreted in terms of universal salvation.[30]

Our poets calls the higher state of Heaven or *Viṇṇulakam* wherefrom there is no return '*Pērā Viṇṇulakam*'[31] reminding us of —"*Ārā iyaṟkai avā nīppiṉ annilaiyē pērā iyaṟkai tarum*";[32] "*Kaṟṟīṇṭu meypporuḷ kaṇṭār talaippaṭuvar maṟṟīṇṭu vārā neṟi*[33] of *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* and "*Na Sa punar āvarttatē*" of *Brahmasūtra*".[34] Our poet makes this clear by stating that there is no going or coming there; it is being in the flood of bliss—"*Pōkkillai varavillaiyāki iṉpaveḷḷattuḷ iruppārkaḷ iṉitē*".[35]

This idea of bliss is often emphasized.[36] It is a stage of faultless perfection devoid of all the influences of *karma*,[37] *Poy* (un-

18. *H.* 93.
19. *H.* 86.
20. 7: 35: 10.
21. 7: 23: 10.
22. 7: 84: 10.
23. *H.* 74.
24. *H.* 69.
25. *H.* 2, 3.
26. *H.* 46, 74.
27. *H* 79.
28. *H.* 27.
29. *H.*, 19, 34, 36, 45, 60.
30. *H*, 22, 23, 48, 49.
31. 7: 26: 10.
32. *Kuṟaḷ*, 370.
33. *Kuṟaḷ* 366.
34. *iv.*, 555.
35. 7: 68: 10.
36. *H.*, 97.
37. *H.*, 26.

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truth),[38] delusion, old age, *etc.*,[39] birth and death.[40] This is also spoken of as the '*gati*' of the Dancing Lord—"*Naṭam naviṉṟāṉ-pārakati*"[41] and '*Parakati*'[42] and *Mukti* is the result of *Paragati*—"*Muttiyāvatu Parakatippayaṉē*",[43] which is otherwise described as "*Naṭanaviṉṟāṉpāṟ katiyum eituvar Patiyavark katuvē*" — 'that is their abode or city'.[44] *Pati* is where one goes—the refuge—the final resort—the goal. It is clear that the final goal is in God being in final communion or attaining identity with Him—"*Paraṇoṭu kūṭutal*".[45] It is also clear that this spiritual experience is spoken of in terms of a spatial simile as abode or city or world. The idea of its being the supreme goal is expressed in terms of height or vertical ascension—"*Vāṉattūyarvār*";[46] "*Varaiyiṉār vakai ñālam āṇṭavarkkum tāmpōy vāṉavarkkum talaivarāy niṟparavar tāmē*";[47] "*Mēlaiyār mēlaiyār mēlārē*"—'Up above those who are over the Highest'.[48] *Mukti* is specifically described as the fruition of *Paragati* or the ultimate goal as shown above—"*Muttiyāvatu parakatippayaṉē*".[49]

III

BHAKTI AS MUKTI:

Still other *hymns* refer to the worship and the company of the *Bhaktas* and to one becoming a *Bhakta* as the immediate result of the recitation of the *hymns* — "*Pātam paṇivār*";[50] "*Aṉpar āvār*";[51] "*Aṭi paṇivār*";[52] "*Pattarāy*".[53] Probably, when the poet speaks of the reciters reaching God or coming near Him, "*Nātaṉai naṇukutal*",[54] he means this kind of approach through worship or *bhā-*

38. *H.*, 45.
39. *H.*, 60.
40. *H.*, 70.
41. 7: 62: 10.
42. 7: 54: 10.
43. 7: 64: 10.
44. 7: 62: 10.
45. 7: 88: 10.
46. 7: 86: 10.
47. 7: 40: 11.
48. 7: 96: 10.
49. 7: 64: 10.
50. 7: 7: 11.
51. 7: 39: 11.
52. 7: 52: 10.
53. 7: 56: 11.
54. 7: 8: 10.

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vanā. Or, he may mean that they reach the sphere of the Lord *Bhakti* is preferred to *Mukti* and the singing of the poems in the campany of the *Bhaktas* is itself looked upon as the Bliss of *Mōkṣa*.[55] So is the bliss of their speech[56] though this may appear as blabbering to others.[57] Thus, these describle the state of the *Jīvanmuktas*.

IV

SPIRITUAL PROGRESS:

There are other *hymns* which speak of mental and spiritual progress. *Kāmam* (Lust), *Vekuḷi* (Anger) and *Mayakkam* (*Mōham*) are the three great veils or '*malas*' all born of ignorance or darkness (*Iruḷ*). There is confusion and hesitation as a result of this. A reciation of his *hymns* cures us, according to our poet of these defects, our mental hesitations and confusions — "*Taṭumāṟṟilar*".[58] The other stages reached in mental and spiritual progress are also described as the results flowing from such a recitation. The path of *Tapas*—"*Tava neṟi*" is attained.[59] All faults are removed in this progress.[60] The worship of the *Bhaktas* is also one of the means of attaining spiritual perfection, an aim to be aspired for;[61] and the poet states that those who recite his *hymns* will be the great *Gurus* above his own head,[62] our saviours.[63] The reciters attain the knowledge of the real "*Tattuva ñānikaḷ*";[64] they are the embodiments of virtue — "*Puṇṇiyar*". These references do not refer to the beginning stage of the path of *Bhakti* but to the final stage where looking back one sees all these marks of perfection.

There are other *hymns* which speak of the removal of the sin and all kinds of miseries: '*Pāvam*';[66] Miseries—"*Tuṉpam*';[67] '*Iṭum-*

55. 7: 29: 10; 7: 39: 11; 7: 76: 10.
56. 7: 44: 10.
57. 7: 72: 11.
58. 7: 4: 10; 7: 43: 11.
59. 7: 13: 11; 7: 74: 10.
60. 7: 26: 10.
61. 7: 81: 10.
62. 7: 41: 10.
63. 7: 75: 10.
64. 7: 43: 11.
65. 7: 83: 10.
66. 7: 5: 10; 7: 11: 10; 7: 15: 10; 7: 16: 11; 7: 53: 10.
67. 7: 58: 10; 7: 48: 10; 7: 92: 10; 7: 94: 10.

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pai';[68] '*Iṭar*';[69] '*Allal*';[70] '*Naṭali*;[71] '*Ev (vam)*';[72] '*Naraippu*';[73] '*Mūppu*';[74] *Tirai*';[75] '*Tuyar*';[76] '*Viṉai*';[77] '*Piḻaippu*';[78] '*Kuṟṟam*'[79] and '*Iṭumpai*'.[80] These, though mentioned separately, are the effects of *Karma*; and the freedom from these is the final mark of a freed soul before it is drowned in the Bliss of the Absolute.

V

MEANS AS THE END:

The final goal has thus been more often spoken of as an escape from *Karma*, sin and misery. This is what the *Śaiva Siddhānta* calls *Pāśakṣaya*, the destruction of the fetters. If the soul is sufficiently evolved, the subsequent stages of *Daśakārya* occur all at once. Therefore this *Pāśakṣaya* is the real turning point and that is spoken of as the negative aspect of *Mōkṣa*.

Sometimes the poet, we saw, speaks of the happiness of the goal as the happiness of being in the company of the followers of God and singing His praises. He has worshipped God through poetry, singing poems in the company of *Bhaktas* and not in the isolation of his chamber of meditation. The social aspect of religion appealed to *Ārūrar*. He felt the divine bliss overpowering him when he sang his songs with the others in the temples he visited. It gave him the joy of universal salvation. In such moments there arises in the minds of saints that universal love which prefers to their own salvation, the holy life in the service of God in the midst of the people of this universe. *Bhakti* itself

68. 7: 58: 10.
69. 7: 22: 10; 7: 43: 11.
70. 7: 16: 11; 7: 20: 10.
71. 7: 60: 10; 7: 69: 11.
72. 7: 31: 10.
73. 7: 63: 10; 7: 69: 11.
74. 7: 60: 10; 7: 69: 11.
75. 7: 69: 11.
76. 7: 82: 10.
77. 7: 17: 11; 7: 19: 11; 7: 26: 10; 7: 31: 10; 7: 55: 10; 7: 80: 10; 7: 85: 10; 7: 89: 11; 7: 91: 10; 7: 99: 11.
78. 7: 26: 10.
79. 7: 50: 10.
80. 7; 58: 10.

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thus becomes *Mukti* to them. This is whai *Cēkkiḻār* sings when he sings of these great saints in general:

"*Kūṭum aṉpiṉil kumpiṭalē aṟi*
Vīṭum vēṇṭā viṟaliṟ viḷaṅkiṉār".[81]

VI

PADAMUKTI:

But that does not mean that there is no other goal. That goal is described, therefore, in negative terms as the absence of misery, imperfection and *karma* and in positive terms as happiness. The indescribable has to be expressed as usual in similes. Our poet talks of going up as though vertically to higher worlds of happiness beyond the great beyond. Here, the words are not to be taken literally as an ascension through space. The mental states of progressive spirituality are often referred to as spheres or worlds or *bhūmis*. The highest world will then be the highest spiritual experience, the experience of the Absolute. It is true that there are others who will interpret these literally as higher heavens where the freed souls go and live. This is called '*Padamukti*' but this is not considered to be the goal by any of the well known systems of *Śaivism*, which all speak of *Sāyujya* though they may be differing in their interpretation of that word, some taking it in the sense of identity and others in the sense of union.

VII

LABELS:

The ultimate goal is the non-dual experience of the Absolute. There is no feeling of separation or duality. The final feeling is "*Nāṉāya Paraṉ*"[82] and our poet calls God, "*Irumpuṇṭa nīr*",[83] the water sprinkled on the hot fire of an iron ball becoming one with it. This describes the spiritual experience of non-duality. But the question still remains whether in spite of this unity of experience, there is existentially any duality. Some schools of *Śaivism* are monistic and assert that the erstwhile soul and God are in the ultimate stage One, all the veils or illusion of duality having been removed. This is today the theory held by the northern *Śaivism* of Kashmere. It is said by some that it was this kind of *Śaivism* that was also found in the days of *Tirumūlar*; but the *Śaiva Siddhānta* holds that there is existential dualism and experiential non-

81. *Tirukkūṭṭacciṟappu, verse* 8.
82. 7: 38: 4.
83. 7: 58: 1.

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dualism. It is difficult to say to what school of *Śaivism Ārūrar* belonged; perhaps he belonged to none. He saw the truth everywhere and, therefore, did not join in the mutual recrimination. *Kāpāla*, *Pāśupata*, *Māvrata* are names of systems of *Tāntric Śaivism* and our poet refers to these names. *Mahēndravarman* in his farce *Mattavilāsaprahasanam* describes in detail the *Kāpālikas* making them the butt of his ridicule. *Ārūrar*, by no stretch of imagination can be called a *Kāpālika*. Temples named *Karōṇam* after the birthplace of *Lākulisa* are also sung by our poet.[84] But he has no preference for this philosophy either. His references are restricted to emphasizing the general love for God. Love, Service, Self-sacrifice, destruction of the separatist 'I' and the blossoming of the Higher Self in its place—these are what he is concerned with. It may be argued that he means more than this and that he describes the peculiar modes of worship of the varying sects. But it must be pointed that he does not describe the worshippers but God Himself in this way.

As for the philosophical terms relied on by the *Śaiva Siddhānta* school—terms like *Paśu*, *Pati*, *Pāśam*, *Malam*, *Āṇavam*, *Karma* and *Māyā*—our poet does not refer to all of them. *Paśupati* occurs as the name of God.[85] *Malam* and *Karma* occur; but they are common to all Indian philosophies.[86] *Pāśam* is mentioned by our poet but not beyond doubt in the technical sense of *Śaiva Siddhānta*.[87] *Māyā* and *Āṇavam* do not occur unless we take '*Māyam*'[88] as *Māyā*. This attempt at labelling him is futile; for, he is the poet of harmony and universality, though he came in the best tradition of real *Śaivism* which does not lose itself in the mirage of dialectics. The *Śaivite* School was connected with the schools of Logic and that probably saved *Śaivism* from becoming a prey to emotionalism.

VIII

NON-DUALISM THROUGH DUALISM:

Ārūrar talks the language of dualism but this cannot make him a dualist because it is only through a dualism of worship

84. See *hymn* 46, *Nākaikkārōṇam*.
85. *Paśupati*, 7: 58: 5.
86. *Malam*, 7: 35: 8; 7: 82: 6; *Karma* as *viṇai* is used in several places.
87. *Pāśam*, 7: 82: 6.
88. 7: 95: 7.

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monistic experience is reached; as such this kind of talk of dualism is inevitable. But when describing the ultimate goal he speaks of the experience being non-dual. He is not very much concerned with the philosophical disquisitions; for, he is more concerned with the saving of the soul and the final experience about which all are agreed, that it is non-dual, a mystic experience of unity. It is therefore, difficult to speak in more definite terms of our poet so as to enable the world of warring philosophers to label him a monist or a qualified monist, though we can safely assert that he is not a thorough-going dualist. On the basis of the metaphor of '*Irumpuṇṭa nīr*',[89] the monist claim *Ārūrar* as of their fold. *Śivajñānasvāmikaḷ* understands this simile as illustrating the mutual *laya* of the soul and God.[90]

IX

HARMONY:

When the poet, as a mystic, has emphasized the harmony of all religions in his spiritual experience, it will not be fair to get ourselves lost in the conflicts of philosophers. In this country all the phrases and similes relied upon by one set of philosophers have been re-interpreted to suit their own theories by others. The *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Bhagavatgīta* have all been claimed as peculiarly their own philosophical works by the differing schools of thought, *Ārūrar's* poems are revered as the *Vēda* in *Tamiḻ* and naturally each philosopher will claim it as voicing forth his own theory. The commentary on *Śivajñāna Bōdham* by *Śivajñānasvāmikaḷ* gives any number of schools of *Śaivism* which can in one way or other be identified with one or other of the conflicting philosophies of the world. Perhaps mutual conflicts of these philosophies, at the same time claiming these books of universal vision and experience as peculiarly their own, prove that *Ārūrar's* poems like the other works are true for all, because ultimately there is this fundamental unity of mystic experience underlying all these systems of thought. Has not *Ārūrar* himself given out this great truth in "*Aṟiviṉāl mikka aruvakaic camayam avvavark kāṅkē āraruḷ purintu?*".[91]

89. 7: 58: 1.
90. *Śivajñānabōdham — Māpāṭiyam, p.* 522, under *sūtram* 10.
91. 7: 55: 9.

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CONCLUSION

These studies reveal to us *Ārūrar* rising before us with an integrated personality, if one may use that term, like a fully blossomed flower, fresh and fragrant, soft and sweet, lovely in colour and beautiful in form. He is a learned *Brahmin* steeped in the lore of his age, prince and warrior, statesman and politician — a companion of the king '*Tampirāṉ Tōḻar*' — one who has known the splendour of royal life — one of the fortunate few blessed with the wealth of learning and riches — though not with a political success to the end. He has known adversity and misery, physical, material and political, both in the domestic and public life but then like the ordinary fire that gives temper to the iron, this fire of suffering shaped him well and made him firm and useful. He lives in an age of political wars and turmoils, dynastic revolutions and depressing famines; but undaunted he goes through this life, making himself useful in one way or another. It is his proper attitude and not the ephemeral success that is important.

His domestic life is full of love and service — he is an ardent lover, a dutiful husband, a loving father. It is not all smooth sailing but he is proud of his wives — the very gift of God as he looked upon them, and the children who are spiritually great. He lives in the presence of God and looks upon everything and every act as proceeding from and inspired by God — the material wealth, food and luxuries, the help of others, his very wives and their enjoyment. He is a poet and philosopher and as such looks at the world in a discerning mood which has harmonized conflicting feelings and experiences as a living art and as the beautiful expression of God's Grace. He feels he is ordained for the service of God and his loving and sympathetic heart goes to all; he goes about singing his musical compositions of great *Tamiḻ* Poetry from temple to temple creating thereby a band of *Śaiva* devotees, full of love and sacrifice. He is a proud prince to start with, but he becomes humble to take pride in the service of God and *Śaivites*. Miseries he has known but the spiritual progress and mystic experience all through his rich and varied life, make him feel certain of salvation — no more death, no more sufferings, no more sins. This perfection reached is not a negation but an enrichment.

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He has been greatly moved by the lives of the great saints of the *Tamiḻ* land; he walks in the footsteps of *Campantar* and *Appar*, his two great illustrious leaders. He realizes the Grace of the Lord and he is all kindness. He sings in his inimitable but simple *Tamiḻ* for the people at large; his music and poetry are soul-stirring. The crest-fallen *Tamilian* is inspired with a new hope and the certain Grace of the Lord. The Lord is the Lord of *Tamiḻ*, fond of this Southern corner of the earth. He is proud of the *Tamiḻ* language and its culture. Has not the *Tamiḻ* country produced a galaxy of saints, so many lode stars in the darkness of our worldly life, leading us all to the perfection of Śiva?

His sincere nationalism has thus a pragmatic value to the *Tamilians* who cannot but forget their ancient glory and history in the stress and strain of political upheavals and foreign invasions. The poet brings out a harmony of the new culture of the life divine. It is, therefore, possible for him to escape the narrow parochialism and to become the citizen of the world — nay the citizen of the universe looking upon the whole community of the living beings — the plant life, the animal life, the bird life and the human life — with all their cruelties and horrors — as one happy family of God. That is his great universal vision.

The *Āgamas* are coming to prominence. This spiritual way appeals to the common man and to the spiritually great. The temple is the real community centre. Rituals have not become dead formalities; they are as yet the satisfying concrete expressions of the inner urge — sublime and reverential. The social worship becomes poetry and music in the hands of our poet. Royal pomp and power, wealth and grandeur sublimated as it were in the service of God, flow as festivals and temple, full of divine Grace — a wonderful way of converting private and individual property into public and social property through a spiritualizing power. The ritual is the loving communion with God and the poems of *Ārūrar* give expression to this experience of his; we have a glorious vision of this religion through this coin of vantage — his poems.

His religion aims at this spiritual perfection of man and the divine sublimation of matter. There, God is everywhere both within and without and in this process every speech is a prayer, every act a worship and every thought a meditation — *Sahaja niṣṭā*.

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The common man enjoys his folklore which has been by this time enriched by the *Purāṇas*. Our poet in his appeal to the common man speaks this language of mythology, at the same time vivifying them with divine life. Their spiritual significance thrills the common man through poetry and music. Horrid stories are re-interpreted and represented as concrete expressions of God's love — the love that God who is the energizing dynamism of dance and the very '*Śānti*' and silence of the unchanging Absolute. *Bhikṣāṭana* from becomes an art motif of his poetry of love. If *Kailāsanātha* Temple is the frozen music of this divine mythology, *Ārūrar's* poetry is the free flow of this divine music.

The *hymns* reveal a progression — a history of his spiritual struggle and victory. They write as it were his autobiography and his poems form thus a lyrical outburst. It is no more individual; it is universalized as poetry appealing to the heart of all men hankering after something — beyond human reach something sublime, in short God, the Almighty. His religion is thus not a creed or a dogma but a living faith; his life itself becomes Religion. From this point of view the poems assume an epic grandeur—the wars and victories of the soul. God's Grace transforms this epic into a drama — a divine drama of His Love. Creation becomes the magic transformation of souls into God. Nature, full of beauty, becomes the background, the theatre, the temple of God but at the same time showing the divine glimpses which reveal, that, there being nothing but God this Nature is in a way God, though He transcends it. This universe of space, time and causation is but the poetic harmony of the complications and resolutions of this divine drama. That is the vision of the Object — the philosophy of Nature or *Pāśa*.

As for the Subject — the Soul, we have the philosophy of Soul. We ascend with our poet the gradations of its real significance till it sheds all its seeming faults and becomes one with the true light and love of the Absolute. This is the plot of the drama with all its complications and ultimate resolutions by *deus ex machina*. Our poetic spiritual progress stands revealed. His mystic experience becomes significant, viewed in the light of the experiences of other mystics of the world. The law of *karma* is seen from various ascending levels as the law of *Dharma* and the law of Love based on the Grace of God. There are here Purgation, Illumination and Bliss.

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Illumination and Bliss are expressed in terms of love — in terms of the divine story of the loving couple—the Soul and God. Here comes the Philosophy of God. The '*Akappāṭṭu*' so beautifully put into proper form by the *Caṅkam* poets, and *Tiruvaḷḷuvar* comes in handy as the only vehicle of this kind of divine experience and thought. *Bhikṣāṭana* form as an art motif becomes important. *Ārūrar* and God become one in love—a spiritual communion and identity. But this is not a love which loses its ethical grandeur. *Ārūrar's* is also an ethical mysticism. This final goal is expressed in so many ways as may be easily understood by the common man who is the great concern of our poet. There is possibly a suggestion of universal salvation, some kind of *Bōdhisattva* idea. One cannot escape using spatial and temporal metaphors in describing this final goal. *Bhakti* itself is *Mukti*; the very company of the saints is paradise full of their songs. But the final stage is communion or identity with *Śiva*; there is no misery, no fetters—it is all perfection — there is also no sin. Thus, in our poet, Nature mysticism, Religious mysticism, Art mysticism Bridal mysticism and Ethical mysticism become one in revealing the divine perfection of his integrated personality — a personality which becomes the Absolute in that very process of perfection.

The Religion and Philosophy of *Ārūrar* enriched by the other studies reveal the full stature of our poet. It has not been possibly to label him as belonging to any particular Philosophy. Perhaps we are fortunate, his harmony has a lasting value to the generations to come. His God, he is fond of addressing as *Śiva*. In that sense he is a *Śaivite* but not as the *Kāpālikas*, *Pāśupatas* and others have thought of it. *Śaivism* has assumed a rich significance through his life and through his poems as the great divine path of love—the golden path of all the mystics.

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,, *Poruḷ* (*Tol., Poruḷ*) ,,
Iraiyaṉār Akapporuḷ Urai
Purapporuḷ Veṇpāmālai
Yāpparuṅkala Virutti
Taṇṭi Alaṅkāram
Naṉṉūl with commentaries
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ETTUTTOKAI:

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Puṟanāṉūṟu (*Puṟam.*)
Naṟṟiṇai (*Naṟ.*)
Kuṟuntokai (*Kuṟun.*)
Aiṅkuṟunūṟu (*Aiṅ.*)
Patiṟṟuppattu (*Patiṟ*)
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